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THE
LIFE AND EPISTLES
OF
ST. PAUL.

BY
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INVASION OF BRITAIN.'

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VOL. II.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA TO VOL. II.

P. 16, note 54, add:

When Paul wrote the *First* Epistle to the Corinthians, it was uncertain whether he should go up to Jerusalem or not. "Whomsoever ye shall accredit by your letters, them will I send to carry your liberality unto Jerusalem; and *if it be meet that I go also*, they shall go with me." 1 Cor. xvi. 3. And again, "It may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may forward me *whithersoever I go*." 1 Cor. xvi. 6. But now in the *Second* Epistle to the Corinthians he speaks of their setting him forward on his way toward *Judæa*. 2 Cor. i. 16. In the meantime, therefore, he had received an intimation from them by letter, or through Timothy or Titus, that they wished him to join the brethren in taking up the eleemosynary collection to Jerusalem. Indeed the *συνέκδημοι* or his fellow-travellers in this mission had been already elected by the churches: see 2 Cor. viii. 19.

P. 74.

Did Paul's companions, Sopater, Aristarchus, &c., accompany him from Corinth to Jerusalem in A.D. 58?

Paul was about to sail to Syria direct (*μέλλοντι ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν Συρίαν*, Acts xx. 3), when a conspiracy to waylay him was discovered. The Jews had failed to induce the Romans to persecute, and they had even been driven from the tribunal of Gallio, and now certain fanatics had recourse to the work of the assassin. The treasure which Paul and his companions were bearing to Jerusalem for the relief of the saints may also have been a temptation.

On detection of the plot the intended route was changed, and it was determined to go round by Macedonia. It is not stated whether they proceeded thither by land or sea, but the more commonly received opinion is that they all sailed to Neapolis and there separated, Paul with Luke going up to Philippi to keep the Passover, and the rest—Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius of Derbe, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus—passing on to Troas, to wait there until Paul

and Luke should rejoin them. Why Paul and Luke should have paid this visit to Philippi can be readily understood. There had from the first been a feeling of strong mutual attachment between Paul and the Philippians. He had been entertained at his first visit by Lydia at her own house (Acts xvi. 15), and *thrice* they had sent relief to his necessities, twice at Thessalonica and again at Corinth. Philipp. iv. 15, 16; Acts xviii. 5. Nor were the ties less close between Luke and the Philippians, for he had been active with Paul in their first conversion in A.D. 51 (Acts xvi. 13), and when Paul departed seems to have remained behind and occupied himself during his sojourn in the composition of his gospel which was published in Macedonia on Paul's return thither in A.D. 57. 2 Cor. viii. 18. Another important remark to be made is this: If Sopater and his comrades were now accompanying Paul from Corinth to do him honour merely, they would not then have left him by the way though only for a week. The fact of their separating from him shows plainly that they also were travelling for some purpose of their own, and we shall see presently what that purpose was.

At the close of the Passover Paul and Luke rejoined the other voyagers at Troas, and thence they sailed past Ephesus and landed at Miletus; and the question is whether Sopater and his comrades here parted company, and returned to their different homes or went on with Paul to Jerusalem itself. The authorised version runs thus: "and there accompanied him as far as Asia (*ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας*) Sopater of Berea, and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy, and of Asia Tychicus and Trophimus" (Acts xx. 4); from which the natural and almost necessary inference is that they did not accompany the Apostle *beyond Asia*. But the words "as far as Asia" are not found in the Vatican and other reliable MSS., and Canon Lightfoot, a competent judge, pronounces authoritatively that "the words *ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας* must be struck out." Epist. Coloss. p. 299. The circumstantial evidence furnished by the

narrative leads strongly to this conclusion. That *all* the persons named stopped short at Asia, is manifestly untenable, for Trophimus most assuredly went up with Paul to Jerusalem and was seen walking about with him in the city (Acts xxi. 29); and most likely Aristarchus also continued with Paul, as we find him the companion of Paul on his voyage to Rome. Acts xxvii. 2. Besides, if these fellow-travellers were only an escort of honour, it is quite unheard of that they should have gone with him so far as Asia: they were evidently journeying with Paul on some errand of their own disconnected from a mere act of courtesy towards Paul. If so, what motive could they have had for stopping short in Asia? Paul had originally intended to sail direct for Syria, and had this been carried out they would not have touched at Asia at all. But supposing they did adopt the route by Asia, it is hard to conceive what object they could have had in reaching it, and then turning back. But on the hypothesis that they all were bound with Paul for Jerusalem, every difficulty is cleared up. When Paul had been last at Jerusalem in A.D. 53, a compact was entered into between him and the twelve Apostles, that he and Barnabas should devote themselves to the conversion of the heathen, and the twelve to the conversion of the Jews. Only, it was stipulated (which would serve to reconcile the Hebrew church to the admission of the Gentiles) that Paul should make a collection amongst his converts for the Hebrew Christians of Jerusalem. Galat. ii. 10. This he readily undertook, and we know that on his next circuit he set on foot a collection for the purpose in Galatia, and Macedonia, and Greece, and no doubt in all the other churches that he visited. Paul was so jealously watched by his enemies, that, not to give them a handle for unjust suspicion, he could not consent to be the bearer himself of the treasures thus collected, but insisted on the churches choosing their own delegates, who should be charged with their respective contributions (1 Cor. xvi. 3; 2 Cor. viii. 20); but at the same time he was willing to make any personal sacrifice, and therefore expressed his readiness, if the churches *required* it, to *accompany* their delegates to Jerusalem. 1 Cor. xvi. 4. They did require it, and therefore it was that though it had been for years the darling wish of his heart to visit Rome and thence to pass into Spain, he now cheerfully relinquished his own aspirations, and agreed to join the representatives of the different churches on their voyage to Jerusalem. Thus Sopater and his

fellow-travellers were not the companions of Paul, but he was the companion of them. This eleemosynary business is passed over by Luke in silence, and is gathered only from the incidental notices of it in the Epistles; and Luke therefore, in enumerating the comrades of Paul, does not classify them according to the churches which they represented, but according to their nationalities, and we are left to conjecture who were the delegates of the several communities. We may surmise, and it is only surmise, that Sopater of Berea, carried the collection of the Bereans, that Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica were the deputies of the Thessalonians, that Luke was the person "who was chosen of the churches to travel with Paul with the bounty (of Philippi) that was administered by him" (2 Cor. viii. 19), that Tychicus and Trophimus of Ephesus were charged with the contributions of Ephesus and its vicinity, and that to Aristarchus and Gaius the Macedonian was confided the offering of the Galatians: for the last pair, however, our only warrant is the description of them as the fellow-travellers of Paul (*συνεκεδήμους*, Acts xix. 29), the very term applied to Luke as the envoy of Philippi. 2 Cor. viii. 19. This Gaius is thought by some to be identical with Gaius of *Derbe*, for that though a native of Derbe, he might have resided at Thessalonica; but we need not assume this, as though *Gaius of Derbe* is the only one of that name mentioned by Luke, it is not improbable that Gaius the *Macedonian* was a native of Philippi, and may as well as Luke have gone up with Paul to Philippi, and so be included in Luke's expression, they waited for "*us*" at Troas. Gaius of Derbe and Timothy may have taken up the collection of Lycaonia. We are at a loss who were charged with the offerings from Corinth itself, but this duty may have been laid upon Luke and Trophimus, who had been actively engaged in forwarding the collection there. 2 Cor. viii. 18, 22. We thus conclude that the words, "as far as Asia," are to be rejected (Acts xx. 4), and that the fellow-travellers of Paul from Corinth to Asia did not stop short at Asia, but accompanied him up to Jerusalem itself.

P. 108.

The Day of Pentecost.

We have here argued that Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A.D. 58 on the very day when the Pentecost was to begin at 6 p.m. We should have added that this had always been his in-

tention, "for he was anxious, if it were possible, for him to be at Jerusalem *the day of the Pentecost*," τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς γενέσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Acts xx. 16. This shows, by the way, that the Feast of Pentecost, as is intimated elsewhere, was for *one day* only, viz. from the sunset of one day to the sunset of the next.

P. 126.

The Tombs of David.

In the plan of Jerusalem at this page the configuration of the ground within the walls of the city, as ascertained by recent investigation, is taken from the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration for October, 1873. This view of the natural face of the ground is extremely important, as showing most distinctly the *two valleys* spoken of by Josephus, viz. the Tyropœon and "the other" valley (now called the Mill Valley), and also the *four hills* upon which, according to the same historian, Jerusalem stood. With the aid of this plan the description of Jerusalem, as given by Josephus, can be followed step by step.

In the key to the plan of Jerusalem we have referred to the *so-called* Tombs of David. The *real* site was in quite a different quarter. This king was buried "in the city of David" (1 Kings ii. 10), that is, at Jerusalem, which for the last thirty-three years of his life had been substituted for the capital of his kingdom in the place of Hebron the original capital. The ancient Jebus on the western hill, and the Low town on the eastern hill, had been consolidated together by David, and were called the "city of David." The tombs, however, were not within the walls, which the national abhorrence of sepulchral pollution would not allow, but were in the immediate vicinity. That the tombs were *without the city* appears incidentally from the violation of them by Herod the Great; for when he broke them open in search of treasure he did it stealthily and by night, that he might not disturb "the city," and from the contradistinction assumed by the narrative between the city and the tombs themselves the latter were somewhere outside the city. Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, 1.

The spot can be ascertained with some precision by tracing the repairs of the walls in Nehemiah, on the return of the Jews from the captivity in Babylon. The line of the *southern* wall is carried from west to east until it reaches "the wall of the *pool of Siloah* by the *king's garden*, and unto the stairs that go down from the *city of David*" (that is, from Ophel, which

in Nehemiah is called the city of David). Neh. iii. 15. Now the position of the pool of Siloam and of the king's garden is well known, the former lying along the western side of the most southern point of Ophel and the king's garden just below it, and watered by the little rill that flows perennially from the pool. The stairs that led down from the city of David (as the Eastern Hill or Low Town is here called) were at the very apex of the wedge of Ophel, as is plain from the wall here beginning to *rise* again along the eastern side up to the Temple, for presently afterwards it is said, in relating the dedication of the wall, that "they went up by the *stairs of the city of David* at the *going up of the wall* above the house (or palace) of David, even unto the outer gate eastward." Neh. xii. 37.

From the *southern foot* of Ophel the repairs of the wall are carried forward, thus, "after him (*i. e.*, from the stairs that go down from the city of David) repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half-part of Bethzur, *unto the place over against the sepulchres of David and to the pool that was made*, and unto the house of the mighty" (Neh. iii. 16) (after which the repairs are continued in small pieces by the Levites and priests, every one in front of his own house or chamber, until they reach the Temple). The question then is, what was the *pool that was made*? It must certainly have been the pool now known as the Fountain of the Virgin, the only one between the foot of Ophel and the Temple, and it is justly described as the "pool that was *made*," for there was no pool upon which so much artificial labour had been expended. Recent discoveries have established the fact that from the upper surface or ridge of Ophel a staircase led down to a corridor, which again conducted to a shaft up which water was drawn by a rope and bucket from a reservoir communicating with the pool of the fountain 'Recovery of Jerusalem,' p. 248. The "pool that was made" could not have been that constructed by Hezekiah between the two walls at the mouth of the Tyropœon Valley, for the line of wall in Nehemiah had already passed "the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden" ere the pool that was made is mentioned, and as the king's garden was to the south of the extreme point of Ophel the "pool that was made" must have been more to the north on the east side of Ophel. The sepulchres or tombs of David therefore lay in the Valley of Jehoshaphat nearly over against or opposite to the Pool of the Virgin, but somewhat more to the south, and if

we look in that direction we find there a series of tombs now occupied by the village of Siloam. In Bartlett's 'Walks about Jerusalem' we read that there "are tombs hewn in the rocky sides of the valley, one above another, amongst which whole families of Arabs have made their dwellings, some niching their plaster huts against the sides, others creeping into the sepulchres themselves," &c. P. 110. And Josephus assigns the same sepulchral character to this very spot, for in tracing the wall of circumvallation by Titus, he describes it as running on the north across the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the foot of the Mount of Olives, and "then deflecting to the south it encloses the mount as far as the rock called *Peristereon* and the hill that adjoins it which impends over the valley of Siloam." Jos. Bell. v. 12, 2. The latter hill is unquestionably the Mount of Offence which is over against the mouth of the Tyropœon Valley, *i. e.* the Valley of Siloam, and just north of that is the village of Siloam, which as honeycombed with tombs is rightly called the *Peristereon* (from *περιστερά*, a pigeon), or Columbarium. The tombs of David were well known in the time of Herod, about B.C. 6, and are again alluded to by St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, A.D. 33, "His sepulchre is with us unto this day" (Acts ii. 29): and if they still exist (for the tomb of Solomon fell in and collapsed in the time of Hadrian, *διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε*, Dion. lxix. 14, and David and Solomon were both interred in the same mausoleum, Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, 1), they must be looked for toward the south of the village of Siloam.

P. 127.

Walls of Jerusalem.

We have admitted into the text the commonly received opinion that the north wall of the High Town on reaching the Xyst deflected southwards along the western side of the Tyropœon, so as to enclose the *High Town* on its *eastern* side. This opinion was first broached by Dr. Robinson. "Such a wall," he says, "is not mentioned by Josephus or any other writer, but the *circumstances* of the case obviously imply its existence." Biblic. Res. vol. i. p. 312, 2nd ed. The circumstances referred to are, that, when Titus had captured the Lower Town on the Eastern Hill, he was still unable to enter the High Town without throwing up mounds. But this may be accounted for, without the hypothesis of a wall, by the strength of the position of the High Town, which was surrounded on all sides by a

ravine. Had there been a wall along the eastern side of the High Town it is almost incredible that Josephus, in professedly discussing the walls, should not have mentioned it. Not only so, but he strongly negatives the existence of such a wall by telling us expressly that the houses of the High Town and Low Town (lying *east and west*) met and leaned against each other (*ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι*, Jos. Bell. v. 4, 1), which could not have been asserted if a wall divided them.

Besides there is every reason to believe that the walls in the time of Titus (except the new wall erected by Agrippa) followed the line of the walls restored by Nehemiah on the return of the Jews from Babylon, and it is clear from the details of the walls in Nehemiah, that the southern wall made a bend above and around the pool of Siloam (as Josephus also describes it), but that there was no *interior* wall running up the Tyropœon Valley and separating the High Town from the Low Town. See Neh. iii. 15, 16. Before the time of David, indeed, the High Town or Jebus, and the Low Town were distinct cities, and were each surrounded by a wall of its own. But when David took first the Lower Town and then the High Town of Jebus itself, he united the two together and made them one city (Jos. Ant. vii. 3, 2), that is, he threw down the walls which had hitherto divided them.

P. 129.

Tombs of the Maccabees.

The Maccabees are here referred to as buried at Modin, a city unknown for ages, but now recovered by the labours of the Palestine Exploration. The mausoleum was remarkable for the seven pyramids which surmounted the seven tombs of the Maccabees, and were visible from the sea at a great distance. 1 Maccab. xiii. 28; Jos. Ant. xiii. 6, 6. The tombs have been recently found at Medyeh, near Lydda, and the seven pyramids may still be traced, and they stood on so high ground that they would be conspicuously in sight to the distant mariner. See the particulars of the discovery in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration for July, 1873, p. 94, and April, 1874, pp. 58 and 78.

P. 131.

Head of the Emperor Hadrian.

This head, of the natural size, was found by Mr. Ganneau in February, A.D. 1874, on the

Nablous road from Jerusalem, a little to the north of the Tombs of the Kings. "The beard is short and curly, the hair abundant, with thick locks which cover a portion of the forehead. He bears a crown of laurel, the two branches of which are attached to a medallion, on which is engraved very distinctly, in cameo, an eagle, symbol of sovereign power. The expression of the face from some points of view has a certain harshness; the eyes, the pupils of which are indicated by the sculptor, are looking upwards; the end of the nose is broken, and some portions of the face, especially the right eyebrow, have suffered. The style is entirely Roman." Such is Mr. Ganneau's description, and he adds some striking reflections: "Strange irony of fate! Thrown face downwards on the old highway, this triumphant head of the conqueror of Barcochab, the rebuilder of Jerusalem, the divine Hadrian, with the laurel wreath and the eagle of Empire trodden under foot for twelve centuries by everybody great and small who has entered the Holy city, and after this long ignominy, for a last outrage the mutilated head, still with the same pride in his look, has been picked up by a poor peasant and thrown among his common building stones." *Palest. Explor. Quarterly Statement for July, 1874, p. 207.*

The head is extremely interesting from its connection with the *Temple* of Jerusalem.

The Temple of Herod, as is well known, was utterly destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70.

About sixty-one years afterwards, in A.D. 131, Hadrian, when in the East, rebuilt Jerusalem under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, and erected a Temple to Jupiter on the very site of the Temple of Jehovah.



Coin of Hadrian. From British Museum.

The legend is *Col. Æl. Cap. (Colonia Ælia Capitolina)*. The coin is commonly thought to represent the Temple of Jupiter, erected by Hadrian at Jerusalem, but the figures of Minerva and Juno, the one in front of him and the other behind, show that it represents the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, to which the Jewish didrachm was paid, and in honour of which the new city of Jerusalem was called *Ælia Capitolina*.

In A.D. 132 the Jews rebelled under Barcochab (the Son of the star), and their first act was to destroy the Temple of Jupiter and

restore the Temple of Jehovah, and the new Jewish temple erected under the auspices of Barcochab is represented on several of his coins.



Coin of Barcochab. From De Saulcy.

The coin represents the Temple of Jehovah, erected by Barcochab during the period of the revolt. The real name of the insurrectionist was Simeon (F. W. Madden's *Jewish Numism.*, p. 147), but he took the sobriquet of Barcochab (the Son of the star), and accordingly the star, as his symbol, is seen on the coin above the Temple.

In A.D. 135 Hadrian succeeded in stamping out the rebellion, when he pulled down the temple which the Jews had erected, *καθελών τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις* (*Chron. Paschal*), but did not rebuild the Temple of Jupiter. Hadrian, says Epiphanius, was minded *τὴν πόλιν κτίσαι, οὐ μὴν τὸ Ἱερόν*. Epiphanius, *de Pond. et Mens.* s. 14.

However, to assert his supremacy Hadrian erected his own statue, which was equestrian, on the very site of the Holy of Holies, *De equestri statua quæ in ipso Sancti Sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit*. Hieron. in *Matt. xxi. 15*. *Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua*. Hieron. *comment. in Esaiam ii. 8*.

If the equestrian statue of Hadrian was on the site of the Holy of Holies, it was just above the Wailing-place of the Jews, and accordingly the Bordeaux Pilgrim, in speaking of this part, writes, "There also are the *two* statues of Hadrian, and not far from them (the statues) is the Worn-through stone (*lapis pertusus*) to which the Jews come every year and anoint it and lament themselves with groaning, and rend their garments and so depart." The explanation of the *two statues* of Hadrian is this. The successor of Hadrian was Antoninus Pius, who, in honour of Hadrian, his father by adoption, called himself "Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius," and as a statue was erected to Antoninus also by the side of that to his father Hadrian, and as the inscription at the foot of Antoninus' statue was addressed to Antoninus by his full title, viz. *Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius*, this led the pilgrim to suppose that it was a *second* statue to Hadrian. The inscription on the base of the statue to Antoninus still

exists, and has been built into the southern wall of the Haram, and runs thus:—

TITOAILHADRIANO
ANTONINO AUGPIO
PPONTIFAUGVR
DD.

The head discovered by Mr. Ganneau must be that of the *equestrian* statue of Hadrian, as the features and general character of the head point most remarkably to Hadrian, but do not answer to those of Antoninus. The statue of Antoninus, to judge from the form of the inscription, was not equestrian like that of Hadrian, but pedestrian.

The site of the statue of Hadrian further points to the site of the Jewish Temple. The statue was erected, as we have seen, on the very spot of the Holy of Holies, and was still there, at the visit of the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A.D. 333. Down to that period, therefore, the area of the Holy of Holies was not occupied by any superstructure. The place about the statue appears, from the account of the Pilgrim, to have been an open space with a pavement, for he observes that where the Temple of Solomon had been (*ubi Templum fuit quod Solomon ædificavit*) within the sanctuary (*in æde ipsâ*) might still be seen the prints of the nailed shoes of the soldiers who slew Zacharias the son of Barachias, between the Temple and the altar.

In the time of Julian the Apostate, A.D. 363, the site was still unbuilt upon, for it was in excavating the foundations of the Temple that globes of fire burst forth and put a stop to the attempt: see *Fasti Romani*, A.D. 363.

About A.D. 400, the site of the Temple was still vacant, for Chrysostom writes, *Καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἔλθῃς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα γυμνὰ ὄψει τὰ θεμελία*. Homily against the Jews cited in Williams's *Holy City*, vol. ii. p. 335, 2nd ed. And even so late as A.D. 600, Antoninus Martyr uses the expression *ante ruinas Templi Solomonis*, c. xxiii.

All this negatives the theory that the Temple of the Jews stood on the site of the present Mosque of Omar, for the fabric of the Mosque is referable, by its style of architecture, either to the latter half of the *third* century or the first half of the *fourth*, and if so it could not have occupied the site of the Jewish Temple, which, as we have seen, continued to be a vacant space from A.D. 333 to A.D. 600 and unbuilt upon. As Jerome tells us that the statue of Hadrian was erected on the very spot of the *Holy of Holies*, and as the Bordeaux Pilgrim adds that the

statue was *close to the Wailing-place* of the Jews, the site of the Temple must be placed at the south-west corner of the Haram.

See a paper read by the author before the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in vol. xlix. of the *Archæologia*.

P. 131.

The Triumphal Arch of Hadrian, commonly called "The Arch of Ecce Homo."

This arch takes its name from the absurd monkish legend, that from the window or opening above the arch Pilate exhibited our Lord to the assembled multitude, saying, "Behold the Man." The real history of the arch appears from an important passage in the Paschal Chronicle, which runs thus: (Hadrianus) ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔκτισε (1) τὰ δύο Δημόσια καὶ (2) τὸ Θέατρον καὶ (3) τὸ Τρικάμερον καὶ (4) τὸ Τετράνυμφον καὶ (5) τὸ Δωδεκάπυλον (τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀναβαθμοὶ) καὶ (6) τὴν Κόδραν. In Anno 3 Æli. Adriani.

1. The Δημόσια or *Publics*, referred to are the Baths, which may be placed where the Baths continue to this day, a little to the west of the Haram.

2. The site of the *Theatre* has not been satisfactorily traced, some, as De Saulcy, placing it outside the wall on the north, and some, as Captain Warren, within the walls to the south of the Haram.

3. The Τρικάμερον or Treble Arch (τρῆς καμέραι) is unquestionably the arch of the Ecce Homo represented in the engraving. Vol. ii. p. 131. We see there the *central* arch and the *northern side* arch, the *southern side* arch having been taken down only a few years ago to make room for a modern building. The three arches together formed a triumphal gateway to commemorate the final overthrow by Hadrian of Barcochab and his confederates.

4. The Τετράνυμφον is derived from νύμφη (Latinè *lympa*), the word for spring-water, and was the quadrilateral colonnade about Siloam, which is referred to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A.D. 333. Est Piscina quæ dicitur Siloa. Habet *Quadriporticum*, the latter word answering in Latin to the Greek Τετράνυμφον. The colonnade round the pool of Siloam was of the Doric order, and not long ago the capital of one of the columns was brought to light, and a sketch of it will be seen in 'The Recovery of Jerusalem' by the Palestine Exploration, p. 266.

5. The Δωδεκάπυλον, or *Twelve-gates* (formerly

called the 'Αναβαθμοί or Steps), can be thus explained. In the centre of the Haram is a raised quadrangular platform 550 feet long by 450 feet broad, on which stands the Mosque of Omar. This platform is approached on all sides by flights of *steps*, whence the name of "The Steps." But Hadrian erected a πύλη or portal at the summit of each flight of steps, and as there were three flights of steps on each side, or twelve in all, the name of the steps was changed into that of the *Twelve-gates*. Three flights of steps with their gates still remain on *one* of the four sides, but on the other three sides alterations have naturally taken place, and the number of gates has been reduced.

6. The Κόδρα or Quadra, which is mentioned in connection with the Δωδεκάπυλον, can be no other than the *square* mass of rock in the centre of the platform, now covered by the Mosque of Omar. The idol or image of Jupiter, set up by Hadrian, probably stood originally, sub Dio, on this rock; about two centuries later, either Diocletian or Maximin Daza erected over it the octagonal temple, which still remains and has been converted into the Mosque of Omar. See the author's paper read before the Society of Antiquaries and printed in vol. xlix. of the *Archæologia*.

P. 133.

Beautiful Gate of the Temple.

As to the Beautiful Gate, see Corrigenda and Addenda to Vol. I. p. xxiii.

P. 160, note 90.

Purification before entering the Temple.

To the authority here cited, viz. that no Jew could enter the Temple unless he had first purified himself, may be added the following: 'Αθέμιτον δὲ ἡγήτο (Ananus), καὶ κρατήσῃ, μὴ προηγνευκῶς εἰσάγειν τὸ πλῆθος. Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 12. And again, in reference to the Beautiful Gate of the Temple proper, Josephus adds, δι' οὗ παρήμην ἄγνοὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. Ant. xv. 11, 5.

P. 173.

Was Paul's appeal to Cæsar answered by the High Priest, Ishmael, in person?

The appeal to Cæsar was in the autumn of A.D. 60, and the ship sailed with Paul on board in August of that year, but as the wreck oc-

curred by the way Paul did not reach Rome until the spring of A.D. 61.

The first question is, was the indictment of Paul presented at Rome at all, or was it allowed to drop, and was he ultimately set at liberty for want of an accuser? From the bitterness which his enemies had displayed in Judæa—from the attempt to take his life by assassination at Jerusalem—from the descent of Ananias from Jerusalem to Judæa to press on the case before Felix—from the renewed conspiracy against him on the arrival of Festus—and from the continuance of the trial before Festus, which led to the appeal—we can scarcely suppose that he would not, when ordered to Rome, be followed by such determined adversaries. We are led to the same conclusion by the long interval which elapsed between his arrival at Rome and his ultimate discharge. If no prosecutor appeared, what excuse could there have been for detaining him in custody? We know that he was kept a prisoner for two whole years, and we can only account for it on the assumption that the venue was simply shifted from Judæa to Rome, and that his enemies were as active in Italy as they had been in Judæa.

To whom then was the prosecution of Paul committed? Let us see first what had occurred in Judæa. When Paul was brought by Lysias before the Sanhedrim, the chief-spokesman was the high priest, Ananias. Acts xxiii. 2. It is certainly an open question whether Ananias was actual high priest or only titular high priest, that is, whether he then filled the office or had been superseded, but still (as was usual) retained the title. At all events it is clear from the testimony of Josephus that Ananias at this time was the most influential personage in the whole Jewish community.

Again, when Paul was arraigned before Felix in Cæsarea, the same Ananias, accompanied by Tertullus, the advocate, went down in person to superintend the plea. Acts xxiv. 1. Two years after, when Festus succeeded as Procurator of Judæa, the high priest and the chiefs of the Jews (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι) informed him against Paul and besought him. Acts xxv. 2. The heresy of Paul was thus deemed of so much consequence, that the attempted suppression of it was committed either to the high priest himself, or to some person of the most exalted rank.

Next, at what time would the high priest or other leading personage start from Judæa for Rome to conduct the trial? It is manifest that the accuser did not embark in the same vessel

with Paul, or the fact would have been mentioned, or, at all events, have appeared incidentally. They could not have embarked before Paul, and we may be sure that they did not follow immediately afterwards and pass him on the way, for Paul himself sailed at the very close of the year A.D. 60, and would not have reached Rome so early as he did in the spring of A.D. 61, had he not been overtaken by the storm, which for fifteen days drove the vessel westward and led to the shipwreck at Malta. Besides, when Paul, on his arrival at Rome, called the Jews together at his lodging they *had heard nothing of his case.* Acts xxviii. 21.

We must conclude, therefore, that the Jewish prosecutor from Judæa did not proceed on his mission at all in A.D. 60, but only when the seas were open in the spring of A.D. 61.

On turning to *Fasti Sacri*, p. 324, A.D. 61, no. 1912 (where the dates are arranged on independent grounds, and without reference to this particular question), we find that in the spring of A.D. 61 the high priest (Ishmael), with the treasurer of the Temple and ten of the chief Jews, set sail from Judæa for Rome. The account which Josephus gives us is this: King Agrippa occupied a palace which was separated from the Temple by a ravine only, the Temple lying on the east and the palace opposite to it on the west. The king, with a view of watching the proceedings in the sanctuary, erected a lofty room on the roof of his palace, from which he could overlook all that was passing within the sacred precincts. To counteract this the Jews raised the western wall of the *inner* temple, and this not only intercepted the view from Agrippa's palace, but also from the western cloister of the *outer* temple, on which, on the feast days, were wont to be posted the Roman soldiery for preserving order and checking any outbreak. The new wall gave great offence to Agrippa, and still greater to Festus the Procurator, and the Jews were peremptorily ordered to pull it down. They pleaded hard against this, and at length so far prevailed that Festus allowed them to send an embassy to Rome to lay the case before the Emperor in person; and thereupon Ishmael, with his companions, proceeded on their voyage. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11. We may acquiesce at once in the statement that the main object of the mission was to implore the Emperor's clemency as to the wall; but when we remember that Josephus, who was perfectly familiar with Christianity, purposely ignores it throughout his writings, we can readily con-

ceive that, notwithstanding the silence of the historian, the deputation was also charged with the further duty of managing the indictment against Paul. Even if Josephus had not been prejudiced against Christianity, he might very well have omitted all reference to the appeal of Paul as a private matter, and of no importance as compared with the threatened demolition of one of the walls of the Temple. That Ishmael and the chiefs who went with him were, in fact, entrusted with the prosecution of the appeal, cannot but be thought highly probable, and, indeed, all but conclusively established from the following considerations. The accuser of Paul in Judæa had been the high priest, Ishmael, backed by the chiefs of the Jews (*ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι*, Acts xxv. 2), and the embassy to Rome consisted of the same high priest with the same chiefs (*τοὺς πρῶτους δέκα καὶ Ἰσμαὴλὸν τὸν Ἀρχιερεα*, Ant. xx. 8, 11). Again the plaintiffs against Paul must have set sail in the spring of A.D. 61, and at this very time the embassy under Ishmael did set sail. How could the suit against Paul have been committed to any but to Ishmael and the chiefs who accompanied him? If they were the proper persons to conduct the prosecution in Judæa, they were equally so at Rome. But further, a deputation from Judæa to Rome was attended with no little expense, and what could be the use of sending a second embassy to take charge of the pending litigation, when the high priest Ishmael and the chiefs who were themselves the plaintiffs, happened opportunely to be starting for Rome at this very juncture? So far from there being any inconsistency or antagonism between the primary object of the embassy and the appeal of Paul, they were both closely connected: for the embassy carried a petition that the Temple might not be profaned by the demolition of the wall, and the charge against Paul, however unfounded, was that he had been guilty of profaning the Temple by the introduction of a Gentile. There were, however, some points of difference which, though supplying no ground for a severance of the embassy, must be distinctly kept in sight. The embassy about the wall was to present a memorial which would be heard by the Emperor in person, and be heard at once. The indictment of Paul, on the other hand, whether litigated before the Emperor or his delegate, would necessarily involve legal forms and necessitate the examination of witnesses, and a long interval might be expected to elapse before final judgment could be pronounced.

We now transfer ourselves to Rome, to follow the fortunes of the embassy on its arrival. The envoys on the subject of the wall were heard by Nero in person. They must have been opposed not only by King Agrippa, but also by Festus, the Procurator, who were both interested in urging the demolition of the wall; but the high priest and his colleagues were successful, through the influence of Poppæa, who then exercised all the powers of Empress, and was shortly afterwards actually married to Nero. She had renounced the idolatries of Rome and become a worshipper of the one true God, and thus her sympathies were enlisted on the side of the high priest. At first sight the fact that Poppæa was a Jewish proselyte is startling enough, but upon reflection it need not excite wonder.

Pompey, on his return from the East in B.C. 62, had brought with him a host of Jewish captives. They were settled in Trans-Tiberim, or Over-Tiber, and were allowed to follow their own peculiar religion and to be governed by their own chief magistrate by the name of Archon. W. Denton, in his learned commentary on the Acts, vol. ii. p. 384, gives the following inscription on the tomb of an Archon in one of the Jewish catacombs at Rome. *Ιουλιος Γραμματεὺς φιλοπατρῶν καὶ φιλαδελφῶν Μαρῶν. Β. Ἀρχτεκνῶ ἀγαπητῶ ὄντι ἐτῶν ΑΖ.* "Julius the scribe, Filial and Fraternal, to his beloved child Maron, twice Archon, aged 37" (which shows, by the way, that the office of Archon was an annual one).

In the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, the Jews took part with the latter, and indeed raised the necessary funds for enabling Cæsar to become the master of the world. From this time forth they were under the especial protection of the Julian family, and found ready access to the Imperial palace. Herod the Great was until near the close, if not to the actual close of his reign, on a footing of the strictest intimacy with Augustus, and his sons and grandsons were educated at Rome with members of the Imperial stock. The Herodian princes naturally assembled about them a multitude of their own countrymen, and numbers of Jews were found, not only in Over-Tiber but throughout Rome, and in particular about the Palatine. Wherever there were Jews were necessarily proselytes, and Seneca complains in the time of Nero that the conquered had given laws to the conquerors. *Victi victoribus leges dederunt.* See the passage cited by Dr. Lightfoot, in his comment on Epistle to the Philippians, p. 14.

Helena, the Queen of Adisbene, in the East, had a few years before become a convert to Judaism, Jos. Ant. xx. 2, 1. And now Poppæa, the Empress in the far West, followed her example.

To recur to the hearing of the embassy before Nero. The high priest and his colleagues, by means of Poppæa, the Jewish convert, carried everything before them, insomuch that the Emperor condoned all past offence and allowed them to maintain the wall even against the antagonism of King Agrippa and Festus the Procurator.

At the close of the audience the chiefs of the Jews were sent back to Judæa, but Poppæa, says Josephus, retained at court the high priest Ishmael and Helcias the Treasurer of the Temple, who had given pledges or had been bound over (*ὀμηρεύσαντας*). Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11. What can be the historian's meaning in this expression? The petition or memorial to the Emperor had been disposed of, and the chiefs who brought it had been dismissed. I can only suppose that the High Priest and Treasurer had undertaken as sureties to answer Paul's appeal, and were thus under a legal obligation to wait the law's delays until the appeal could be disposed of. That their stay was likely to be a protracted one may be inferred from the fact that King Agrippa, on being apprised of their stay at Rome, appointed another High Priest in the place of Ishmael. Ant. xx. 8, 11.

We now encounter a dilemma. On the one hand the high priest was in such favour with Poppæa that he had carried his point against both Agrippa and Festus; and on the other, we know that Paul was ultimately liberated, and consequently that the high priest was defeated in the prosecution of the prisoner. How are these conflicting results to be reconciled? It may be thought that Paul's entire innocence of the charges brought against him was so transparent that no judge could with any semblance of justice find him guilty. But if we look to the utter profligacy of the courts in those days we cannot accept this explanation as satisfactory. A more probable solution (not now advanced for the first time) is, that Poppæa had not only become a Jewish proselyte but had advanced a step farther and adopted Christianity. She might, therefore, well side with the high priest in his contest with Agrippa and Festus, but oppose him in his suit against Paul, as the representative of the rising religion. However, we need not go the length of saying that Poppæa was actually christian; for it will be sufficient for

our purpose if we can show, and we can show, that the court of Poppæa was thronged with members of the Christian faith, who would necessarily use their utmost efforts to secure the influence of Poppæa on the side of the prisoner.

So early as the day of Pentecost A.D. 33, strangers from Rome were amongst the converts, Acts ii. 10; and Andronicus and Junias of Rome were apostles even before Paul himself. Rom. xvi. 7. In the epistle to the Romans, written from Corinth in A.D. 58, Paul salutes whole families, and the names mentioned lead to the inference that they were chiefly those employed about the court. The household of Narcissus or the Narcissiani (Rom. xvi. 11) are supposed to be the quondam slaves of the famous Narcissus, one of the secretaries of state, and who on his death were transferred to the palace of the Cæsars; and the household of Aristobulus (Rom. xvi. 10) are thought also to have passed from the roof of Aristobulus to that of the Cæsars. Again, in the Epistle to the Philippians, Paul speaks of his bonds as manifest in all the palace (*πραιτώριον*), Philipp. i. 13, and though the classical meaning of the word *πραιτώριον* has been disputed, there can be no doubt that with the writers of the New Testament it designates the palace; see for instance, Mark xv. 16, and Acts xxiii. 38. But to prove how firm a footing Paul had gained in the palace itself, we need only cite the decisive passage in the Epistle to the Philippians, "All the saints salute you, but especially they *that are of Cæsar's household*." Philipp. iv. 22. The chief followers of the apostle, therefore, were in and about the palace, and they were too numerous to be particularized by name.

What wonder then that Poppæa, thus surrounded by zealous followers of the apostle, should have been prevailed upon to exert her authority and rescue the prisoner from the persecution of his bigoted countrymen! As for Nero himself, he, like Gallio, cared for none of those things. It was matter of indifference to him whether Judaism should eradicate Christianity, or Christianity should supersede Judaism. And a few years after, in A.D. 64, when he incurred the obloquy of having set fire to Rome, he in order to avert the calumny from himself joined the popular cry against the Christians, and commenced the first general persecution, when Paul himself was one of its victims. According to Chrysostom, Paul had converted a favourite mistress of Nero, and as she was resolute in consequence to break off her illicit amours

the Emperor revenged himself on the apostle and ordered him to the block. See the passages cited vol. ii. p. 408 of the present work. Thus in Paul's first imprisonment in A.D. 62, the spread of the Christian doctrine throughout the court of Cæsar procured his acquittal, and at his second imprisonment in A.D. 66, his success in the same quarter led to his martyrdom.

Is it possible that the favourite mistress referred to by Chrysostom was Poppæa herself? We know that she met her death during the Neronian persecution, from a violent blow struck by Nero in a passion during her pregnancy, and may we not conjecture that this ebullition of anger arose from her adherence to the faith which he was then attempting to extirpate?

P. 211.

Gods worshipped at Malta.

To the divinities here mentioned as the objects of worship in Malta, must be added Juno the Supreme Goddess, to whom a temple of great celebrity was erected in the vicinity of Melita, the capital of the island. The famous orator, M. T. Cicero, thus alludes to it:—"Insula est Melita . . . in quâ est eodem nomine oppidum . . . ab eo oppido non longe in promontorio fanum est Junonis antiquum," &c. Cicero in Verrem, actio ii. lib. iv. c. 46.

The worship of *Juno* by a *Phœnician* colony requires explanation.

The Maltese had originally brought with them the system which anciently prevailed over all Syria and Mesopotamia, *i.e.*, the worship of Baal as the supreme god and of Ashtaroth as the supreme goddess. Baal, known at Babylon as Bel, passed amongst the classical nations as Belus; and Ashtaroth, called at Nineveh Ishtar, was named amongst the Greeks and Romans Astarte. This form of religion had sprung from the adoration paid, not unnaturally, by all unenlightened people to the heavenly bodies. Baal was the personification of the Sun and Ashtaroth of the Moon, and it is curious to remark how the adaptation of these deities to the western mythology led to a confusion of names. Because Baal was the chief of the gods throughout the east, and Jupiter occupied the same supremacy in the west, Baal was regarded as Jupiter, and so was made to represent, not as he should have done the sun, but the planet Jupiter. Again, because Ashtaroth was the Queen of Heaven in the east, as Juno was in the west, Ashtaroth was called Juno; but at other times

as Ashtaroth was the moon in the east she was called Diana in the west; and further, from the resemblance of the sensual and profane rites of Ashtaroth to the similar obscenities of the western Venus, Ashtaroth was not unfrequently metamorphosed into Venus.

That Baal and Ashtaroth were the principal divinities at Sidon we learn from the sarcophagus of Ashmunazer, king of Sidon, not long since discovered in that vicinity, and bearing the following inscription, "It is we who have built the temples to the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon-by-the-Sea, the temple of *Baal-Sidon* and the temple of *Astarte*, the glory of Baal, lord of kings." The Land and the Book, p. 139.

The name of Baal had various affixes or prefixes amongst the different peoples with whom his worship prevailed, such as Baal-Peor and Baal-Gad, and, as above, Baal-Sidon. The last name was the natural and appropriate appellation of the god in a maritime city like Sidon, for Justin tells us that its import was the Fish-god, "Nam Piscem Phœnices 'Sidon' vocant." Justin, xviii. 3, 4. On the same principle Dagon or Pisciculus was the god of the Philistines, who bordered on the sea to the south of Sidon. That the worship of Baal and Astarte was carried from Sidon to Malta is evidenced by a tablet commonly known as "Melitensis Quinta," found at Malta, and bearing a Phœnician inscription, in which we read that the municipality of Gul, (the Greek Gaulos and Italian Gozo) repaired the temples of Baal-Sidam and Astarte. Transactions of Biblical Archæol. vol. iii. p. 389. For Baal-Sidam should be substituted Baal-Sidon, for, the Phœnician letters *m* and *n* much resembling each other, the sculptor may easily have mistaken the one for the other, and so have written Sidam for Sidon. As the settlement in the island was of the greatest antiquity, and as Sidon was flourishing long before Tyre was planted, (for Homer repeatedly mentions *Sidon*, but *Tyre* never,) it may be thought that Melita was colonized exclusively from *Sidon*. But the *Tyrians* also contributed to the population, for a Phœnician inscription found at Malta, shows that the Maltese worshipped Baal-Tyre or Melkart the *Tyrian* Hercules מלכרת בעל צר Malkart, Baal Tsor. Boeckh, vol. iii. p. 681, no. 5753.

W. Denton, in his recent commentary on the Acts, p. 356, gives the Lord's Prayer in Maltese, which we transcribe for the purpose of showing its affinity to the ancient Phœnician: "Missierna li int fissamuwât; yit-

kaddes ismek; tiji saltanatek; yikaun li trid int, keif fissama, u fl'art; hobzna il minhtieh âtina il-yum; u ahfrilna dnûbna, bhalma ahna nahfru kul il-midinbin tâna; u la fi ittijârib, izda hallisma mid-deni, Amên." Thus a large proportion of the Maltese vocabulary is traceable to the ancient Phœnicians, unquestionably the people from whom the island was colonized.

P. 218.

Whirlpool of Charybdis.

As I passed up the Strait of Messene from south to north a fellow-traveller, who could not have been on the look-out for Charybdis from any classical associations, called my attention to the extraordinary disturbance of the water on the very spot where the ancients placed the celebrated whirlpool. The surface of the water was broken and in a state of ferment, caused no doubt by the meeting of contending currents. Thus nature has acted uniformly in this part for now nearly three thousand years.

P. 339.

Sketch of the state of Crete, at the date of Paul's visit in A.D. 64.

At the time of the apostle's visit in A.D. 64 Crete was under Roman dominion, and formed in conjunction with Cyrene one of the *Senate's* provinces. In B.C. 27, Augustus had divided the provinces between himself and the Senate, and Crete-cum-Cyrene was assigned to the latter. Two of the Senate's provinces (viz. Asia and Africa) could be administered only by persons of consular rank, *i.e.* who had passed the chair of the consulship, but Crete-cum-Cyrene was one of the Prætorian provinces, *i.e.* could be held by a person of only Prætorian rank, that is one who had been prætor. The ex-prætors succeeded to the provinces by lot, and were designated as proconsuls. The series of proconsuls of Crete-cum-Cyrene has not been preserved, and we are quite in the dark as to who was proconsul when Paul was there. The best known of the proconsuls of this province is Cornelius Lupus, who appears to have been very popular, and of whom many coins remain, and on one of them is the legend ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΩ (to the Senate), Eckhel, vol. ii. p. 302; for as Crete-cum-Cyrene was one of the Senate's provinces, there was naturally great devotion to the source of power, and coins were inscribed to the Senate accordingly. Other proconsuls were, Cremutius Cordus in the

time of Tiberius, Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 429, no. 2588; Quintus Cæcilius Rufinus, Ib.; Paconius Agrippinus, Ib. p. 424, no. 2570. The proconsul was attended as usual in the Senate's prætorian provinces, by six lictors, Jos. Bell. ii. 16, 4, and under him were a Legate and Quæstor, (ἡ Κρήτη, τοῦ Ἀρχοντος αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος, τῷ τε Ταμείῳ καὶ τῷ Παρέδρῳ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον προσετάχθη, Dion. lvii. 14; see Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 429, no. 2588), and Ædiles (ἀγορανόμοι), Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 431, no. 2591.

In the earliest times the whole island had been subject to Minos as king, and the capital was Gnosus, famous for the Labyrinth, constructed in the vicinity by Minos. In after ages the country was split up into numerous independent communities, which were constantly waging an internecine war with each other. In B.C. 67 the Romans stepped in, when these domestic feuds were hushed; ten archons, called Cosmi, were elected annually to act as magistrates in matters beneath the notice of the Roman government (Strabo x. 4, Tauchnitz 383-385), and the chief of the ten archons was called the Protocosmus and might be re-elected. Several who held this honour are mentioned in inscriptions, as Διὰ Πρωτοκόσμου Τ. Φλαυίου Κωμάστα τὸ Β. (by Titus Flavius Comasta, Protocosmus for the second time), Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 426, no. 2578, and see nos. 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577.

The ten archons in matters of difficulty consulted the native Senate or Γερουσία, consisting of exarchons and other leading men. Strabo, x. 5 (Tauchnitz, p. 585). See Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 421.

In later times, if not in the apostolic age, there was a general council of the whole province. τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 433. nos. 2595, 2596; p. 434, no. 2597.

Gnosus still, in the apostle's time, maintained its ascendancy as the capital of the island, and became a Roman colony. Strabo, x. 4 (Tauchnitz, pp. 372-374).

It was situate about two miles from the sea, near the centre of the northern line of coast, on the banks of the little stream Cæratu, Ib., and used Heracleum (now Megalokastron) for its port. Strabo, x. 4 (Tauchnitz, p. 372).

As it was Paul's invariable practice to make for the great centres of population, we may be sure that when he sailed from Ephesus to Crete he landed at Heracleum, and proceeded at once to Gnosus the capital. He would then visit Gortyna to the south, the city next in importance to Gnosus. Strabo, x. 4 (Tauchnitz, p. 375). He would then be in the neighbourhood

of two cities which possessed especial interest for him; viz., Phæstus, the birthplace of Epimenides (Ib. p. 377, Tauchnitz), whose poem is quoted by St. Paul in the Epistle to Titus, i. 12, and Lasæa, the port of Gortyna, which is mentioned by Luke as near to Fair Havens, where Paul's vessel had lain at anchor for some time on his way to Rome about three years previously.

In the map of Crete we have laid down the roads furnished by the Peutinger Table, and it will be observed that in tracing the route from Lyctus through Arcadia and Bienna to Hieropydna, we have given two different lines. The reason is that opinions are divided as to the sites of Arcadia and Bienna; viz., whether they lay to the *East* or *West* of Hieropydna.

In favour of the view that they lay to the East, is the fact that express mention of Bienna on that side is made by the stadiasmus, for in tracing the coast from East to West, the following places occur in order: Ἀπὸ Σαμωνίου (Cape Salmone) εἰς Βίενον π', ἀπὸ Βιένου εἰς Ἱερὰν Πύδναν ο'. But assuming that there was a Bienna to the east of Hieropydna, it does not follow that there was not also one to the west, for in Crete there were not unfrequently two towns of the same name, as the two Minoas and the two Cesami; and it is certainly a forcible argument in favour of placing Bienna and Arcadia to the west of Hieropydna that at the present day we find, according to Murray's Handbook to Crete, two villages to the west of Hieropydna, one by the name of *Arcâdi*, in the centre of the island, about thirteen miles south of Kani Kastelli, and the other by the name of *Bianos*, in a south-eastern direction to the west of Hieropydna and on the coast; and the bearings of these two villages with reference to Lyctus and Hieropydna agree with the measurements in the Peutinger Table.

The testimony of the writer of the handbook is the more valuable, as in speaking of the village of Arkâdi he informs us that Arkâdi "was not on the site of the ancient Arcadia, which stood on the sea shore, towards the eastern extremity of the island." The writer's own opinion, therefore, was in favour of the theory that Arcadia and Bienna lay to the east of Hieropydna, and yet he adduces a fact which favours the opposite theory.

It is also noteworthy that in the Peutinger Table Hieropydna is represented as the extreme town on the east, as if there were no other city of consequence beyond it on that side.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

CHAPTER I.

Paul sails from Ephesus to Troas, and thence to Macedonia, where he makes a collection for the poor Hebrews, and writes the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Who hath not heard, how erst by lavish gold,
Dug from these hills by artful Macedon,
Was freedom-loving Greece betrayed and sold;
And flashed across the earth great Philip's son?
Upon Philippi's field the laurels won,
(Torn from a Roman brow in civil fray)
Lifted young Cæsar to a prouder throne.
Empires like these were meteors of a day.
Heaven opens and descends, a realm that stands for aye.

Anon.

It was a precept of our Lord to his disciples, that if they should not be received in one city, they should flee unto another. Paul ever adopted this rule of conduct, and now that he could not sojourn any longer at Ephesus without a disturbance of the public peace, he resolved on an early departure. Paul had intended before the tumult to leave Ephesus at Pentecost, A.D. 57,¹ and had directed Titus to meet him at Troas;² and as Paul, when he actually quitted Ephesus, expected to find Titus at Troas,³ he could not have left Ephesus much before Pentecost. Again, the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written at the Passover, A.D. 57 (which this year was on the 7th of April), and Titus, the bearer of the Epistle, therefore sailed for Corinth about that time. A voyage direct from Ephesus to Athens was fourteen days,^{3a} and a voyage to Corinth would be a day longer, and fifteen days from the 14th of April, when the Passover ended, would take Titus to Corinth, which he would reach about the 29th of April. Here Titus would remain some days, and then sail for Troas, where he might arrive and be expected to meet Paul about Pentecost, which, being the fiftieth day after Passover, fell this year on the 28th of May.

It was a little before Pentecost that Paul, at Ephesus, called the brethren together, and bade them a tender farewell, and set sail for Troas. He was accompanied as usual

¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

² 2 Cor. ii. 12.

³ Ib.

^{3a} Cic. Ep. Att. vi. 8, 9; iii. 9. See Wieseler, Chronol. Apost. 43. note 1.

by a few followers, including Tychicus, Gaius and Aristarchus. Aquila and Priscilla embarked for Rome, from which, as Jews, they had been banished by Claudius, but to which, by the removal of the edict, as suddenly withdrawn as imposed, they had again free access.⁴ Paul had appointed Titus to meet him at Troas *after* Pentecost,⁵ but as the Apostle had quitted Ephesus precipitately before the period which had been fixed for his departure, he found himself at Troas a little before the time when Titus could be expected. Disturbed in spirits by the late outbreak, and distressed in mind by the state of the Corinthian church, he yet employed the interval in preaching the Gospel. Troas was a town of considerable importance, and of large population, and the Apostle's labours were attended with his usual success. On his former visit he had merely passed through it to his embarkation, but he now remained long enough in it to plant a church.

Pentecost arrived and passed, but Titus came not. The affairs of the Corinthian church must have detained him, and Paul, sensitive from having received so many wounds to his feelings, became alarmed, lest matters had proved even worse than he had anticipated. So wide a field for exertion had been opened at Troas, that he would fain have continued there somewhat longer, but he was suffering great anxiety, and as Titus was to arrive by Macedonia, Paul resolved on setting sail for that coast, in the hope of meeting Titus on the road. In writing to the Corinthians he thus alludes to his mental sufferings at Troas, and at the same time expresses his thankfulness that in all his troubles he had been enabled wherever he came to carry forward the banner of the Gospel, and extend the empire of Christ. "When I came to Troas," he says, "to preach Christ's Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, *I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother*; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia. Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place."⁶

Paul and his company set sail from Troas, and arrived at Philippi. An interval of six years had elapsed since he had been beaten with rods in their market-place, and imprisoned in one of their dungeons, and afterwards conducted with honour from the gaol by the tyrannical, mean-spirited prætors. The Apostle and his converts must have had an affectionate meeting, and if they were indebted to him for their faith in Jesus, he, too, owed thanks to the Philippians for having thrice sent relief to his necessities, twice at Thessalonica, and once at Corinth. The church had multiplied, but persecution seems never to have ceased, and Paul, instead of finding repose in Macedonia, was at once engaged in conflict against Pagan violence or Jewish machinations, and was at the same time harassed by the necessary cares attending the orderly government of the flock within the fold. "When we were come into Macedonia," he

⁴ See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 295, No. 1774.

until Pentecost. 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

⁵ For Paul intended to remain at Ephesus

⁶ 2 Cor. ii. 12-14.

CHART OF NORTHERN TROAS.

- 1 Tumulus of Achilles.
- 2 Tumulus of Patroclus.
- 3 Tumulus of Ajax.
- 4 *ΕΡΙΦΕΟΣ* or Figtree.
- 5 *ΦΥΓΙΟΣ* or Beechtree.
- 6 *Πόπος* or Ford.
- 7 Two fountains.
- 8 Sandheaps.



writes, "our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears."⁷ He was also disappointed by not meeting with Titus, as to whose success at Corinth he was filled more than ever with the most gloomy apprehensions. He was comforted, however, by rejoining, at Philippi, his beloved physician and fellow-labourer in the Gospel, the accomplished Luke. The last personage has not been mentioned lately, and this, perhaps, may be accounted for on the supposition that during the Apostle's protracted stay at Ephesus, Luke was engaged in the composition of his Gospel, which he shortly afterwards published in Macedonia.⁸ Paul had not been long in Macedonia, when Titus and Trophimus, with Timothy also,⁹ made their appearance, and the intelligence they brought at once relieved him from all his fears, and more than made amends for the troubles by which he was beset.

Titus himself had entertained doubts as to the result of his mission, and had approached the Corinthians with some distrust. No sooner, however, had he delivered his credentials, and announced the purpose of his embassy, than the church exhibited a Christian-like conduct, which at once surprised and delighted him. Recalled to a sense of duty, they were covered with shame, and repented of their ways, and at the same time honoured the envoy by whom the rebuke was transmitted. Various were the feelings by which they were actuated—now fearful of the wrath of Heaven, either directly or by the instrumentality of the Apostle—now yearning for his presence amongst them to assist in healing their disorders—now touched with sorrow to have occasioned him so much pain—and now fired with indignation against those who would have undermined his authority. One step was plainly before them, the expulsion of the brother who was living in adulterous and incestuous intercourse with his father's wife. The church met and the offender was excommunicated, and he ceased to be a member of the Christian society. To his credit be it spoken that thus overtaken by punishment he did not, as a hardened sinner, persist in his guilt, but became a sincere penitent, and we shall see presently how tenderly the Apostle dealt with his contrition. The object of excommunication had been answered, "For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things."¹⁰ The emotions which Titus's arrival had excited at Corinth, their earnest repentance, the gratification of Titus at his reception, and the consolation which their conduct afforded to Paul on the report brought to him in Macedonia, are so beautifully and touchingly described in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, that we cannot refrain from transcribing the whole passage. After referring to the troubles which had overwhelmed him at Ephesus, and had still clung to him at Troas, and had followed him into Macedonia, he proceeds—"Nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast

⁷ 2 Cor. vii. 5.

⁸ See ante, Vol. I. p. 221.

⁹ At least, Timothy is found with Paul shortly afterwards, 2 Cor. i. 1. Erastus, who had been

sent with Timothy from Ephesus, had probably remained at Corinth, as being his home.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. ii. 9.

down, comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your zeal for me; so that I rejoiced the more. For though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent (though I was ready to repent); for I perceive that that Epistle made you sorry—but only for a season. Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance; for ye were made sorry according to God, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing; for sorrow, according to God, worketh repentance not to be repented of; but the sorrow of the world worketh death. For behold this selfsame thing, that ye sorrowed according to God—what carefulness it wrought in you! yea, what clearing of yourselves! yea, what indignation! yea, what fear! yea, what vehement desire! yea, what zeal! yea, what revenge! in all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter. Wherefore, though I wrote unto you, I did it not for his cause that had done the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong, but that our care for you in the sight of God might appear to youward. Therefore we were comforted in your comfort; yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all. For if I have boasted anything to him of you, I am not ashamed, but as we spake all things to you in truth, even so our boasting, which I made before Titus, was found a truth. And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him. I rejoice that I have confidence in you in all things.”¹¹ The disposition of the vast majority of the Corinthian church was such as that described by the Apostle, but a few amongst them (and a very few) resisted his authority, and still wallowed in their sins; and indeed the whole community was not brought into complete subjection to Christ until Paul, after again threatening the adverse faction in a second epistle, proceeded to Corinth himself, and effectually overcame their obstinacy.

Paul, in Macedonia, being now relieved from the greater part of his anxiety on account of the Corinthian church, applied himself, with a comparatively easy mind, to the collection of the alms for the poor Hebrews, to which he had pledged himself on his last visit to Jerusalem. The system he adopted was that which had been pursued in Galatia, and recommended to the Corinthians, viz. that the disciples throughout Macedonia should, on every first day of the week, put aside such a sum as each could afford, that the accumulations might be ready against the departure of those charged with the transmission of it. The first day of the week, called in the Revelation the Lord's day,¹² and now Sunday, was particularly fixed upon for the purpose, as being set apart, even at that time, for religious worship.¹³ The *Jewish*

¹¹ 2 Cor. vii. 6-16. *

¹² Rev. i. 10.

¹³ Besides the mention of the Lord's day in the Apocalypse (Rev. i. 10), and the collection

of alms on that day (1 Cor. xvi. 2), we find the church of Troas meeting for divine worship on the first day of the week. Acts xx. 7. So in the Epistle of Barnabas (c. 15) we read: *διὸ καὶ ἄγος*

Christians, indeed, continued to observe the Sabbath, or seventh day (for Christianity had not prohibited the Mosaic ritual, though it rendered it inoperative); but the *Gentiles* were forbidden to adopt the Jewish dispensation, as it would be only a snare to them, and it was a charge against the Galatians, *as Gentiles*, that they had distinguished the Jewish days,¹⁴ by which, no doubt, Sabbaths were meant. It was necessary that the church should meet for holy exercises at stated intervals, and as the day on which Christ rose from the dead had from the first been commemorated by the early Christians, it gradually acquired the sanctity of the Sabbath, and superseded it, and was eventually observed by Jewish and Gentile Christians indifferently.

Subscriptions for the poor Hebrews were now made at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berœa, and in the other Macedonian churches; but Paul was careful to guard himself

μεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδοὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. So Ignatius ad Magnes. c. 9: μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ. The Younger Pliny also alludes to the assembling of the Christians on a stated day (stato die, Ep. x. 27), which could only have been on the first day of the week; and Justin Martyr (A.D. 140) distinctly mentions the observance of that day. Apolog. i. 87. Tertullian (A.D. 200) refers to the same practice (De Orat. s. 23, and De Idol. s. 14); and so does Dionysius of Corinth. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 23.

The first day of the week is now commonly called *Sunday*, and it had this name even in the Apostolic age. At least such is the inference from a remarkable passage in Tacitus. The Jews, he

says, in their exodus from Egypt wandered *six* days in the desert, and reached the Promised Land on the *seventh* day, and on this account they keep the *seventh* day holy. Others, however, he continues, are of opinion that they observe the *seventh* day in honour of *Saturn* (honorem eum Saturno haberi, Tac. Hist. v. 4); and this implies that the seventh day of the Jewish week was known as the day of Saturn or Saturday. But if the *seventh* day was *Saturday* the *first* day would be *Sunday*, for unquestionably even in that early age the seven days of the week were named after the sun and moon and the five planets in precisely the same order in which we now arrange them. Thus on the walls of a house in Herculaneum we meet with a regular series of the days of the week as represented by the presiding deities (fig. 183). Here we have succes-



Fig. 183.—Days of the week. From Barre's Herculaneum.

Saturn.
Dies Saturni,
Saturday.

Sol.
Dies Solis,
Sunday.

Diana.
Dies Lunæ,
Monday.

Mars.
Dies Martis
Tuesday.

Mercury.
Dies Mercurii,
Wednesday.

Jupiter
Dies Jovis,
Thursday.

Venus.
Dies Veneris,
Friday.

sively Saturn as Saturday, Apollo or the Sun as Sunday, Diana or the Moon as Monday, Mars as Tuesday (Mardi), Mercury as Wednesday (Mercredi), Jupiter as Thursday (Jeudi) and Venus as Friday (Vendredi). It is worthy of notice that in the above sequence Saturn ranks first, and this is not an inadvertence of the artist, for Dion Cassius, in attempting an explanation how the days of the week came to be known as Saturday, Sunday, Monday, &c., offers two speculative theories which in them-

selves are more ingenious than sound, but curiously enough each theory assumes for its basis that Saturday was not the *last* but the *first* day of the week. Dion, xxxviii. 18. We can only suppose, therefore, that while both Jews and Romans called the days of the week by the same names, the Jews began their week with the Sunday and the Romans their week with the Saturday. Suet. Tib. 32; Jos. c. Apion. ii. 39.

¹⁴ Gal. iv. 10.

throughout against the imputation of worldly motives. It was to be a perfectly voluntary act on the part of all, as he tells the Corinthians, "I speak not by *commandment*, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love. For ye know the *free gift* of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich; and herein I give my *advice*; for this is expedient for you, who began before, not only to do, but also to will a year ago."¹⁵ But though the Apostle laid no injunction upon his converts, he earnestly exhorted them to the exercise of so Christian a duty as charity, and perhaps the stirring addresses he made on this occasion are partly intended by St. Luke's expression, "When he had gone over those parts (viz. Macedonia) and given them *much exhortation*."¹⁶ One of the main grounds upon which he rested his appeal was, that as the author and preachers of the Gospel were Jews, the Gentiles were under a kind of obligation which they ought gratefully to repay, by forwarding relief to the necessities of their benefactors—"They (the Macedonians and Acheans) have been pleased verily, and their debtors they are; for if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, they ought also to minister unto them in carnal things."¹⁷ Those who had little were asked to give of that little, but not to their own distress. "For if," he writes to the Corinthians, "there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, not according to that he hath not. For I mean not that there should be ease to others, and distress to you; but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality."¹⁸ The wealthy amongst the Macedonians were, of course, called upon to subscribe more generously. "But this I say, he who soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he who soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly, or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver."¹⁹

The readiness of the *Corinthian* church touching the contribution was also held up to the Macedonians for their imitation; for, although at Corinth no actual gathering had yet been completed, they had been laying by during the last year in preparation. The acute and elegant Paley thus comments upon the circumstance: "The Second Epistle to the Corinthians speaks of them as having begun this eleemosynary business a year before. 'This is expedient for you who have begun before not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago.' (viii. 10.) 'I boast of you

¹⁵ 2 Cor. vii. 8-10. The preparation of the Corinthian church so long before that of Macedonia is accounted for by the fact that Paul had originally intended to visit Corinth before Macedonia, and had forwarded a message to the Corinthians to make ready, but circumstances had afterwards obliged him to alter his plans,

and to pass through Macedonia before going to Corinth. See note post, 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

¹⁶ παρακάλεσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ. Acts xx. 2.

¹⁷ Rom. xv. 27.

¹⁸ 2 Cor. viii. 12-14.

¹⁹ 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7.

to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago.' (ix. 5.) From these texts it is evident that something had been done in the business a year before. It appears, however, from other texts in the Epistle that the contribution was not yet collected or paid, for brethren were sent from St. Paul to Corinth 'to make up their bounty.' (ix. 5.) They are urged 'to perform the doing of it' (viii. 11), and every man was exhorted to give 'as he purposed in his heart.' (ix. 7.) The contribution, therefore, was in readiness, yet not received from the contributors, was begun, was forward long before, yet not hitherto collected. Now this representation agrees with one, and only one, supposition, namely, that every man had laid by in store, had already provided the fund from which he was afterwards to contribute, the very case which the First Epistle authorizes us to suppose to have existed, for in that Epistle St. Paul had charged the Corinthians 'upon the first day of the week every one of them to lay by in store, as God had prospered him.' (1 Cor. xvi. 2)."

The Macedonians, as compared with the Corinthians, were not in affluent circumstances; for, not to mention the greater wealth of the Corinthians, from their extensive trade, the brethren of Macedonia had from the first been exposed to persecution, and had smarted under fines levied and goods distrained. Yet the Macedonians were so attached to the Apostle, so anxious to further his wishes, so actuated by a sincerely charitable feeling, that they at once placed themselves and all their substance at the disposal of the Apostle, so that he had some difficulty in declining the excessive bounty thus proffered to his acceptance. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, alludes to this zeal of the Macedonians, and stimulates the Corinthian church to the imitation of so laudable an example. "Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the free gift of God which hath been given in the churches of Macedonia, how that in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty hath abounded unto the riches of their liberality; for to their power I bear record, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves, praying us with much intreaty that we would receive the gift, and the contribution of the ministering to the saints; and this they did, not as we looked for, but first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God."²⁰

Paul had been two or three months in Macedonia, and had successively visited Philippi, Thessalonica and Berea, the scenes of his former labours, and had now brought the collection of the churches to a conclusion. All that remained was the appointment of one or more persons by whom the alms should be conveyed to Jerusalem. Paul himself would on no account take charge of the fund, or superintend the distribution of it, lest his disinterestedness in preaching the Gospel might be open to suspicion. The churches therefore met to elect deputies for the purpose. One upon whom this honour was conferred was Luke. He had accompanied the Apostle on his first visit to Macedonia (A.D. 51), and at Paul's departure had remained

²⁰ 2 Cor. vii. 1-5.

at Philippi, and had much ingratiated himself amongst the inhabitants. It is even probable that Luke had resided at Philippi from Paul's first visit in A.D. 51 to his return thither in A.D. 57. As the Philippians were liberal to an excess, they were probably the largest contributors towards the bounty, and had therefore an influential voice in the choice of the envoys. Another circumstance that fixed the attention of the church upon Luke at the present time was, that he had just published his Gospel in Macedonia for the instruction of the Greeks. That Luke was one of those dispatched to Jerusalem is plainly enough communicated to us by the language of the Apostle in speaking of the mission of Titus and Luke to Corinth: "We have sent with him (Titus), the brother (Luke) *whose praise is in the Gospel* throughout all the churches, and not that only, but who hath also *been chosen of the churches to travel with us with this free gift*, which is administered by us to the glory of the Lord himself, and declaration of your ready mind; avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us, providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men."²¹ The colleague who was selected by the churches to assist Luke in carrying the bounty to Jerusalem was Trophimus, as we may infer from the terms in which the Apostle alludes to Luke and Trophimus in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. After mentioning the election of Luke to that office, he proceeds, "Whether any do enquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper concerning you; or our brethren (Luke and Trophimus) be enquired of, *they are the messengers of the churches*, and the glory of Christ;"²² where "messengers of the churches" as applicable to Luke must intend his deputation to Jerusalem as the representative of the Macedonian churches, and if so, the same signification would attach to the expression in respect of the other, and Trophimus, as we know, did in fact go to Jerusalem with Paul, and was in part the innocent cause of the Apostle's arrest there.

The eleemosynary collection in Macedonia concluded, Paul was now at liberty to continue his progress. It might be thought that without more delay he would pursue the direct route to Corinth, but there were reasons why he should still suspend his journey for a brief interval. The Corinthian church as a whole had expressed contrition for their faults, had excommunicated the offender, and submitted in all things to Apostolic authority. There was however amongst them a particular faction which still held out, and to whom Paul, averse to using the rod, was anxious to give one more warning. To understand the aims of this party, we must take a retrospective view.

We have seen that when Paul was last at Jerusalem, the impression made by Christianity on the Gentile world being now an established fact, some of the Jewish converts (called by the Apostle, false brethren) had stoutly maintained the doctrine that Gentiles could not participate in the benefits of the Gospel without adopting the

²¹ 2 Cor. viii. 18-21.

²² 2 Cor. viii. 23.

law of Moses, and had insisted, accordingly, that Titus, who was a Greek, should be circumcised. Paul, however, had firmly maintained his ground, and his narrow-minded opponents had been defeated in their object. Shortly afterwards these Judaizing Christians followed the Apostle down to Antioch, and there broached the same tenets, and succeeded in misleading Peter, and with him Barnabas also; but Paul again boldly stood forth as the champion of Christian liberty, and openly rebuked even Peter himself. The same Judaizing sect had since taken a wider circuit, and had penetrated into many of the churches which the Apostle had planted. After Paul's departure from Galatia, they insinuated themselves among his converts there, and so far prevailed as to produce a temporary defection of that church from the orthodox faith. They had since endeavoured to circumvent the Corinthians, and by flattering their vanity and indulging their prejudices had undermined no inconsiderable part of the Apostle's fabric. Even when Paul was at Ephesus and wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the leaven was beginning to work, for although there may be no direct mention in the letter of the growing mischief, yet several passages were levelled against it obliquely. When Paul charges them with saying, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of *Cephas*," there can be little doubt that in the latter words he refers to the Judaizing sect,—not that Peter had or could have taught contrary to the truth, but designing men abused his name; and because the Christians of Jerusalem, where Peter had resided, observed the law of Moses, they advanced this as a proof that the Mosaic dispensation was a radical part of Christianity. Again, when the Apostle writes, "Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. *Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing*, but the keeping the commandments of God;"²³ the remark, though introduced incidentally, has a peculiar force, as aimed against the doctrines of the Judaizers. Again, when Paul writes, "*Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord? If I be not an Apostle unto others, yet, doubtless, I am to you*;" for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord,"²⁴ though ostensibly the Apostle is exhorting his converts "not to seek their own, but every man another's weal,"²⁵ and so bids them copy the example of himself, who, though an Apostle, and privileged as one, waived his rights, and would receive no remuneration; yet, at the same time, from the way in which he handles the subject, it is evident that a party at Corinth had questioned the authority of Paul, as not being, like Peter, one of the Twelve, and had imputed the absence of any pecuniary support not to want of will, but to the want of title to it.

The mission of Titus, and the First Epistle to the Corinthian church, had produced a suitable effect upon the rest of the community, but this Judaizing party had still set the Apostle at defiance, and it was feared that nothing but extreme

²³ 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.²⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2.²⁵ 1 Cor. x. 24.

measures at the hands of Paul would reduce them to obedience. They seem to have placed themselves under a ringleader, who, from the severity of the Apostle's expressions, must have been a character of the utmost depravity. The name of the heresiarch has not transpired, but the Satanic form is darkly shadowed forth in almost every page of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. He was not a native of Corinth, but had climbed like a wolf over the fold, to worry the flock. He had crept in amongst them as the serpent into Paradise, to corrupt innocence. "I fear, lest by any means, *as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty*, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ; for if *he that cometh* preacheth another Jesus, whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another spirit, which ye have not received, or another Gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him."²⁶ He was evidently a Jew, and boasted of his extraction, and, perhaps, had insinuated of Paul that, being born at Tarsus, he was a mere Hellenist, and not of the true stock of Israel. All this is implied in the Apostle's examination of the impostor's pretensions—"Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I."²⁷ The Apostle continues, "Are they *ministers* of Christ (I speak as a fool)? I am more;" from which we may presume that the false teacher alleged himself to have received ordination, at least to the office of deacon; and if there was a Judas amongst the Apostles, we need not be surprised that a heretic should be found even amongst the pastors of the church. It is most likely that the Judaizing sect at Jerusalem, whom the Apostle stigmatizes as *false brethren*,²⁸ had dispatched this emissary, called a *false apostle*,²⁹ to propagate their mischievous doctrines at Corinth. He had come with letters of introduction, or why should the Apostle ask the Corinthians, "Need we, *as some others*, epistles of commendation to you?"³⁰ This propagandist was admirably adapted to the mission upon which he had been sent. He was of prepossessing appearance, and fluent of speech, and conscious of these advantages he would fain seduce the church from their allegiance to the great champion of Gentile freedom, by at one time deriding the undignified appearance of Paul from a diminutive figure and impaired eyesight, and at another by turning into ridicule his unpolished periods and uncouthness of speech. All this must be understood, or we lose the force of the Apostle's opening address to the Judaizing party. "Now I Paul myself beseech you by the *meekness and gentleness* of Christ, who in presence am *base* among you, but being absent am bold toward you—but I beseech you, that I may not be bold when I am present with that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold against some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh."³¹ And again, "His letters, say they, are weighty and powerful, but his *bodily presence is weak*, and his *speech contemptible*. Let such an

²⁶ 2 Cor. xi. 3, 4.²⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 22.²⁸ *ψευδαδελφους*. Gal. ii. 4.²⁹ *ψευδαπόστολοι*. 2 Cor. xi. 12.³⁰ 2 Cor. iii. 1.³¹ 2 Cor. x. 1, 2.

one think this, that, such as we are in word by letter when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present.”³²

This artful schismatic made professions of the utmost disinterestedness, and did not publicly receive any stipend from his congregation, but in private he plundered the brethren by extorting largesses under various pretences. He would gladly have found some handle for questioning the purity of the Apostle's conduct, but Paul had carefully guarded himself against imputations of this kind, by refusing every pecuniary offer from the Corinthians himself, and by laying an injunction upon his followers to observe the same rule. The Apostle, in allusion to these his gratuitous services at Corinth, and the artful profession of the same disinterestedness by the false teacher, though rapacious enough under the garb of sanctity, writes thus to the Corinthians—“As the truth of Christ is in me, this boasting shall not be stopped in me in the region of Achaia. Wherefore? Because I love you not? God knoweth. But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion, that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we.”³³ “For such (meaning the false teacher and his partisans) are *false Apostles*, doubtful workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ; and no marvel, for Satan himself is transformed into an Angel of light; therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works.”³⁴

The last feature we shall mention in the character of the impostor is his extreme insolence toward a church to which he did not belong. He seems to have lorded it over his followers as if he had planted the church himself, and had a right to direct their faith. Paul had called them to Christian freedom, the intruder was now, by blustering and intimidation, bringing them into bondage to the law. How keen is the irony of the Apostle in touching upon the folly of the Corinthians in putting such a yoke upon their own necks—“Seeing that many glory after the flesh, I will glory also. For ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are *wise*! For ye suffer, if a man bring you into bondage! if a man devour you! if a man take of you! if a man exalt himself! if a man smite you on the face!”³⁵

Such was the state of affairs at Corinth, and with so malignant a faction opposed to him, the Apostle, had he proceeded thither at once, must necessarily have had recourse to the severest measures; but such a step was most repugnant to his feelings, and he wished to give them one more chance of repentance. The mission of Titus, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians from Ephesus, had produced a most salutary effect, and he now proposed to send Titus a second time with another expostulatory letter from himself, in the hope of reducing the rebellious to a sense of duty without the infliction of condign punishment.

Another reason why the Apostle should send brethren before him to Corinth was

³² 2 Cor. x. 10, 11.³³ 2 Cor. xi. 10-12.³⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 13-15.³⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 18, 20.

connected with the collection for the poor Hebrews. A year ago the Corinthians had expressed their utmost readiness to forward the contribution, and when Titus was amongst them they had actually commenced it by laying by a weekly sum in store. Paul in promoting the same object in Macedonia, had stimulated the zeal of the Macedonians by boasting of the alacrity of the Corinthians, and he was now anxious that the Corinthians should act up to their profession, that they as well as himself might not be put to shame. Some of the Macedonians would no doubt accompany him to Corinth, and it would be painful enough, if after the Apostle's laudation of the Corinthians, they were found unprepared. Titus, therefore, was commissioned to guard against this miscarriage, and to bring the contribution at Corinth to completion before the Apostle's arrival. This motive Paul, with great candour, opens to us himself: "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked very many. Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready; lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they should go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the same might be ready as a bounty, and not as an exaction."³⁶

There was yet a third reason which may have actuated Paul in not sailing directly for Corinth. In his former circuit he had intended to evangelize the whole of Macedonia, and with that view had preached in Philippi the capital of Macedonia Prima, in Thessalonica the capital of Macedonia Secunda, and in Berœa a city of Macedonia Tertia, but here the machinations of the Jews had interrupted his progress, and he had been obliged to fly to the sea, instead of penetrating into Macedonia Quarta, which lay next Illyricum. His present purpose therefore was, after having dispatched the eleemosynary business amongst the churches planted by him on his former visit, to make a supplemental circuit for a few weeks, and preach the Gospel in Macedonia Quarta.

Paul having thus laid his plans, communicated his wishes to Titus, and urged him to return to Corinth; and as that disciple before, when he distrusted the Corinthian church, had from a sense of duty entered upon an office not very agreeable to his natural feelings, he now, having witnessed the unaffected contrition of the majority, was as ready to undertake, as Paul was to impose the charge. "Thanks be to God," writes the Apostle, "who putteth the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you: for indeed he accepted the exhortation, and being more forward of *his own accord*, he went unto you."³⁷

To give greater authority to the mission, and to impress the Corinthian church

³⁶ 2 Cor. ix. 2-5.

³⁷ 2 Cor. viii. 16, 17.

with the Apostle's anxiety for their welfare, he associated with Titus the Evangelist Luke, now in high estimation for the Gospel which he had published, and also one of the chosen delegates of the Macedonians for conveying their alms to Jerusalem.

Trophimus also, who had been the companion of Titus on the former occasion,³⁸ and since elected as the colleague of Luke to carry the Macedonian contribution to Jerusalem,³⁹ was requested to lend his services a second time, an invitation which from increased confidence in the good intentions of the Corinthians he joyfully accepted. "And we have sent with them (Titus and Luke), our brother (Trophimus), whom we have oftentimes proved diligent in many things, but now much more diligent from the great confidence which he hath in you."⁴⁰

Paul now sat down to indite the proposed letter to the Corinthian church. It consists of two parts, so distinct and independent, that they might almost be, and have by some been, regarded as two separate epistles. The first part is addressed to the sober contrite portion of the Corinthian church, and the Apostle throughout opens his mind with the most unreserved confidence; expatiates on his own trials and tribulations, his triumphs and consolations; explains the secret springs of conduct which might have appeared unaccountable; and, in short, writes with all the warmth of feeling which an earnest Apostle would bear towards a beloved and now reconciled church. In the second part of the Epistle he defends himself with spirited irony against the assaults of his enemies at Corinth; vindicates his apostolical authority, even to the overthrow of all strongholds arrayed against him; threatens to use the rod against the hardened sinner; and beseeches them not to put his power in Christ to the test, but to repent of their wickedness during the short interval that still remained before the Apostle's arrival. But to explain the Epistle fully, we must descend into a particular analysis.

After joining Timothy with himself in the usual salutation, he (i. 3) takes up his own history from the date of his former Epistle, and enters at once upon a subject which had most deeply affected him, and had imbued his mind with a more than usual solemnity of thought—his hairbreadth escape at Ephesus; and he invites the Corinthians to unite with him in a public thanksgiving to Almighty God for the deliverance. He then (i. 12) proceeds to open the reasons which had governed him in deferring his promised visit to Corinth, namely, that it was from no fickleness or infirmity of purpose in himself, but to give the Corinthians an opportunity of correcting the disorderly state of their church—"I call God as a witness upon my soul, that *to spare you* I came not as yet unto Corinth."⁴¹ Their meeting would otherwise have been attended not with comfort to each other, but mutual pain—"I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in sorrow; for if I make you sorry, who is he, then, that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry

³⁸ See Vol. I. p. 404.³⁹ See Vol. I. p. 369.⁴⁰ 2 Cor. viii. 22.⁴¹ 2 Cor. i. 23.

by me?"⁴² It may be remarked, by the way, that this full discovery of his motive comes very naturally from the Apostle when he had seen the success of his scheme, but would not have been a seasonable communication while the matter was yet in suspense.

Next (ii. 6), as the Corinthians generally, and the incestuous person in particular, had now repented, he exhorts that the excommunication should be recalled, and the offender again received into the bosom of the church. "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which hath been inflicted of many; so that, contrariwise, ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow."⁴³

He then (ii. 12) carries the Corinthians with him to Troas, and tells them his bitter disappointment there at not meeting with Titus; but that notwithstanding these troubles upon troubles, he had triumphed in the Gospel, and had preached with great success; and then, through several chapters, he lays open his whole breast and gives expression to the various feelings which recent occurrences had inspired. He discourses with the Corinthians without reserve, and lets his mind lead him through a labyrinth of noble thoughts and consolatory reflections dictated by surrounding circumstances; and in expatiating upon the persecutions to which he was subjected in the world, and the scene of glory that opened to his view in the horizon, he uses a beautiful illustration from his own trade of a tent-maker: "We know that if our earthly house *of this tabernacle* be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens."⁴⁴ At length, after a long series of reflections springing from a heart full of kindly warmth towards his Corinthian converts, he (vi. 11) apologizes for the freedom with which his tongue had been running, and beseeches them to return his affection. "O ye Corinthians, our mouth hath been opened unto you, our heart hath been enlarged! But by way of like return (I speak as unto my children), be ye also enlarged."⁴⁵

He next (vii. 2) carries the thread of his history into Macedonia, and tells the Corinthians how tribulation had still followed him, for "without were fightings, and within were fears," but that he had been inexpressibly comforted by the arrival of Titus from Corinth; and the Apostle then luxuriates in a graphic description of the workings of Corinthian contrition.

He next (viii. 1) adverts to the collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, and exhorts them to complete liberally what they had begun with so much alacrity.

Here closes the first part of the Epistle addressed to the sober part of the Corinthian church.

He now turns to the faction headed by the false teacher, and, changing his tone, levels against them the shafts of bitter irony, or threatens to pour out the vials of wrath if they did not repent. He commences (x. 1) by saying, that humble as he

⁴² 2 Cor. ii. 1, 2.⁴³ 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.⁴⁴ 2 Cor. v. 1.⁴⁵ 2 Cor. vi. 11, 13.

was in person, and feeble in speech, he was yet armed with power enough from Christ to bring down all spiritual pride in such as arrayed themselves against the truth. "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, and having in readiness to revenge all disobedience, until your obedience be fulfilled."⁴⁶

He then (xi. 1) with many apologies for such unseemly boasting, shows that he was no whit inferior to "the very chiefest Apostles, though he was nothing;" that (xi. 18) he was at least equal to the vain boasters among the Corinthians, in extraction and purity of Hebrew blood, and he was pre-eminent beyond all (xi. 23) in sufferings for the cause of the Gospel, and (xii. 1) in revelations made to him from heaven, and (xii. 12) in the working of miracles.

He then (xiii. 1) declares solemnly that on his arrival at Corinth he would try the offenders judicially, and would proceed to punishment. "This is the third time I am coming to you. 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.' I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, *if I come again, I will not spare*;"⁴⁷ he accordingly exhorts them to repent in time, that they may escape the apostolic rod.

He concludes (xiii. 11) with some admonitory sentences, and subjoins the usual salutations and benediction. The Epistle ran thus: ⁴⁸—

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. "PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE WILL OF GOD, AND TIMOTHY OUR BROTHER, UNTO THE CHURCH OF GOD WHICH IS AT CORINTH, WITH ALL THE

⁴⁶ 2 Cor. x. 4-6.

⁴⁷ 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.

⁴⁸ The date of the Epistle may be thus ascertained. It was written after the riot of Demetrius the silversmith at Ephesus, which occurred in May, A.D. 57, for Paul thus alludes to it, τῆς θλίψεως τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. 2 Cor. i. 8. And he then traces his passage from Ephesus through Troas (ii. 12) to Macedonia (ii. 13; vii. 5); where he was engaged in making a collection for the poor Hebrews (viii. 1); and the collection was still proceeding at the date of the Epistle, for the Apostle writes in the present tense "*I am boasting*," &c. καυχῶμαι Μακεδόνων ὅτι Ἀχαῖα παρεσκεύασται ἀπὸ πέρυσσι, ix. 1; and this second Epistle, like the first, was sent by the hands of Titus, who was to continue the collec-

tion amongst the Corinthians, and prepare them for the reception of Paul himself. viii. 6; viii. 17; ix. 3-5. Furthermore the Epistle was written in anticipation of a *second* visit to Corinth. ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν ἔχητε, i. 15; ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, xiii. 2. Though it was his *third attempt*. τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν, xii. 14; τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι, xiii. 1. And the Apostle alludes in the Epistle to a revelation made to him fourteen years before: πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων, xii. 2. This expression means the fourteenth year *current* (see Fasti Sacri, p. 264, No. 1581; p. 279, No. 1672), and as the vision occurred when he was at Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 44, the date of the Epistle must be referred to A.D. 57. There can be no doubt under all the circumstances that it was written in the latter half of that year.

2 SAINTS WHICH ARE IN ALL ACHAIA:⁴⁹ GRACE BE TO YOU, AND PEACE FROM GOD
OUR FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

3 “Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of
4 mercies, and the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulation,
that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble by the comfort,
5 wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God; for as the sufferings of Christ
6 abound *to usward*, so our *comfort* also aboundeth by Christ. *But* whether we
be afflicted, it is for your *comfort* and salvation, which is effectual in the
enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer: or whether we be
7 comforted, it is for your *comfort* and salvation (and our hope of you is
stedfast) knowing, that as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye be
8 of the *comfort*. For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our
distress which came to us in Asia,⁵⁰ that we were pressed out of measure above
9 strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life: *nay*, we had the sentence
of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which
10 raiseth the dead, who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver, in
11 whom we trust that he will yet deliver us, you also helping together by
prayer for us, that for the *mercy shown to us* by the means of many persons.
thanks may be given by many on our behalf.⁵¹

12 “For our *boast* is this,—the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity
and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have
13 had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to youward. For we
14 write none other things unto you, than what ye read or *even know*;⁵² and I
trust ye shall *know* even to the end, as also ye have *known* us in part, that we
15 are your *boast*, even as ye also are ours, in the day of the Lord Jesus. And in
this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a
16 second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of
17 Macedonia unto you, and of you to be *set forward*⁵³ on my way toward Judea.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ The labours of the Apostle therefore had been extended far beyond the walls of Corinth.

⁵⁰ The Apostle here alludes to the trials he had gone through at Ephesus, and which in his former letter he had designated as fighting with wild beasts (1 Cor. xv. 32), to which was now to be added the tumult at the instance of Demetrius, the silversmith, which had nearly cost him his life.

⁵¹ The Apostle here asks the Corinthians to offer up a thanksgiving on his behalf for his recent deliverance.

⁵² ἐπιγινώσκετε. In Eng. ver. “acknowledge,” i.e. what ye read of as regards what passed amongst others; and what ye know as regards what passed amongst yourselves.

⁵³ προπεμφθῆναι. In Eng. ver. “brought.”

⁵⁴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρότερον, ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν ἔχητε· καὶ δι’ ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Those who maintain the hypothesis that Paul had been at Corinth twice before the date of this Epistle would render the passage thus: “I was minded to come unto you first, and thence to go to Macedonia, and thence back again to you, so that you might thus have the benefit of my presence among you twice in the course of this circuit.” Such, however, is not the Apostle’s meaning. He had in fact been at Corinth but *once* before, and he was now intending to confer on them a *second* benefit. See *infra*, xiii. 1

When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be
 18, 19 Yea Yea, and Nay Nay?⁵⁵ But as God is true, our word⁵⁶ toward you was not Yea and Nay. For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached
 20 among you by us (by me and Silvanus and Timothy), was not Yea and Nay, but in him was Yea;⁵⁷ for *whatever* are the promises of God, in him is Yea
 21 and in him Amen, unto the glory of God by us; *but* he which stablisheth us
 22 with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us, and
 23 given the earnest⁵⁸ of the Spirit in our hearts. *But* I call God *as a witness*
 24 upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet unto Corinth,—not that we
 lord it over your faith, but are helpers of your joy (for by faith ye stand);
 CH. II. but I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in
 2 grief.⁵⁹ For if I *grieve* you, who is he then that maketh me glad, but the
 3 same which is *grieved* by me? And I wrote *that very thing* unto you,⁶⁰ lest
 when I came, I should have *grief* from them of whom I ought to rejoice,
 4 having confidence in you all that my joy is the joy of you all. For out of
 much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears;—not
 that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more
 5 abundantly unto you. But if *one*⁶¹ hath caused grief, he hath not grieved me,
 but (*that I lay not the burden on all from [the offence of] a part*) yourselves.⁶²
 6, 7 Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which *hath been* inflicted of the
 more part;⁶³ so that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive, and comfort him,
 8 lest perhaps such a one be swallowed up with overmuch *grief*. Wherefore I
 9 beseech you *to* confirm your love toward him; for to this end also did I write,
 10 that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.
But to whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also: for if I *have forgiven* any-
 11 thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes I forgave it in the person of Christ,
 lest *we should be overreached*⁶⁴ by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his devices.
 12 “ Furthermore, when I came to Troas to [preach] Christ’s Gospel,⁶⁵ and a

⁵⁵ Viz. “That I should first say Yes, and then, without any reason for the change, say No.”

⁵⁶ By “our word” he means his promise to visit Corinth, which, on account of the state of the Corinthian church, he had been obliged to postpone for a time.

⁵⁷ “Not sometimes one thing and sometimes another, but always the same.”

⁵⁸ τὸν ἀρράβωνα, עֲרָבֹן, ‘pignus.’ For instances of the use of the word by Greeks and Romans, see Wetstein on 2 Cor. i. 22.

⁵⁹ λύπη. In Eng. ver. “heaviness.”

⁶⁰ Viz. that you should excommunicate the incestuous person.

⁶¹ Paul here refers to the incestuous person.

But observe the tenderness of the Apostle in not naming the offender. In both Epistles, the name is studiously suppressed, that the finger of scorn might not be pointed at him in his repentance.

⁶² He must by his conduct have pained not only me, but yourselves also; that is, assuming that ye are not all guilty because one is guilty, or in other words, assuming that ye did not all connive at his crime, and so became participators in it.

⁶³ τῶν πλειόνων. In Eng. ver. “many.”

⁶⁴ ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν. In Eng. ver. “lest Satan get an advantage over us.”

⁶⁵ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. The word “preach” is not in the Greek.

13 door was opened unto me of the Lord,⁶⁶ I had no rest in my spirit, because I
 14 found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence
 into Macedonia. Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to
 15 triumph⁶⁷ in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us
 in every place; for we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that
 16 are saved, and in them that perish: to the one the savour of death unto
 death, and to the other the savour of life unto life. And who is sufficient for
 17 these things? For we are not as *the* many⁶⁸ which *cook* the word of God,
 but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.
 CH. III. Do we begin again⁶⁹ to commend ourselves? or need we, as some,⁷⁰ *letters* of
 2 commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you? Ye are our
 3 *letter* written in our hearts, known and read of all men; [forasmuch as ye are]
manifested to be a *letter* of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink,⁷¹
 but with the spirit of the living God; not *on* tables of stone,⁷² but *on* fleshy
 4, 5 tables of the heart. *Now we have such confidence*⁷³ through Christ to Godward
 —not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but
 6 our sufficiency is of God; who also hath *made us sufficient for being* ministers
 7 of the New *Dispensation*—not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter
 killeth, but the spirit giveth life. But if the ministration of death, engraven
*in letters*⁷⁴ *on* stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not
 stedfastly *look on* the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance, which
 8, 9 [glory] was to be done away, how shall not the ministration of the spirit be
more in glory? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more
 10 doth the ministration of *justification* exceed in glory. For even that which
 was made glorious *is not glorious* in this respect, by reason of the glory that

⁶⁶ See ante, Vol. II. p. 2.

⁶⁷ To understand the figurative language of this and the following verses, the reader must carry in mind the nature of a Roman triumph. The procession consisted of the victors and the vanquished; the former crowned with laurel, and looking forward to the recompense of their toils and dangers in a grant of public lands on which they might end their days in peace; the latter reserved only to grace the pageant, and at the conclusion of the ceremony to be consigned to chains or death. The streets meanwhile were lined with altars smoking with incense, a savour of joy to the victorious host, and of woe to the defeated. So, as the preacher of the Gospel marches through the world, he is a savour of life unto life (here and hereafter) to those who enlist themselves under the banner of the cross and become his fellow-soldiers; but a savour of death unto death to those who fight

against God, and, becoming reprobates, draw down upon themselves the wrath of heaven in this world and eternal perdition in the next.

⁶⁸ οἱ πολλοί. In Eng. ver. "many."

⁶⁹ He refers to his former boast in i. 12.

⁷⁰ Apollos had gone to Corinth with letters of commendation, Acts xviii. 27, and no doubt the heretical teachers at Corinth had also brought letters of commendation. See ante, p. 10.

⁷¹ μέλανι. We may conclude from this that the Apostle's writing materials were a reed pen and paper or parchment, and were not the Roman stylus and waxen tablet. So in 2 John v. 12 we have, διὰ χάρτου καὶ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου: and see 2 Tim. iv. 13

⁷² As was the Law of Moses.

⁷³ πεποιθήσιν. In Eng. ver. "trust."

⁷⁴ ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντυπωμένη. In Eng. ver. "written and engraven."

11, 12 excelleth. For if that which *is* done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious. Seeing then that we have such hope, we use
 13 great plainness of speech; and not as Moses, [*who*] put a veil over his face that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is
 14 abolished; but their *understandings* were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament (which [veil]
 15, 16 is done away in Christ); but even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil *lieth* upon their heart. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil
 17 shall be taken away. Now the Lord is *the* Spirit;⁷⁵ and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with open face beholding as in a
 18 *mirror*⁷⁶ the glory of the Lord, are *transformed*⁷⁷ into the same image from
 CH. IV. glory to glory, as by *the* Lord the Spirit.⁷⁸ Therefore, seeing we have this
 2 ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have renounced the hidden things of *shame*,⁷⁹ not walking in craftiness, nor *adulterating*⁸⁰ the word of God; but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to
 3 every man's conscience in the sight of God. But if our Gospel be *veiled*, it is
 4 *veiled* to them that are lost; in whom the god of this world hath blinded the *understandings* of them which believe not, *that* the *enlightenment* of the Gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should *not* shine unto them;
 5 for we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your
 6 servants for Jesus' sake. For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness (*Gen.* i. 4), hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the know-
 7 ledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this
 8 treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us. We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed,
 9, 10 but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of⁸¹ Jesus, that the
 11 life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body. For we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus *may*
 12, 13 be made manifest in our mortal flesh; so *that* death worketh in us, but life in you. *But* having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, 'I
 14 believed, and therefore I spake,' (*Ps.* cxvi. 10),⁸² we also believe, and there-

⁷⁵ The *spirit* as opposed to the *letter*. See ver. 6.

⁷⁶ κατοπτριζόμενοι. In Eng. ver. "beholding as in a glass," but the ancients used polished metal, and not glass, for mirrors.

⁷⁷ μεταμορφούμεθα. In Eng. ver. "are changed," i.e. we see the image of God in the mirror, and by steadfastly fixing our eyes upon the image, we grow into the likeness of it, and so become sons of God.

⁷⁸ καθύπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου Πνεύματος. In Eng. ver. "even as by the Spirit of the Lord."

⁷⁹ τῆς αἰσχύνης. In Eng. ver. "dishonestly."

⁸⁰ δολοῦντες. In Eng. ver. "handling deceitfully."

⁸¹ The word Κυρίου, 'the Lord,' is omitted by all the best critics, as Griesbach, Scholtz, Iachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

⁸² Verbatim from the LXX.

fore speak; knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us
 15 also by⁸³ Jesus, and shall present us with you; for all things are for your
 16 sakes, that grace *being multiplied* through the thanksgiving of many *may*
 redound to the glory of God.⁸⁴ For which cause we faint not; but though our
 17 outward man *be wasted*,⁸⁵ yet the inward man is renewed day by day; for our
 18 *present* light affliction worketh for us *an exceedingly excessive*⁸⁶ eternal weight
 of glory, while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things
 which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the
 CH. V. things which are not seen are eternal. For we know that if our earthly house
 of this tabernacle⁸⁷ *be* dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made
 2 with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring
 3 to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if so be that being
 4 clothed we shall not be found naked.⁸⁸ For we that are in this tabernacle do
 groan, being burdened, not that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that
 5 mortality *may* be swallowed up of life. Now he that hath wrought us for the
 6 self-same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit.
 Therefore, *being* always confident, *and* knowing that, whilst we are at home in
 7, 8 the body, we are absent from the Lord (for we walk by faith, not by sight),
 we are confident, I say, and *think it well*⁸⁹ rather to be absent from the body,
 9 and to be present with the Lord. Wherefore, *also*, we *are ambitious* that
 10 whether present or absent, we be *well-pleasing to*⁹⁰ him. For we must all
 be *made manifest*⁹¹ before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may
 receive the things in *the* body, according to that he hath done, whether it be
 11 good or bad. Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men,⁹²
 but we are made manifest unto God; and I *hope*, also, are made manifest in
 12 your consciences; for we commend not ourselves again unto you, but give you
 occasion to glory on our behalf, that ye may have somewhat *against* them
 13 which glory in appearance, and not in heart. For whether we *are* beside

⁸³ Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford read σὺν Ἰησοῦ, 'with Jesus,' instead of διὰ, 'by Jesus.'

⁸⁴ ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσασα διὰ τῶν πλειόνων τὴν εὐχαριστίαν περισσεύῃ εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. The word χάρις here seems to mean the same thing as the word χάρισμα in i. 11, viz. the gracious deliverance of Paul at Ephesus, which redounded to the glory of God by calling forth the hearty thanksgiving of the churches? Observe the play upon the words χάρις and εὐχαριστίαν. In Eng. ver. "that the abundant grace might through the thanksgiving of many redound to the glory of God."

⁸⁵ διαφθείρεται. In Eng. ver. "perish."

⁸⁶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον, κ.τ.λ.

⁸⁷ This figure of the earthly tabernacle was, of

course, familiar to the mind of Paul, who was himself a tent-maker.

⁸⁸ 'If so be that when the time comes for us to be clothed upon, we shall not be found naked,' that is, without the robe of Christian purity, without the "wedding garment," which, according to our Lord's parable, will be the only passport to the great marriage feast.

⁸⁹ εὐδοκοῦμεν. In Eng. ver. "we are willing."

⁹⁰ εὐάρεστοι. In Eng. ver. "accepted by."

⁹¹ φανερωθῆναι—i.e. we must all be laid open. The same word is used in this sense in the next verse. In Eng. ver. "we must all appear."

⁹² We justify our conduct to men, but in the sight of God, the uprightness of our conduct is manifest.

14 ourselves,⁹³ it is *for* God; or whether we *are* sober, it is for you. For the love
 15 of Christ constraineth us, *who have judged this*, that if one died for all, then
 were all dead, and he died for all, that they *who* live should not henceforth
 16 live unto themselves, but unto him *who* died for them, and rose again. Where-
 fore, henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known
 17 Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.⁹⁴ Therefore,
 if any man be in Christ [he is] a new creature; old things are passed away;
 18 behold, all things are become new. And all things are *from* God, who hath
 19 reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of
 reconciliation, to wit, that God was reconciling the world unto himself in
 20 Christ, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us
 the word of reconciliation. We are ambassadors, then, for Christ, as though
 21 God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, Be ye reconciled
 to God; for he hath made him who knew no sin, to be sin for us,⁹⁵ that we
 CH. VI. might be made the righteousness of God in him. We then, as workers
 2 together with him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in
 vain; (for he saith, 'I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in a day of
 salvation have I succoured thee' (*Is. xlix. 8*).⁹⁶ Behold, now is the *well*-accepted
 3 time! Behold, now is the day of salvation!) giving no offence in anything
 4 that the ministry be not blamed,⁹⁷ but in *every* thing approving ourselves as
 5 the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in
 distresses, in stripes,⁹⁸ in imprisonments,⁹⁹ in tumults,¹⁰⁰ in labours,¹⁰¹ in
 6 watchings,¹⁰² in fastings,¹⁰³ *in* pureness, *in* knowledge, *in* long-suffering, *in*
 7 kindness, *in* the Holy Ghost, *in* love unfeigned, *in* the word of truth, *in* the
 8 power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the

⁹³ ἐξέστημεν. The zeal of Paul laid him open to this charge, but there was no more reason for it than when Festus exclaimed, "Paul, thou art beside thyself." Acts xxvi. 24. This seems to harmonise better with the context than to suppose the Apostle to allude to his hairbreadth escape at Ephesus, when at the moment he was so much beside himself that he would have rushed into the theatre, but the disciples held him back. See Acts xix. 30.

⁹⁴ 'Though we have known Christ in his human character, it avails us nothing. We must henceforth know him only in his divine and spiritual character.' The Apostle may be referring here to some unaccredited teachers in the Corinthian church, who grounded their pretensions on the fact of their having seen Christ in the flesh.

⁹⁵ God made him a "sin-offering for us," i.e. he suffered the penalty of our sin.

⁹⁶ Cited verbatim from the LXX.

⁹⁷ These words and the sequel refer, not to the Corinthians, but to the Apostle himself, and in this description we have in a general way the lights and shadows of his life.

⁹⁸ As at Philippi, Acts xvi. 23.

⁹⁹ As at Philippi, Acts xvi. 23. Clemens Romanus speaks of Paul as ἐπτάκις δέσμα φορέσας, 1 Epist. Cor.

¹⁰⁰ As at Ephesus, at the riot stirred up by Demetrius the silversmith.

¹⁰¹ In labouring with his own hands, as at Thessalonica, 2 Thess. iii. 8; at Corinth, 1 Cor. iv. 12; at Ephesus, Acts xx. 34.

¹⁰² In pursuing his mission during the night, instead of taking rest, as when he preached until midnight at Troas. Acts xx. 7.

¹⁰³ In the pangs of hunger which must often have occurred in the course of his missionary labours.

left,¹⁰⁴ by *glory* and dishonour,¹⁰⁵ by evil report and good report;¹⁰⁶ as
9 deceivers, and [yet] true;¹⁰⁷ as unknown, and [yet] well known;¹⁰⁸ as dying,
10 and, behold, we live;¹⁰⁹ as chastened, and not killed;¹¹⁰ as sorrowful, yet
always rejoicing;¹¹¹ as poor, yet making many rich, as having nothing, and
[yet] possessing all things.¹¹²

11, 12 “O Corinthians, our mouth is *opened* unto you, our heart is enlarged. Ye
13 are not straitened in us; but ye are straitened in your own bowels; *but by way*
14 *of like return*¹¹³ (I speak as unto my children), be ye also enlarged. Be not
unequally yoked with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness
15 with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and
16 what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth
with an *unbeliever*? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?
for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, ‘I will dwell in
them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my
17 people.’ (Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.)¹¹⁴ Wherefore, ‘come out from among them, and
18 be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean [thing].’ (Is. lii. 11.)¹¹⁵
And ‘I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my
CH. VII. sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.’ (2 Sam. vii. 14.)¹¹⁶ Having,
therefore, these promises, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all *pollution* of
the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

2 “Receive us.¹¹⁷ We have wronged no man; we have *wasted* no man; we

¹⁰⁴ In a complete panoply of righteousness, so as to be unassailable on every side.

¹⁰⁵ By dishonour, as when he suffered the insult of being beaten with rods at Philippi, Acts xvi. 23; and the like on two other occasions, 2 Cor. xi. 25; besides five whippings at the hands of the Jews, 2 Cor. xi. 4.

¹⁰⁶ By evil report, from the calumnies spread against him, more particularly amongst his own countrymen, Rom. iii. 8; so that when he claimed a good conscience, Ananias gave an order to smite him on the mouth, Acts xxiii. 24.

¹⁰⁷ *πλάνοι*, ‘deceivers,’ was the word in common use amongst the Jews for the impostors that were continually springing up, and the same opprobrious epithet was no doubt applied to Paul by his unbelieving countrymen.

¹⁰⁸ Defamed as contemptible; but rightly appreciated by true believers.

¹⁰⁹ Continually exposed to the risk of our lives, yet ever escaping.

¹¹⁰ Chastened as by the thorn in the flesh, but divinely supported against the chastisement. 2 Cor. xii. 7.

¹¹¹ As when he was disappointed at the non-coming of Titus at Troas, 2 Cor. ii. 12; but

triumphant in the Gospel, 2 Cor. ii. 14.

¹¹² As having nothing in a worldly sense, and yet bestowing what in value surpassed the greatest wealth. We may gather from this that Paul, if ever endowed with worldly goods, had given up all for the sake of the Gospel.

¹¹³ *τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν*. In Eng. ver. “for a recompense in the same.”

¹¹⁴ *Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.* In the LXX.: *Θήσω τὴν σκηνὴν μου ἐν ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ.*, and throughout the Apostle changes the second person plural to the third.

¹¹⁵ *Ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφορίσθητε, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἄπτεσθε*. In the LXX. the words are: *Ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἄψησθε, ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς, ἀφορίσθητε*.

¹¹⁶ *Κἀγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ*. The Apostle seems to cite the following passage in the LXX.: *Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱὸν . . . λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ*. 2 Sam. vii. 14, 8.

¹¹⁷ ‘Be favourably disposed towards us, as we are to youward.’

3 have defrauded no man.¹¹⁸ I speak not this to condemn you,¹¹⁸ for I have said
 4 before, that ye are in our hearts to die and to live with you. Great is my
 boldness of speech towards you; great is my *boasting* of you. I am filled
 5 with comfort; I *overflow with joy* in all our *affliction*. For, when we were
 come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on
 6 every side,—without [were] fightings, within [were] fears.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless,
 God that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of
 7 Titus; and not by his coming only, but *also* by the *comfort* wherewith he was
 comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your
 8 *zeal*¹²⁰ for me: so that I rejoiced the more; for though I made you sorry *by*
the letter,¹²¹ I do not repent, though I *was repenting*; ¹²² for I perceive that
 9 *that letter* made you sorry, *but only* for *an hour*. Now I rejoice, not that ye
 were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance, for ye were made sorry
 10 *according to God* that ye might receive damage by us in nothing; for sorrow,
according to God, worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of; but
 11 the sorrow of the world worketh death.¹²³ For, behold, this self-same thing,
 that ye sorrowed *according to God*! what carefulness it wrought in you! yea,
 what clearing of yourselves! yea, what indignation! yea, what fear! yea,
 what vehement desire! yea, what zeal! yea, what revenge! In *every* thing
 12 ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter.¹²⁴ Wherefore, though
 I wrote unto you, [I did it] not for his cause that had done the wrong, nor for
 his cause that suffered wrong, but that our care for you in the sight of God
 13 might appear *to youward*. Therefore, we were comforted in your comfort;
 yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit
 14 was refreshed by you all; for if I have boasted any thing to him of you, I am
 not ashamed, but as we spake all things to you in truth, even so our boasting,
 15 before Titus, *was found a truth*; and his *bowels yearn* more abundantly toward
 you, while he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trem-
 16 bling ye received him. I rejoice that I have confidence in you in *every* thing.

CH. VIII. “Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the *free gift*¹²⁵ of God *which*

¹¹⁸ ‘I speak not in censure of any want of affection for the time past, but I beseech you only to be kindly affectioned towards me for the time to come.’

¹¹⁹ ‘I had to resist the assaults of enemies from without, and I was harassed by fears for the church within my own breast. Without the pale of the church was the persecution from Jews and heathen, and within it were immorality and schism.’

¹²⁰ ζῆλον. In Eng. ver. “fervent mind.”

¹²¹ The First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which the Apostle had used some sharpness.

¹²² ‘I had no sooner sent it, than my mind misgave me how it would be received.’

¹²³ Carnal pain is allied to death both physically and morally; for bodily pain, carried to excess, causes natural death, and the pain that arises from the want of gratification of our natural appetites, and so drives men to the indulgence of them, leads to a hardening of the conscience, and so causes moral death.

¹²⁴ In the matter of the incestuous person.

¹²⁵ The contribution to the poor Hebrews. In Eng. ver. “the grace.”

2 *hath been given in* the churches of Macedonia, that in *much* trial of affliction ¹²⁶
 3 the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty *hath* abounded unto the riches
 of their liberality¹²⁷—*that* to their power I bear record, yea, and beyond their
 4 power they [*did it*] *of their own choice*, praying *of* us with much intreaty [that
 we would receive]¹²⁸ the *free* gift and contribution of the ministering to the
 5 saints. And this they did, not as we hoped,¹²⁹ but first gave their own selves
 6 to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God, insomuch that we desired Titus,
 7 that as he had *before* begun, so he would also finish in you the same *free gift*
 also. Therefore, as ye abound in every thing, in faith, and *word*, and know-
 8 ledge, and all diligence, and in your love to us, see that ye abound in this
free gift also. I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forward-
 9 ness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love; for ye know the *free*
gift of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he
 10 became poor, that ye, through his poverty, might be rich. And herein I give
 my *opinion*: for this is expedient for you, who *began* before, not only to do,
 11 but also to *will* a year ago.¹³⁰ But now perform the doing *also*, that as there
 was *the* readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that
 12 which ye have; for if there be first *the readiness*, it is accepted according to
 13 that a man hath, not according to that he hath not; for I mean not that *there*
 14 *should be ease to others*, and *distress to you*;¹³¹ but by equality, that now at this
 time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also
 15 may be a supply for your want; that there may be equality; as it is written,
 ‘He that [gathered] much had nothing over, and he that [gathered] little
 16 had no lack.’ (*Ex.* xvi. 18.)¹³² But thanks be to God, *who putteth* the same
 17 earnest care into the heart of Titus for you; for, indeed, he accepted the
 18 exhortation, *and* being more forward, of his own *choice* he went unto you. And

¹²⁶ They were therefore still suffering persecution from Jews and heathen.

¹²⁷ In Macedonia, as elsewhere, not many rich were called. 1 Cor. i. 26.

¹²⁸ The words δεξάσθαι ἡμᾶς, ‘that we would receive,’ are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹²⁹ But far beyond our hopes.

¹³⁰ ἀπὸ πέρυσι. (Πέρυσι τοῦ ἐξελθόντος ἔτους, τοῦ παρελθόντος, τοῦ προανυσθέντος. Julius Polux, lib. i.) ‘Who not only began the collections before the Macedonians did, but declared your intention long before them, even so far back as a year ago.’ As Paul, on his way from Ephesus to Corinth, eventually pursued his route through Macedonia, the natural supposition would be that the collection would be set on foot in Macedonia before it was set on foot at Corinth. But

we have here an undesigned coincidence which confirms the truthfulness of the Apostle, for Paul had originally purposed to sail direct from Ephesus to Corinth, and thence to pass on to Macedonia, but had been obliged by circumstances to alter his plans (see Vol. I. p. 362). It was the year before, and while his first intention was still in force, that he had sent word to the Corinthians of his approaching visit, desiring them to raise a contribution for the relief of the poor Hebrews, a request with which they had readily expressed compliance.

¹³¹ ἄλλοις ἄνεσις, ὑμῖν δὲ θλίψις. In Eng. ver. “that other men be eased, and you burdened.”

¹³² Ὁ τὸ πολὺ, οὐκ ἐπλεόνασε καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, οὐκ ἡλαττόνησε. In LXX.: οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὁ τὸ ἥλαττον οὐκ ἡλαττόνησεν.

we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout
 19 all the churches;¹³³ and not that only, but who *hath* also *been elected by* the
 churches to travel with us with this *free gift*,¹³⁴ which is administered by us
 20 to the glory of the Lord *himself*, and [*the manifestation of*] *our readiness*,¹³⁵
taking care of this that no man should blame us in this abundance which is
 21 administered by us, providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the
 22 Lord, but also in the sight of men. And we have sent with them our
 brother,¹³⁶ whom we have often times proved diligent in many things, but now
 23 much more diligent, *from* the great confidence which *he hath* in you. Whether
 [any do enquire of] Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper *to youward*; ¹³⁷
 or our brethren ¹³⁸ [be enquired of] they are *missionaries* of the churches, ¹³⁹
 24 and the glory of Christ. Wherefore show ye to them, and *in the face of* the
 churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.

CH. IX. “For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me
 2 to write to you; for I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I
 boast¹⁴⁰ of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and
 3 your zeal hath provoked very many. Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our
 boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf, that, as I said, ye may be
 4 ready; lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unpre-
 pared, we (that we say not, ye) should be *made* ashamed in this same confident
 5 boasting. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they
should go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty, *before*
 6 *announced* to be ready, as a bounty, and not as an *extortion*.¹⁴¹ But this [I say]
 ‘He who soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly’ (*Prov.* xxii. 8), and he,
 7 who soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every *one* according as
 8 he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity,

¹³³ He refers to Luke, who had just published his Gospel in Macedonia. This interpretation is at least as old as Origen, for he speaks of the Gospel of Luke as that which was commended by Paul. καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πεποιηκότα. Euseb. E. H. vi. 25; and see Hieron. de Viris Illust. vii.

¹³⁴ In the Text. Recept. the words are προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, but Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all agree that the words should be προθυμίαν ἡμῶν.

¹³⁵ If, as is likely, Luke had remained stationed at Philippi from A.D. 51, when Paul and himself first visited it, to A.D. 57, when Paul returned to Philippi, no wonder that Luke was popular in all the Macedonian churches, and elected by them to carry their alms to Jerusalem.

¹³⁶ Trophimus is probably meant.

¹³⁷ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός. Titus had been previously sent from Ephesus to Corinth. 2 Cor. vii. 6. Not only so, but Titus was himself a Corinthian, and had been a fellow-labourer with Paul at the time of the first conversion of the Corinthians.

¹³⁸ Viz. Luke and Trophimus.

¹³⁹ The envoys charged with the mission of taking up the alms of the Macedonian churches to Jerusalem.

¹⁴⁰ καυχῶμαι. In strictness, ‘I am boasting,’ so that if any argument were required, this single word would prove that the Epistle was written from Macedonia, while the collection was going on there.

¹⁴¹ πλεονεξίαν. In Eng. ver. “as of covetousness”

for 'God loveth a cheerful giver.' (*Prov.* xxii. 8.) And God is able to make all grace abound toward you, that ye, always having all-sufficiency in every thing, may abound to every good work: (as it is written), 'He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever.' (*Ps.* cxii. 9.)¹⁴² Now he that ministereth 'seed to the sower,'¹⁴³ and bread for food' (*Is.* lv. 10), both multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness;¹⁴⁴ being enriched in every thing to all bountifulness, which *worketh*¹⁴⁵ through us thanksgiving to God; for the *ministration* of this service not only *filleth up*¹⁴⁶ the wants of the saints, but also *overfloweth*¹⁴⁷ by many thanksgivings unto God; *seeing that* by the *proof* of this *ministration* they glorify God for the subjection of your profession unto the Gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men, and through their prayer for you, while they long after you, through the exceeding grace of God in you.¹⁴⁸ Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.¹⁴⁹

CH. X. "Now I, Paul, myself beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence am base among you, but being absent am bold toward you¹⁵⁰—but I beseech you, that I may not be bold when I am present with that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold against some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh; for though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the casting down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, and having in readiness to revenge all disobedience, *until* your obedience be fulfilled.) Do ye look on things after the outward appearance? If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that, as he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's; for though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, which the Lord hath given us for building up, and not for your pulling down, I should not be ashamed, that I

¹⁴² Cited verbatim from the LXX.

¹⁴³ Verbatim from the LXX.

¹⁴⁴ In the Eng. ver. the translators had not observed the citation from Isaiah, and have rendered the passage "both minister bread for your food, and multiply," &c.

¹⁴⁵ *κατεργάζεται*. In Eng. ver. "causeth."

¹⁴⁶ *ἀναπληροῦσα*. In Eng. ver. "supplieth."

¹⁴⁷ *περισσεύουσα*, as opposed to *ἀναπληροῦσα*. In Eng. ver. "is abundant."

¹⁴⁸ The sentence is involved, and not very grammatical, but the meaning is, that the contribution to the poor Hebrews tended to the glory of God: 1. By showing that the Corinthians were Christians in earnest. 2. By the

thanksgivings which it would call forth in the recipients. 3. By the prayers which the Hebrews would offer up for their benefactors. 4. By the union which it would cement between the two churches.

¹⁴⁹ From this point begins the part of the Epistle addressed to the schismatics of the Corinthian church. The prior part of the Epistle was intended for the sober part of the community.

¹⁵⁰ The Apostle probably alludes ironically to the disparaging reflections made upon him by his enemies amongst the Corinthians. We may assume that Paul had not an imposing appearance, and the humility of his conduct had given a handle to the ridicule of the schismatics.

10 may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters. For ‘His letters,’ *saieth*
one, ‘are weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak, and his
 11 speech contemptible.’¹⁵¹ Let such a one think this, that, such as we are in
 word by letters when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are
 12 present. For we *are not bold enough to thrust ourselves amongst* or compare
 ourselves with some that commend themselves; but they measuring them-
 selves by themselves, and comparing themselves *with* themselves, are not wise.
 13 But we will not boast of things without¹⁵² our measure, but according to the
 measure of the rule which God hath *imparted* to us,¹⁵³ a measure to reach even
 14 unto you; for we *do not overstretch*¹⁵⁴ ourselves as though we reached not unto
 15 you; for we *have attained* as far as to you also in the Gospel of Christ; not
 boasting of things without our measure [that is] of other men’s labours, but
 having hope that, when your faith is increased, we shall be enlarged *in you*¹⁵⁵
 16 according to our rule *unto overflowing*,¹⁵⁶ *that we may* preach the Gospel in the
 regions beyond you, and not boast in another man’s *rule* of things made
 17 ready to our hand. But ‘He that *boasteth*, let him *boast* in the Lord’
 18 (*Jer.* ix. 23, 24);¹⁵⁷ for not he that commendeth himself is approved, but
 whom the Lord commendeth.

CH. XI. “Would *that* ye could bear with me a little in my folly, and indeed bear
 2 with me; for I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused
 you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.
 3 But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve, through his
 subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in
 4 Christ. For if *indeed* he that cometh¹⁵⁸ preacheth another Jesus, whom we
 have not preached, or if ye receive another Spirit, which ye have not received,
 or another Gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with
 5 him.¹⁵⁹ For I suppose *that I am* not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles.
 6 But though I be rude in speech,¹⁶⁰ yet not in knowledge, but we have been

¹⁵¹ His enemies could not deny the force of his reasoning, but they derided his undignified appearance, and they mocked the Jewish accent with which he spoke, and his unstudied style.

¹⁵² *εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα*—i.e. without having a fixed standard to measure by.

¹⁵³ *ἐμέρισεν*. In Eng. ver. “distributed.”

¹⁵⁴ *ὑπερεκτείνωμεν*. In Eng. ver. “stretch ourselves beyond our measure.” From this hint we may collect that the Apostle was of diminutive stature, and that his enemies depreciated him for it.

¹⁵⁵ *ἐν ὑμῖν*—‘among you.’ In Eng. ver. “by you.”

¹⁵⁶ *εἰς περισσείαν*. In Eng. ver. “abundantly.”

¹⁵⁷ *ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω*. In the

LXX. the words are: *μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος, συνιέναι καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος*.

¹⁵⁸ Paul here alludes to the mischief-making pseudo-Apostle who had followed hard upon the footsteps of Paul at Corinth and had sown dissensions amongst them, and corrupted the simplicity of their faith.

¹⁵⁹ If the false teacher professed to introduce a new religion, it might well be tolerated, but, professing the same religion, he corrupts it.

¹⁶⁰ *ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ*—one who has not studied oratory, or who is not an accomplished writer.

7 thoroughly made manifest among you in all things. Or have I committed an offence in abasing myself that ye might be exalted, because I preached to you 8 the Gospel of God *gratuitously*?¹⁶¹ I robbed other churches, taking wages 9 [of them] *toward your ministry*, and when I was present with you, and wanted, I was a *burden upon no one*:¹⁶² for that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied:¹⁶³ and in *every* thing I have kept 10 myself from being burdensome unto you, and so will I keep myself. As the truth of Christ is in me, this boasting *shall not be stopped in me* in the 11 regions of Achaia. Wherefore? Because I love you not? God knoweth. 12 But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion, that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we;¹⁶⁴ 13 for such are false Apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into 14 the Apostles of Christ. And no marvel; for Satan himself *transformeth* 15 *himself* into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing if his ministers 16 also *transform themselves* as the ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works.

“I say again,¹⁶⁵ let no man think me a fool; *but* if otherwise, yet as a fool 17 receive me, that I *also* may boast myself a little. That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were *in folly*,¹⁶⁶ in this confidence of 18, 19 boasting. Seeing that many *boast* after the flesh, I will *boast* also. For ye 20 *bear with* fools gladly, seeing ye are wise;¹⁶⁷ for ye *bear with him* if a man bring you into bondage! if a man devour you! if a man take of you! if a man exalt himself! if a man smite you on the face!¹⁶⁸ I speak as concerning *dishonour*, as though we had been weak. Howbeit whereinsoever any *one* is 22 bold (I speak *in folly*), I am bold also. Are they Hebrews?¹⁶⁹ so am I. 23 Are they Israelites?¹⁷⁰ so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham?¹⁷¹ so am I. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more—in labours more

¹⁶¹ δωρεάν. In Eng. ver. “freely”

¹⁶² οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐδενός. In Eng. ver. “I was chargeable to no man.”

¹⁶³ Probably brought by the hands of Silvanus and Timothy when they came from Macedonia to Paul at Corinth. Acts xviii. 5. The principal contributors to the relief of the Apostle’s necessities were the amiable Philippians who twice assisted him when he was at Thessalonica. See Philipp. iv. 16.

¹⁶⁴ They, the false teachers, pretend to preach the Gospel without fee or reward, and in order not to give them any ground of vantage on this account, Paul expresses his resolution to accept nothing himself from the Corinthian church.

¹⁶⁵ The Apostle now again returns to the subject which he had begun before—“would that ye could bear with me a little in my folly,” xi. 1

—but which he had let drop, from the intervening thoughts that had thrust themselves between.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Not after the wisdom from above, but after the foolishness of man.’

¹⁶⁷ This is spoken ironically. Paul rebukes the Corinthians for setting up human wisdom as opposed to revelation.

¹⁶⁸ ‘If ye bear all this from the pseudo-Apostle, surely you can endure for a while the boasting of your father in the Gospel.’

¹⁶⁹ The Hebrews were the Jewish nation as a whole.

¹⁷⁰ The Israelites were such as in a religious point of view fulfilled the law, and so were, as Nathaniel (John i. 48), “Israelites indeed.”

¹⁷¹ This was the highest boast of a Jew, as in the seed of Abraham all the nations of the earth were to be blessed.

24 abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent,¹⁷² in deaths
25 oft.¹⁷³ Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one;¹⁷⁴ thrice was
I beaten with rods;¹⁷⁵ once was I stoned;¹⁷⁶ thrice I suffered shipwreck;¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² The only imprisonment mentioned in the Acts up to this time is that at Philippi. Acts xvi. 23. But a great part of his ministry is passed over in silence by St. Luke. In Phrygia, for instance, we know that he made converts (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23), but we have no particulars.

¹⁷³ Many narrow escapes of his life are recorded in the Acts; as at Damascus, Acts ix. 23; at Jerusalem, ix. 30; at Iconium, xiv. 5; at Lystra, xiv. 19; at Thessalonica, xvii. 5; at Berea, xvii. 13; at Ephesus, xix. 30. See 2 Cor. i. 8.

¹⁷⁴ None of these occasions are mentioned in the Acts, but he may have been whipped at Damascus on his conversion, and then at Jerusalem, and again at Antioch. The chiefs of the synagogues had the power to inflict whipping on their own people, and would often exercise the jurisdiction against Paul, who was in the habit of preaching in the synagogue what was regarded as heresy. It was a retribution upon him, for he says of himself before his conversion, "I punished them oft in every synagogue," Acts xxvi. 11. It is said the Jews employed a lash with three thongs, and that each stroke was thus counted as three. Thirteen strokes would therefore make up the thirty-nine. The fortieth was omitted that they might not by any mistake exceed the number allowed by the law. Deut. xxv. 3; Mishna Maccoth, iii. 10; Jos. Ant. iv. 8, 2; see Schoettgen's Hor. Hebr. vol. i. p. 714.

¹⁷⁵ This was a Roman punishment. The only instance mentioned in the Acts is that at Philippi, Acts xvi. 23. The two other occasions were perhaps at Corinth, where he preached a year and six months, or at Ephesus, where he laboured for three years.

¹⁷⁶ This was at Lystra. Acts xiv. 19. Paley calls attention to the strict accuracy of Paul's statement, for though he was actually stoned only once, viz. at Lystra, yet at Iconium the Jews and Gentiles had made an attempt to stone him. Acts xiv. 5. Hence we may implicitly rely on the rest of the catalogue as rather falling short of than exceeding the truth.

¹⁷⁷ None of these are recorded, but Paul was continually on the seas in the course of his labours, and from defective navigation and unskilful ship-building, and from want of the mariner's compass, wrecks were frequent. The

shipwreck on the way to Rome was of course long after the date of the Epistle, but from the commencement of his ministry up to the time when Paul wrote these words, he had made numerous voyages, as will be seen from the following tables of voyages, either expressly mentioned as such, or quite as probable as journeys by land. Those marked with an asterisk were certainly voyages.

1. A.D. 39. Paul is sent away by the disciples from Cæsarea to Tarsus. *ἐξαπέστειλαν αὐτὸν εἰς Ταρσόν.* Acts ix. 30.
2. A.D. 43. Barnabas brings Paul from Tarsus to Antioch. *αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.* Acts xi. 25.
3. A.D. 44. Paul and Barnabas take the alms from Antioch to Jerusalem. *ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλου.* Acts xi. 30.
4. They return from Jerusalem to Antioch. *ὑπέστρεψαν.* Acts xii. 25.
- *5. A.D. 45. Paul and Barnabas sail from Seleucia to Cyprus. *ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Κύπρον.* Acts xiii. 4.
- *6. A.D. 46. They sail from Paphos to Perga. *ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου. . . ἦλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας.* Acts xiii. 13.
- *7. They return from Attalia to Antioch by sea. *ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.* Acts xiv. 26.
8. A.D. 48. Paul and Barnabas go by land to Jerusalem to the council, Acts xv. 3, but on their return, it is not said whether they passed by land or sea. *ἦλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.* Acts xv. 30.
- *9. A.D. 51. Paul and Silas cross by sea from Troas to Macedonia. *εὐθυδρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθρακην, τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ εἰς Νεάπολιν.* Acts xvi. 11.
10. Paul passes from Macedonia to Athens. *ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως Ἀθηνῶν.* Acts xvii. 15.
11. A.D. 52. Paul passes from Athens to Corinth. *ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον.* Acts xviii. 1.
- *12. A.D. 53. Paul sails from Corinth to Ephesus. *ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.* Acts xviii. 18. *κατήντησε δὲ εἰς Ἔφεσον.* Acts xviii. 19.
- *13. He sails from Ephesus to Cæsarea. *ἀνέχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου.* Acts xviii. 21.
14. Paul goes from Jerusalem to Antioch.

26 a night and a day I have *passed* in the deep;¹⁷⁸ in journeyings often, in perils of *rivers*,¹⁷⁹ in perils of robbers,¹⁸⁰ in perils by mine own countrymen,¹⁸¹ in perils by the *Gentiles*,¹⁸² in perils in the city,¹⁸³ in perils in the wilderness,¹⁸⁴ 27 in perils in the sea,¹⁸⁵ in perils among false brethren,¹⁸⁶ in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in 28 cold and nakedness.¹⁸⁷ Besides those things that are without, that which 29 cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.¹⁸⁸ Who is weak, and I 30 am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not? If I must needs *boast*, I will 31 *boast* of the things which concern mine infirmities. The God and Father of 32 *the* Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not.¹⁸⁹

κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Acts xviii. 22.

15. A.D. 57. Paul departs from Ephesus to Troas. ἐξῆλθε πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Acts xx. 1, and 2 Cor. ii. 12.

*16. Paul sails (for the sea lay between) from Troas to Macedonia. ἐξῆλθον εἰς Μακεδονίαν. 2 Cor. ii. 12. Whence he writes the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Thus Paul, from his entrance into the ministry to the date of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, had certainly made as many as *seven* different voyages (viz. those marked with an asterisk), and not improbably as many as *sixteen*. We have suggested grounds for thinking that one of the shipwrecks occurred when the disciples sent him forth to Tarsus in A.D. 39. See Vol. I. p. 77. We have also surmised that another may have happened in sailing from Athens to Corinth. See Vol. I. p. 269. But when the third shipwreck was suffered we cannot even conjecture.

¹⁷⁸ Not recorded, but it would seem that in one of the shipwrecks he had passed a night and a day (νυχθήμερον) on some fragment of the wreck (tabula in naufragio).

¹⁷⁹ ποταμῶν. In Eng. ver. "waters." The passage of rivers in the mountainous countries of Syria, Asia, and Greece, must often have been attended with great danger. Only a few years ago two of my own friends were swept away with several others in the similar country of Spain by the sudden descent of a mountain torrent.

¹⁸⁰ In Cilicia, Paul's native country, and all along the southern coast of Asia Minor, the pirates by sea, and the brigands by land, were notorious, and in the century before Christ a regular war was carried on against them under the most able of the Roman commanders, Pompey, who was decreed a triumph for his successes over them. See Fasti Sacri, p. 11, No. 99.

¹⁸¹ As at Damascus, Acts ix. 23; at Jerusalem, ix. 30; at Antioch of Pisidia, xiii. 50; at Iconium, xiv. 5; at Lystra, xiv. 19; at Thessalonica, xvii. 5; at Berea, xvii. 13; at Corinth, xviii. 12, &c.

¹⁸² As at Philippi, Acts xvi. 19; at Ephesus, xix. 23, &c.

¹⁸³ As at Damascus, Jerusalem, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Thessalonica, Berea, and Corinth.

¹⁸⁴ As in traversing the sandy plains of Arabia upon his conversion, &c.

¹⁸⁵ If he had thrice suffered actual shipwreck, he must have often endured much pain and hardship before such disasters.

¹⁸⁶ As from the Judaizing faction who obstructed his labours at Jerusalem, Galat. ii. 4; and again at Antioch, Galat. ii. 11, &c.

¹⁸⁷ All these hardships were the necessary concomitants of a life spent in traversing half-civilized countries, such as Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece.

¹⁸⁸ Witness the frequent epistles written to the churches planted by the Apostle in order to counteract the constant inroads made by false teachers, as particularly in Galatia and Corinth.

¹⁸⁹ Some think that the Apostle uses this solemn affirmation with reference to the escape from Damascus, which follows; and that having forgotten to mention the circumstance in its proper place in the catalogue of his troubles, he now introduces it with a declaration of his veracity, notwithstanding the previous omission. It is not probable, however, that the Apostle would have resorted to so solemn an appeal to account for this single circumstance. It is more likely that he is pledging his veracity to the truth of the whole account which had preceded. The like solemn declaration, Galat. i. 20, seems to have reference not to what *follows*, but to what had gone *before*.

(In Damascus the governor¹⁹⁰ under Aretas the king¹⁹¹ guarded the city of the
33 Damascenes, desiring to apprehend me, and through a window in a basket was
I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.)

CH. XII. "It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory, *for* I will come to visions
2 and revelations of the Lord—I *know* a man in Christ about fourteen years
ago¹⁹² (whether in the body, I *know not*; or whether out of the body, I
3 *know not*: God knoweth;) such a one caught up to the third heaven;¹⁹³ and
I *know* such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I *know not*: God
4 knoweth;) how that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable
5 words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Of such a one will I *boast*:
6 yet of myself I will not *boast save* in mine infirmities. For *if* I desire to *boast*,
I *should* not be a fool, for I *should* say the truth: but I *spare you*, lest any man

¹⁹⁰ ὁ ἐθνάρχης. This was the chief magistrate of the Jews, who were allowed to live under their own peculiar laws. See Vol. I. p. 1.

¹⁹¹ Damascus had probably been made over to Aretas, the Arabian prince of Petra, in A.D. 38, when Caligula made a new distribution of the Eastern provinces. See Fasti Sacri, A.D. 38, No. 1533.

Caligula was the friend of Agrippa I., and Aretas through Agrippa may very well have obtained the Emperor's favour. The Damascenes had many years before invited an earlier Aretas, King of Petra, to rule over them (Jos. Ant. xiii. 152), and Agrippa, the court favourite, was specially interested in their behalf, and, indeed, had in A.D. 33 received a bribe from them to advocate their claims before Flaccus, Prefect of Syria. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. It is therefore not unlikely that in A.D. 38 the Damascenes, through the influence of Agrippa at the Imperial court, may at their own request have been transferred from the province of Syria to the kingdom of Petra. The coin of Aretas with the inscription Φιλελλην (Lover of Greeks, with whom he wished to ingratiate himself) may have been struck on this occasion. It is not a little remarkable that coins of Damascus have been found with the heads of Augustus and Tiberius, but none with the head of Caligula or Claudius, but in the time of Nero the head of the Emperor again appears. Eckhel, iii. 331. The inference is that Damascus during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius was annexed to Syria, but that in the time of Caligula it was severed from it until the reign of Nero. This would satisfactorily explain how Damascus came to have an Ethnarch or Jewish ruler under Aretas in A.D. 39. On the other hand there is

the greatest improbability in the common hypothesis that Aretas during the war between him and Herod Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee, took forcible possession of Damascus, which was no part of Herod's dominions. How could he have dared to commit such treason against Rome (for treason of the darkest dye it would have been considered); and if he dared, how could the Romans have allowed him to remain in quiet enjoyment?

¹⁹² The Epistle was written in the autumn of A.D. 57, and the fourteenth year current before it would be from the autumn of A.D. 43 to the autumn of A.D. 44. The rapture was therefore when Paul was at Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 44. That the expression πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων means the fourteenth year *current* may be assumed without question. Thus the Jewish war broke out in May, A.D. 66, and Albinus was at the Feast of Tabernacles (Oct. 7) A.D. 62, which is said to have been πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου. Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3. See Fasti Sacri, p. 328, No. 1933.

¹⁹³ The third heaven is here evidently used as equivalent to Paradise in ver. 4. According to Grotius (but he cites no authority for it), the Jews divided the heavens into three: viz. 1. The Nubiferum, or common air; 2. The Astriferum, or starry firmament; 3. The Angeliferum, or Paradise. It appears from the Rabbinical writings cited by Schoettgen, Hor. Heb. i. 718 et seq., that the Jews divided the heavens arbitrarily, sometimes into two, and sometimes into as many as eighteen, but most usually into seven, viz.: 1. The Velum; 2. Expansum; 3. Nubes; 4. Habitaculum; 5. Habitatio; 6. Sedes fixa; and 7. Araboth.

7 should think of me above that which he seeth me, or heareth *from* me. And lest I should be *over* exalted through the *excess* of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh,¹⁹⁴ a messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I 8 should be *over* exalted. *On this behalf* I besought the Lord thrice, that it 9 might depart from me; and he said unto me, 'My grace is sufficient for thee, for my *power*¹⁹⁵ is made perfect in weakness.' Most gladly therefore will I 10 rather *boast* in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. Therefore I *am well pleased* in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I 11 strong. I *have* become a fool;¹⁹⁶ ye have compelled me, for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing *am* I behind the very chiefest 12 Apostles, though I be nothing. Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.¹⁹⁷ For 13 what is *there* wherein you were inferior to other churches, except that I myself was not *a burden upon* you?¹⁹⁸ Forgive me this wrong. 14 "Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you,¹⁹⁹ and I will not be a

¹⁹⁴ The Apostle refers to his partial blindness. See the arguments, Vol. I. p. 186.

¹⁹⁵ *δύναμις*. In Eng. ver. "strength."

¹⁹⁶ The word *καυχώμενος*—'in glorying'—is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁹⁷ Paul here appeals to the Corinthians as witnesses of the miraculous powers which he had displayed amongst them. Could he have done so, unless the assertion were based upon the truth?

¹⁹⁸ From this we may collect that while Paul wrought with his own hands to gain his own livelihood as far as he could, he received occasional support from his churches, unless, as in the Corinthian church, there were any special reason against it. The Corinthians were no doubt a little sore that he would receive nothing from them while he received from others; and it will be seen how earnestly Paul strives to convince them that his conduct was not from any want of affection for them, but to counteract the calumnies of his enemies.

¹⁹⁹ Paul had twice before announced an intended visit to the Corinthians, and had twice disappointed them, and now for the *third* time he holds out the prospect of his personal presence. To fully understand the Apostle's meaning, we must take a short retrospect. The *First* Epistle to the Corinthians was written at the Passover of A.D. 57 (see Vol. I. p. 370), and it is evident that he had then already disappointed

the Corinthians *once*, for he writes, "Now some are puffed up as *though I would not come to them.*" 1 Cor. iv. 18. That is, Paul had been expected at Corinth and had not come, and in consequence some had been puffed up. The precise period of this the first disappointment may be collected from the Second Epistle, in which he tells the Corinthians, in the autumn of A.D. 57 (see ante, p. 25), "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia that Achaia was ready a *year ago.*" 2 Cor. ix. 2. The Corinthians, therefore, in the autumn of A.D. 56, were already preparing their collection for the poor saints of Jerusalem—and why? Because Paul at that time, according to his then intentions, was about to embark from Ephesus for Corinth direct. But before starting he had received intelligence of certain irregularities in that church, and as he did not wish to visit them again in sorrow (2 Cor. ii. 1), he sent one or more of his faithful followers to correct these abuses (2 Cor. xii. 17), and at the same time to intimate the postponement of his own visit. Whoever was the messenger to the Corinthian church, he carried the news that Paul was not to be expected until the following year, viz. A.D. 57. This was the *first* disappointment of the Corinthian church.

In the spring of A.D. 57, when it was anticipated that Paul would sail to Corinth, further tidings reached him through the household of Chloë (1 Cor. i. 11) of still greater enormities in

burden upon you: for I seek not yours, but you, for the children ought not to
 15 *lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children. And I will very gladly*
spend and be spent for you, though the more abundantly I love you, the less

the Corinthian church, viz. of incestuous fornication by one of its members, and of unseemly divisions. What now was Paul to do? Was he to come to them with a rod, or was he a *second* time to postpone his visit, and thus expose himself to the scoffs of his enemies? He adopted the charitable course of giving time for repentance, and defied the obloquy that would be heaped upon himself by his maligners. The route which he had proposed to take both in the autumn of A.D. 56, and again in the spring of A.D. 57, had been to sail from Ephesus to Corinth direct, and thence to proceed to Macedonia, taking Corinth again on his way back before embarking for Judea or Italy. This plan he now changed, and in order to afford the Corinthians an opportunity of reformation, he determined to defer his intended voyage to Corinth until the autumn of A.D. 57, and, by reversing the route originally projected, to pass from Ephesus to Macedonia and thence to Corinth, with the intention of there spending the winter. It was after making this arrangement, that he wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and he thus developes his plans: "I will come unto you when I shall pass through Macedonia (for I *do* pass through Macedonia), and it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you." 1 Cor. xvi. 5. And in the Second Epistle: "I *was* minded to come unto you . . . and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you," 2 Cor. i. 15; and he then explains that his altered intentions were not the result of fickleness, but to spare their feelings and his own. Paul about Pentecost A.D. 57 actually quitted Ephesus for Macedonia, and thence in the autumn dispatched the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in allusion to the fact of his having twice previously disappointed them, he makes use of the expression in question: "Behold, the *third* time I am ready to come to you;" and presently afterwards, xiii. 1: "This is the third time I am *coming* to you." The word, be it observed, is *ἔρχομαι*, not *ἐλεύσομαι*. 'This is the third time I am *coming* or preparing to come,' not, 'the third time that I *shall* come to you.'

Some commentators, looking only to the surface, have imagined that these expressions, "The third time I am ready to come to you,"

and again, "This is the third time I am coming," indicate a second actual visit to Corinth previously to the date of the Epistle, but the hypothesis that between Paul's first arrival at Corinth in A.D. 52 and the date of the Epistle in the autumn of A.D. 57, an intervening visit occurred, is full of difficulties. In the first place, it is very unlikely that Luke, who furnishes rather minute details of this part of the Apostle's life, should have passed it over in silence. But further, to what period must the supposed second visit be assigned? Paul terminated his first sojourn at Corinth, at Midsummer A.D. 53, whence he sailed to Jerusalem, and thence went down to Antioch (Acts xviii. 23), and thence, in the spring of A.D. 54, to Ephesus, whence, after three years, he passed into Macedonia. Herefrom he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, containing the passages under discussion. He could only therefore have made a second journey to Corinth during his three years' residence at Ephesus. But how is this consistent with his statement to the Ephesian elders? "Ye know *from the first day* that I came into Asia, after what manner I was with you *the whole time* (τὸν πάντα χρόνον)." Acts xx. 18. "By the space of three years I *ceased not* to warn every one night and day with tears." Acts xx. 31.

Besides, the whole contents of the Epistle imply but one previous visit. Thus he writes: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom; and I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling," &c. 1 Cor. ii. 1-3. Does not this suppose that he had only *once* been amongst them? Contrast this with his language to the Galatians whom he had twice visited. "Through infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto you *the former time* (τὸ πρότερον)," &c. Galat. iv. 13. So, had he paid two visits to Corinth, he would have distinguished to which of the two he now alluded. Again, he says: "I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a *second* benefit, and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia to you." 2 Cor. i. 15. What can be meant by a "second benefit" but the personal presence of the Apostle for the second time? However, the ingenuity of commentators has been taxed to give a different turn to the sentence. The

16 I be loved. But be it so, I did not burden you, nevertheless, being crafty, I
 17 caught you with guile!²⁰⁰ Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom
 18 I sent unto you? I desired Titus, and with him I sent *the* brother.²⁰¹ Did
 Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit? [walked we]
 not in the same steps? Again, think ye that we excuse ourselves unto you?
 19 We speak before God in Christ: but we do all things, beloved, for your edifi-
 20 cation; for I fear, lest, when I come, I shall not find you such as I would,
 and that I shall be found unto you such as ye would not:—lest there be *strifes*,
 envyings, wraths, *contentions*, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults:
 21 and lest, when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I
 shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the
 uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they have committed.

CH. XIII. “This is the third time²⁰² I am coming to you. ‘In the mouth of two
 2 and three witnesses shall every word be established.’ (Deut. xix. 15.)²⁰³ I have
 told you before,²⁰⁴ and foretel you, as if I were present the second time,²⁰⁵ and

second benefit, it is said, signifies only that Paul would take Corinth first on his way out to Macedonia, and then again on his way back from Macedonia. But this interpretation cannot be accepted, for then the sentence should stand thus: “I was minded to come unto you before, and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia to you, that ye might have a second benefit,” whereas the second benefit is applied, not to Paul’s return from Macedonia, but to his arrival at Corinth before going to Macedonia. To meet this objection, the theorists contend that *δευτέραν χάριν* means a *double* benefit. But by no possibility can such a meaning be got out of Paul’s words.

Another passage is this: “I told you before, and foretel you, as if I were *present the second time*; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned,” &c. 2 Cor. xiii. 2. The word *γράφω*, ‘I write’ (which would have made the sense for which we contend still more certain), has been rejected by modern critics, and therefore the Greek as corrected stands thus: *προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν, τοῖς προσημαρτυρήκοσι, κ.τ.λ.*—‘I have said before [in both Epistles, as 1 Cor. iv. 21, 2 Cor. x. 2, xii. 20, 21], and I foresay, as if I were present the second time, though now absent, to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all others, that if I come again I will not spare.’ The anti-Pauline faction at Corinth, from Paul’s having twice before disappointed them, had mocked at his threatened visit, but he here tells them solemnly that his warning, though he was

absent, would take effect as certainly as if he were present. But the advocates of the second imaginary visit would render the words thus: ‘I have forewarned you, and I now forewarn you, as I did [*προεῖρηκα*] when present the second time, and (I do) now when absent, that if I come again I will not spare.’ Alford. But not to mention that this reference of *παρὼν* to *προεῖρηκα* and *ἀπὼν* to *προλέγω* (referendo singula singulis) is entirely foreign to the Apostle’s style, how could he say that when last present amongst them, he had warned them that *if* he came again he would not spare? Had he been actually present, he would have corrected the abuse at once, and not have deferred it; and had he deferred it to a future visit, he would have expressed himself, not, ‘*if* I come again,’ but ‘*when* I come again I will not spare.’

²⁰⁰ He is here putting the case of his adversaries, in order to answer it.

²⁰¹ Viz. Trophimus. See ante, p. 8.

²⁰² *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι*. This is equivalent to the previous expression, *τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν*. It was not the third visit, but the third attempt to make his second visit. See note ¹⁹⁹ ante.

²⁰³ *ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθῆσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα*. In the LXX. the passage is: *ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος τριῶν μαρτύρων ζήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα*. We find the same language in Josephus: *δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς μάρτυρας*. Vit. 49.

²⁰⁴ Viz. x. 2, 11.

²⁰⁵ *προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν γράφω, κ.τ.λ.* Some assume, but

being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all
 3 *others*, that, if I come again, I will not spare. Since ye seek a proof of Christ
 4 speaking in me, *who* to youward is not weak, but is mighty in you; for though
 he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth *through* the power of God;
 for we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him by the power of God
 5 toward you. *Try* yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own
 selves. *Or* know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you.
 6 except ye be reprobates? but I *hope* that ye shall know that we are not
 7 reprobates. Now I pray to God that ye do no evil; not that we should appear
 approved, but that ye should do that which is honest, though we be as repro-
 8, 9 bates; for we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth: for we are
 glad when we are weak and ye are strong; and this also we wish, even your
 10 perfection. Therefore I write these things being absent, lest, being present,
 I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given
 me, *for building up* and not for *pulling down*.

11 “Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect; be of good comfort; be of one
 12 mind: live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you. *Salute*
 one another with a holy kiss.²⁰⁶ All the saints salute you.

13 “THE GRACE OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THE LOVE OF GOD, AND THE
 COMMUNION OF THE HOLY GHOST, BE WITH YOU ALL.”²⁰⁷

The Epistle was delivered into the hands of Titus, who, accompanied by Luke and Trophimus, set sail for Corinth, and Paul, with Timothy and other followers, took the road to the west, towards Macedonia Quarta. As this parenthetical circuit of the Apostle, though not excluded by the language of St. Luke, is not particularly mentioned by him, it may be proper to state the grounds upon which we assume it to have been made.

There is in the first place a *primâ facie* probability for it, from the circumstance that Paul, on his former circuit, though intending to evangelize the whole of Macedonia, had visited three only of the four provinces, and before he could accomplish his purpose was suddenly arrested in his progress by the events at Berea. He was then obliged to fly; but he would naturally resume the prosecution of his design at the first convenient opportunity. Such an occasion now presented itself, for he had dispatched the eleemosynary business among the churches already planted, and yet he did not propose to pass at once to Corinth, lest he should come upon them before they had reformed their abuses, and he also wished the alms-gathering at Corinth to be first completed under the direction of Titus. That the collection in Macedonia

without the least ground, that Paul had already been *twice* at Corinth; and they would render this passage thus, ‘I tell you now again, as I told you when I was present at Corinth the second time,’ &c. See note ¹⁹⁹ ante.

²⁰⁶ See Vol. I. p. 284.

²⁰⁷ The last paragraph was written with the Apostle’s own hand to authenticate the letter. See Vol. I. p. 284. Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford omit the word “Amen.”

had been brought to a close is evident from 2 Cor. viii. 1, "We do you to wit of the grace (or free-offering) of God which *hath been given* in the churches of Macedonia." The interval before starting for Corinth might thus be well employed by the Apostle in carrying out his original design. The language of Luke is, that Paul departed from Ephesus into Macedonia, and that "when he had *gone over those parts*, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece,"²⁰⁸ where the expression that he had gone over or exhausted "those parts" is extremely large. But the strongest evidence is to be found in the Epistle to the Romans, written a few months after from Corinth. In apologizing to the Romans for not having visited them before, he tells them that he had greatly desired it, but that Macedonia and Achaia, the intervening countries, had possessed a prior claim to his services. "But now," he continues, "*having no more place* in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you, whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you,"²⁰⁹ from which it may be clearly inferred, that "having no more place in those parts," he had fulfilled his utmost intentions as regards Macedonia. And another passage in the same Epistle is almost decisive of the fact, for he writes, "From Jerusalem, and *round about unto Illyricum*, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ."²¹⁰ In other words, he had made concentric circuits from Jerusalem up to the borders of Illyricum, which he could scarcely say with propriety had he stopped short at Berœa, but which would be an accurate and beautiful description of his labours, had he also evangelized Macedonia Quarta, which lay contiguous to Illyricum. Paley has well observed upon this text, that "St. Paul considers Jerusalem as the centre, and is here viewing the circumference to which his travels extended. The form of expression in the original conveys this idea—'Ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ. Illyricum was the part of this circle which he mentions in an Epistle to the Romans, because it lay in a direction from Jerusalem towards that city, and pointed out to the Roman readers the nearest place to them to which his travels from Jerusalem had brought him."²¹¹

Paul and Timothy then pursued their journey to the west, and no doubt passed along the high road the famous Via Egnatia, that traversed Macedonia. This conducted them first to Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great, and afterwards to Pelagonia, or Heraclea, the capital of Macedonia Quarta. We may reasonably infer that Paul visited the latter city, as it was invariably his practice to plant the standard of Christ in the metropolis. What persecutions he encountered on his pilgrimage, and how, by the divine aid, he triumphed against them, must be left to conjecture, for Luke, his only historian, was on the road to Corinth, and not being an eye-witness has furnished no particulars. When the Apostle had fully accomplished his purpose,

²⁰⁸ διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα, καὶ παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Acts xx. 2. For the use of the word Ἑλλάς for Achaia, as opposed to Macedonia, see Pausan.

Phocic. x. 19, 4.

²⁰⁹ Rom. xv. 23, 24.

²¹⁰ Rom. xv. 19.

²¹¹ Horæ Paul. on Epist. Rom. No. 4.

he retraced his steps and returned to Thessalonica; such at least is the natural inference from the facility offered by that port for embarkation for Corinth, and also from the passage in the letter which he had lately written to the Corinthians, in which he bade them have their contribution ready, "Lest haply *if they of Macedonia* come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting."²¹² The Macedonians, who had joined in the collection, were thus to have the opportunity, when the Apostle started, of accompanying him on his journey, and this could scarcely be the case unless they were with him when he embarked. Paul would return to Thessalonica about the middle of November, A.D. 57.²¹³

²¹² 2 Cor. ix. 4.

²¹³ The text assumes that Paul passed from Macedonia to Greece by sea, and as he travelled with a numerous company, a voyage on economical grounds would be far preferable. On the other hand, the seas, on and after the 11th of

November, were, for ordinary navigation, considered as closed; but the coasting trade continued throughout the winter. St. Luke observes only that Paul "*came*" into Greece (*ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, Acts xx. 2), which affords no argument one way or the other.

CHAPTER II.

Paul sails to Corinth, where he winters, and writes the Epistle to the Romans—He travels by land to Philippi, and sails thence to Ephesus and Acre, whence he proceeds by land to Jerusalem.

Lord, in Thy fold I work all day,
I read, I teach, I warn, I pray,
And yet these wilful wandering sheep
Within Thy fold I cannot keep.

Christian Year.

PAUL now (Nov. A.D. 57) set sail for Corinth, to compose the disorders which the Judaizers and other adversaries had initiated in that church. He was accompanied by Timothy, Tychicus the Ephesian, Gaius of Derbe, and, as he had anticipated, by several Macedonians, viz. Jason, Aristarchus, and Secundus, all of Thessalonica, Sopater of Berea, and probably others. He reached Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, about the beginning of December, and this accorded with the intention which he had previously announced from Ephesus, that he would pass the winter with them.¹ At Cenchrea the Apostle may have met with those civilities from Phebe, a deaconess of the church, which he shortly afterwards acknowledges in the Epistle to the Romans, "for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also."² From Cenchrea the Apostle passed to Corinth, not quite nine miles distant,³ and took up his abode in the house of Gaius, or Caius, an old disciple, one of the first converts, and baptized by the Apostle with his own hands.⁴ It appears that Caius was also well esteemed for his charities, as Paul calls him "mine host, and of the whole church."⁵

What a band of Christian champions was now assembled at Corinth! Besides the Apostle himself, there was the youthful Timothy, sincere, self-sacrificing, and of a gentle nature; Luke, the accomplished physician, and now the Evangelist; Titus, on whose judgment and discretion Paul had twice relied to calm the disturbances in the Corinthian church; Trophimus the Ephesian, the companion of Titus, and one of the delegates charged with the alms for the poor Hebrews; Jason, who had risked his life by giving shelter to the Apostle at Thessalonica;⁶ Tychicus the Ephesian, faithful

¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 6.

² Rom. xvi. 2.

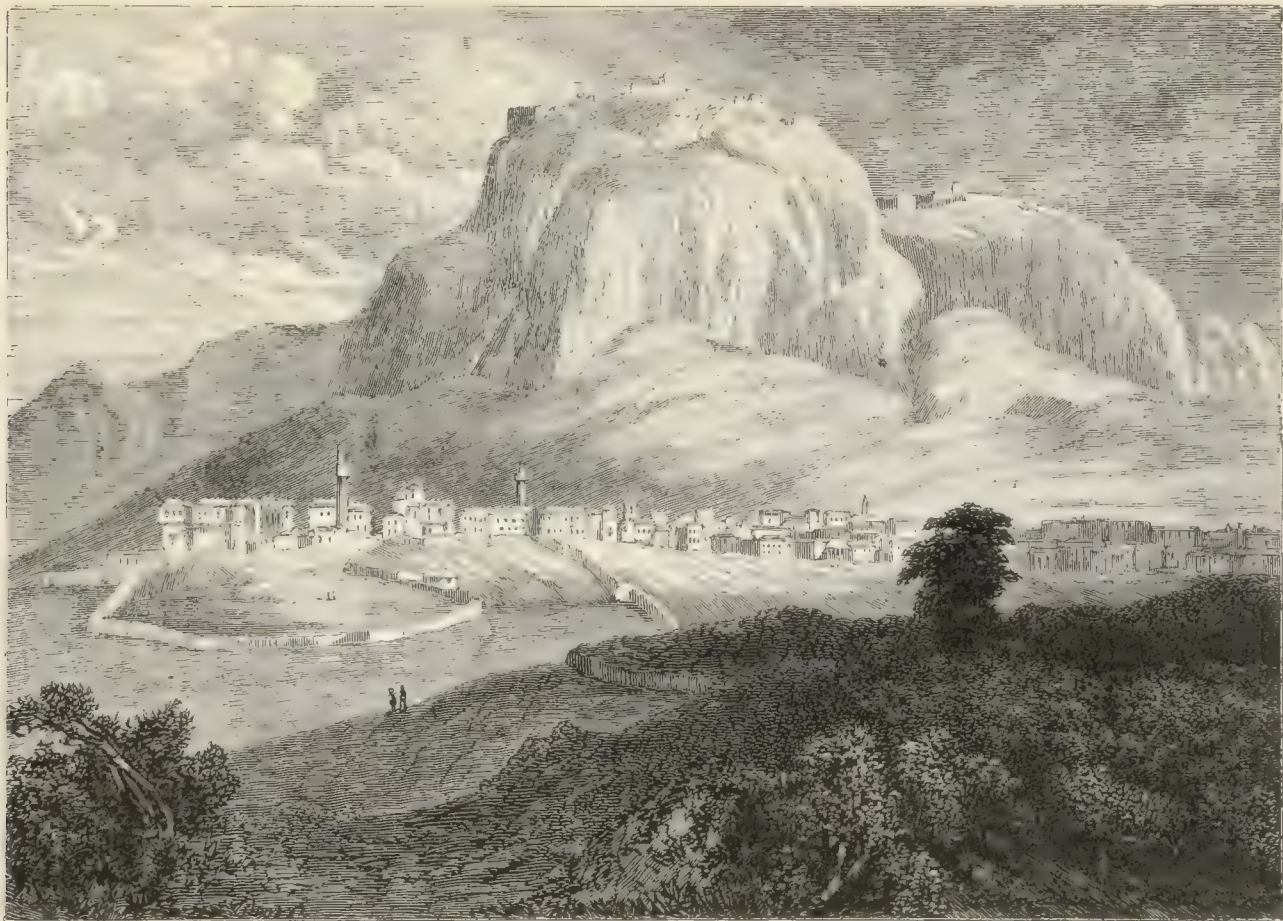
³ Seventy stades. Strabo, viii. 6 (p. 213,

Tauch.). Cor. viii. 6.

⁴ 1 Cor. i. 14.

⁵ Rom. xvi. 23.

⁶ Rom. xvi. 21.



VIEW OF CORINTH FROM THE NORTH, AS IT WAS BEFORE THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

From a Print in the Author's possession.

The spectator is looking south, and Acrocorinthus is in the background.



VIEW OF CORINTH FROM THE FOOT OF ACROCORINTHUS.

From a Print in the Author's possession.

The spectator is looking north over the Corinthian Bay.

To face Vol. ii. p. 38.

as we shall see to the last,⁷ and the ready envoy to the most distant churches;⁸ Erastus, the chamberlain of Corinth;⁹ and, perhaps, Sosthenes the Corinthian, who from his influence and character had been associated with Paul in the opening salutation of one of the Epistles;¹⁰ Sopater of Berea, Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe,¹¹ and Gaius,¹² Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, all of Corinth.

With such a phalanx of trusty followers, the Apostle commenced his winter campaign for the extirpation of immorality and vice, and the overthrow of heresy and spiritual arrogance. Titus, Luke, and Trophimus, who had preceded him, had done much, but only the hand of Paul could extract the evil by the roots. The incestuous person had been long since excommunicated, and on his sincere contrition, had on the recommendation of the affectionate Paul, been once more received into the bosom of the church; but others also in that dissolute city had been guilty of "uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness,"¹³ and it is to be feared that in some instances on the fact being established "in the mouth of two or three witnesses," he proceeded, as he had threatened,¹⁴ to the infliction of exemplary punishment. As for the Judaizing faction, headed by their false apostle, they had set Paul at defiance while at a distance, had ridiculed his diminutive stature, mocked his feebleness of speech, and held up to derision his fulminating epistle addressed to them from Macedonia. Paul had declared, that such as he was by letters when he was absent, such would he be also by deed when he was present;¹⁵ and he had warned them solemnly, that "if he came again he would not spare."¹⁶ And now Paul had arrived, and, with a courage that never flinched, descended into the arena to measure his strength with his boastful antagonist. The trumpet sounded to the charge, but where was the battle? The impostor quailed before the Apostle, and the deceiver and his crew vanish from the scene. Either they received merited chastisement from the apostolic rod which Paul wielded, or they fled from Corinth in disgrace to hide themselves from the scoffs of their deluded followers. Luke was now at Corinth, and might in his history have furnished us with the particulars, but he has passed over the false teacher in significant silence.

From another quarter we may glean the fact, that under Paul's auspices order was fully restored in the Corinthian church. Clement, the disciple of Paul, and whose name was in the book of life,¹⁷ and was afterwards bishop of Rome, in an Epistle written by him to the Corinthians some years after and undoubtedly genuine, refers to the divisions which had once prevailed at Corinth, and describes in glowing terms the happy state in which that church had been left by the Apostle. "Take up," he says, "the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he write to you at first in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he by

⁷ He was with Paul at Rome during the second imprisonment, and was sent by him, just before the Apostle's death, to Ephesus. 2 Tim. iv. 12.

⁸ Acts xx. 4.

⁹ Rom. xvi. 23.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. i. 1.

¹¹ Acts xx. 4.

¹² Rom. xvi. 23.

¹³ 2 Cor. xii. 21.

¹⁴ 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

¹⁵ 2 Cor. x. 11.

¹⁶ 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

¹⁷ Philipp. iv. 3.

the Holy Spirit admonished you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because even then ye had made parties, but such partisanship brought you the less sin, for ye were partisans of Apostles (Peter and Paul) who have become martyrs, and of a man (Apollos) highly approved by them;"¹⁸ and in another part of the Epistle he thus testifies to their subsequent exemplary conduct: "Who that visited you did not admire your sober and gentle piety in Christ? for ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the laws of God, obeying those who were set over you; and ye were all humble-minded, subjecting yourselves rather than subjecting others. Thus a deep and blessed calm was diffused over all, and an insatiate longing for well-doing, and a plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit. All faction and all schism was detestable in your sight."¹⁹ The Epistle is written in a somewhat rhetorical style; but making allowance for this, it is plain that Corinth had once more become a holy and united church. We may add, by the way (such is the frailty of human nature), that some years after the martyrdom of Paul, dissensions were renewed in the church at Corinth, when Fortunatus, who with Stephanas and Achaicus, had applied to Paul at Ephesus, again sailed to Rome to implore the assistance of Clement in healing their divisions by an expostulatory epistle, which was the occasion of Clement's writing the letter to which we have referred.²⁰

The next work that engaged the Apostle's attention at Corinth was one far more consonant to his feelings, the alms-gathering for the poor Hebrews. We have said so much upon this head with reference to Macedonia, that here we need add but little. Corinth, from its extensive commerce, was an opulent city, and their liberality was in proportion. They had expressed their readiness a year ago, and Titus upon both his missions to them had been active in forwarding their subscriptions. We know from the Apostle's statement to the Romans, that the contribution was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that not Corinth only, but the neighbouring churches of Achaia, joined in the bounty.²¹

Paul, while at Ephesus, had announced an intention of passing the winter at Corinth, and this their expectation he now fulfilled, for the sacred historian informs us that Paul abode there the space of three months.²² At the end of February, A.D. 58, Paul was ready to depart. The plan of his route at this time was to sail direct for Jerusalem, and thence to Rome, on his way into Spain. Before, however, he took leave of Corinth, he composed the noblest production of his pen, and in the judgment of a profound metaphysician (Coleridge) the greatest effort ever made by the human intellect—the Epistle to the Romans. A doctrinal exposition of the Epistle is not within our scope, and we shall only attempt to put together some historical notices of the circumstances under which it was written.

The inducements that called forth this apostolical effusion had partly reference to

¹⁸ Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. Cor. xlvii.

¹⁹ Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. Cor. i.

²⁰ Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. Cor. lix.

²¹ Rom. xv. 26.

²² Acts xx. 3.

the general state of Christendom, and partly the present aspect of things in the Roman church.

The Gospel, of which Paul was the ambassador, had neutralized the effect of the Mosaic dispensation; and consequently in every place as soon as he opened his mouth to the Gentiles, he encountered the most furious opposition from his own countrymen. Notwithstanding this constant antagonism, Paul had planted churches throughout a great part of the civilized world. But now within the pale of Christianity itself, a Judaizing heresy had sprung up, which threatened to shake the foundations of the whole Church. It had broken out at Jerusalem, had invaded Antioch, had overthrown for a time the faith of the Galatians, and had created infinite disorders at Corinth. Paul could not be everywhere present, for "he was debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians, both to the wise and the unwise."²³ Besides, the Jews were pursuing him from place to place, and seeking his life, and he might at any moment be cut off. It was no exaggeration when he said, "I die daily."²⁴ "I bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus."²⁵ "For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter."²⁶ He was, therefore, anxious to counteract the Judaizing movement by the publication of a written document, authenticated by his signature, which should serve as a rule of faith to his Christian converts. Accordingly, in the Epistle before us, he has in a compendious but systematic form, developed the whole Gospel scheme, and has established the grand doctrine, that salvation is not by human merit at all either by the Law or without the Law, (for all are transgressors,) but solely by faith in Christ, whose blood was made an atonement for sin.

Thus far the scope of the Apostle was general to all Christendom; but other incentives to the composition of the Epistle respected the Roman church in particular. Paul had never visited that capital; but though a stranger to their community, he had become acquainted with not a few of its members. Tarsians, the fellow-citizens of the Apostle, abounded at Rome,²⁷ and besides this, when Paul had been last at Corinth, not only Aquila and Priscilla, but a vast number of other Jews, on their expulsion from the capital by the decree of Claudius, had either passed through Corinth on their way to Judea or other countries, or, like Aquila and Priscilla, had taken up a temporary abode there. Paul had thus the opportunity (of which he availed himself) of securing the friendship of many influential fellow-countrymen, and it is not a little remarkable that at the close of this Epistle he salutes two households, and no less than twenty-six different individuals, and generally with some discriminating touch of character, so that evidently the Apostle was not paying a cold compliment, but was familiar with their personal and private history. The Apostle, therefore, naturally felt an excessive interest in the welfare of the Roman

²³ Rom. i. 14.²⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 31.²⁵ 2 Cor. iv. 10.²⁶ Rom. viii. 36.²⁷ Strabo, xiv. 5. (p. 231, Tauchnitz.)

church, and was proportionately earnest in guarding it against the erroneous opinions that were abroad. He tells us, indeed, that without ceasing, he made mention of them always in his prayers.²⁸ The Judaizing heresy had not as yet penetrated to Rome, or had not made any serious impression upon it—at least so we should infer from the laudatory language in which the Apostle addresses them: “I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world; and I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another.”²⁹ But the seeds of mischief might at any time be sown amongst them: and the Apostle, therefore, cautions them against listening to the tempter. “I beseech you, brethren, *mark them which cause divisions and offences* contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.”³⁰ And we find that, in fact, the Judaizers did soon after creep into the Roman church, for when Paul was a prisoner there, he writes to the Philippians, “Some, indeed, *preach Christ, even of envy and strife*,” and “*the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely*, supposing to add affliction to my bonds;”³¹ and it is plain that the false teachers here alluded to were Paul’s bitter antagonists, the Judaizers, who, under pretence of forwarding the Gospel, made converts to the law of Moses. No wonder, then, that at this time the Apostle, foreseeing the threatened invasion, sought to pre-occupy the ground and fortify the minds of the brethren against the insidious adversary.

Another circumstance that now directed the attention of Paul towards the Roman church was this: the mass of the Roman believers consisted of *Gentiles*, who, like the rest of their brethren, were in the habit of deriding the ceremonious ritual of the Mosaic dispensation. And further, the *Jewish* converts themselves were distinguished into two classes, one which observed the Law, and another which regarded the observance as matter of indifference, and both regulated their practice accordingly. Amongst these three parties, first, the Gentiles, secondly, the observing Jews, and lastly, the non-observing Jews, disputations and animosities were not unfrequently arising, which, though they did not end in actual schism, yet greatly disturbed the serenity of the Church. It was, therefore, one object of the Apostle, by explaining the means of salvation, as the truth was in Jesus, and by suitable admonitions upon the subject of mutual forbearance, to soothe growing irritation, and to weld, as it were, these discordant materials into one solid and homogeneous body.

Such were the views with which the Epistle was written, and the execution of the design called for the display of all the Apostle’s address. He was a stranger personally to the Roman church, and a letter of instruction and admonition from one not personally known to them might, under ordinary circumstances, be deemed an

²⁸ Rom. i. 9.²⁹ Rom. i. 8; xv. 14.³⁰ Rom. xvi. 17, 18.³¹ Philipp. i. 15, 16.

intrusion, and this did not escape the nice sensibilities of Paul, for throughout the composition we cannot but admire the delicate turns by which he seeks to avoid giving offence in edifying a church already of some celebrity. Thus he says, "I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established";³² and then, conscious that he may have said too much, he adds, "That is, that I may be comforted together with you by the *mutual faith* both of you and me;"³³ and afterwards, when inculcating that if the fall of the Jews was the aggrandizement of the Gentiles, how much more would their fulness be so, he subjoins by way of apology, "For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the *Apostle of the Gentiles—I magnify mine office*;"³⁴ and at the close of the Epistle, after exhorting them to various duties, he excuses his apparent forwardness by reminding them of his sacred calling, "I have written the more boldly unto you, brethren, in some sort, as calling things to your remembrance, through *the grace that hath been given to me of God*, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the *Gentiles*."³⁵ We observe a like tenderness, for the feelings of the Jews in particular, in the affectionate manner in which he softens towards his own countrymen the unpalatable truths which his Christian vocation obliged him to communicate. Having pronounced that justification could not be attained under the Law, he asks, "What advantage 'then hath the Jew? or what profit is there in circumcision? *Much every way*;"³⁶ and "Do we then make void the Law through faith? Far be it! *yea, we establish the Law*."³⁷ Again, having insinuated the rejection of the Jewish nation as God's peculiar people, he qualifies so ungrateful a proposition by pointing their attention to the many Jews that believed: "I say then, hath God cast away his people? Far be it! For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew*."³⁸

We shall now content ourselves with a short analysis of the contents of the Epistle. The letter divides itself naturally into two parts, the doctrinal and the moral, the point of intersection being at the close of the eleventh chapter.

In the first part the Apostle after an appropriate salutation, and (i. 8) congratulating the church on their faith, and (i. 11) excusing himself for not having visited the Roman church, proceeds (i. 16) to lay down the great truth which he was about to demonstrate, that the Gospel of Christ is the only means of salvation both to Jew and Greek, inasmuch as justification is not by works, but by faith. This proposition he reasons out and clears from objections in the four following chapters. All, he argues, are in respect of works under condemnation, for the wrath of God is revealed against those who know the truth and obey it not. If any could be excused the Gentiles would, who had not written law, but nevertheless they had the law of nature,

³² Rom. i. 11.³⁵ Rom. xv. 15, 16.³⁸ Rom. xi. 1, 2. This subject is pursued further in Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.³³ Rom. i. 12.³⁶ Rom. iii. 1.³⁴ Rom. xi. 13.³⁷ Rom. iii. 31.

which they had transgressed to such a degree as to fall into the grossest idolatry and the most dreadful immoralities; all therefore, whether Gentiles or Jews, were guilty in the sight of God.

But the Jew had many pleas to urge against this sweeping condemnation, and the Apostle examines them in order. We, says the Jew, (ii. 17) are the chosen people of God, and have the Law and circumcision. But, answers the Apostle, you do not keep the Law, and have therefore broken the covenant, and lost the benefit of circumcision. What then, says the Jew, (iii. 1) is the use of the Law or circumcision? Paul replies, that the Jews, as God's chosen people, were entrusted with the oracles in which was contained the promise of the Messiah, for though the Jew had broken the Law, God did not break his promise, nay, the unfaithfulness of the Jew made the faithfulness of God more prominent. Then, says the Jew, (iii. 5) if my transgression redounds to the glory of God, I have done no wrong. Nay, answers the Apostle, that proves too much, for all sin places the righteousness of God in a stronger light, and if there be excuse on that account, there would be no judgment day at all. But you admit, argues the Jew, (iii. 9) that we are a privileged people, and if so we have an advantage over the Gentile. Not, replies the Apostle, in respect of justification, for on the very assumption that you believe in the Law your mouth is stopped, for the Law itself says, "There is none righteous, no not one."

He then (iii. 21) sums up his argument, and draws the conclusion that justification cannot be by works, but is the free gift of God by faith in Christ, and in (iv. 1) he confirms this position by the instance of Abraham, on whom the Jews so much relied, and whose children they were, for Abraham was not justified by works but by faith: not by circumcision but while in a state of uncircumcision.

In the four following chapters (v. to viii.), he deduces the consolatory consequences of the doctrine of faith, for if justification be the free gift of God, while man was a fallen creature, the love of God (now that we have been justified) will not stop short of first sanctifying, and then saving us. For (v. 12) what hath been the love of God hitherto? In Adam all died, but by the grace of God in Christ, all were made alive. From Adam to Moses there was no written law, and therefore sin would be imputed to the extent only of the natural law; but when Moses delivered the revealed Law, the sin of man was multiplied, yet the love of God superabounded, and justified us even from that degree of transgression. If such be the love of God (vi. 1), shall we continue in sin that his grace may be the greater in still saving us? Far be it! exclaims the Apostle, for our baptism or submersion was a symbol of our death to sin, and of our resurrection to newness of life. Under the Law, the Holy Spirit was not given, and man could plead human frailty as an excuse; but under the Gospel the graces of the Holy Spirit have been shed upon us, and sin need not have the dominion over us. May we then (vi. 15) transgress because we are not under the Law, but under grace? Far be it! for the Gospel requires us to seek salvation by becoming the servants of righteousness. Under the Law, we were the

servants of sin, because we were not yet sanctified by the Spirit; but now that the Comforter is come, the sin that prevailed under the Law has ceased. What! exclaims the objector (vii. 7), was the Law sinful? No, answers the Apostle; the Law commanded what was holy, but man was the sinner in not keeping the Law. The Apostle then (viii. 1) sums up the preceding discussion by inculcating that justification must be followed by sanctification, that is by a life of righteousness under the support of the Holy Spirit, and that sanctification will then be crowned with salvation, for although man cannot foresee the future, he may rest assured that nothing can separate him from the love of God.

The three next chapters (ix. to xi.) are intended to soothe the wounded feelings of his countrymen, the Jews, who could not fail to be somewhat chagrined at the announcement of the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, and the call of the Gentiles to be the people of God equally with the Jews. He (ix. 1) solemnly assures them of his own deep mortification at the blindness of Israel. "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart; for I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites; whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."³⁹ But he comforts them (ix. 6) by the reflection that all are not Jews who are so outwardly, and that the promises of God have not failed, for that numbers of the Jews had believed who were to be regarded as the true Israel. He then (x. 1) adverts to the unbelieving Jews, and testifies that they had a zeal for God, though not regulated by sound judgment, for instead of wrath at the abrogation of the Law, they should have rejoiced in the Gospel as the fulfilment of it, for what the Law in vain attempted to do, the Gospel in Christ had accomplished. But, says the Apostle, (xi. 1) is it the fact that God hath rejected his people? No. Some of the branches have been broken off that the Gentiles might be ingrafted, but when the fulness of the Gentiles has arrived, the natural branches will again be grafted upon their own vine.

In the second part, the Apostle having concluded the doctrinal, now (xii. 1) commences the practical part of the Epistle. He first (xii. 1) inculcates the moral duties of Christians generally towards God and towards each other. Then (xiii. 1) the obligations affecting Christians in their political character, as allegiance to the Emperor, &c. He then (xiv. 1) refers to the differences amongst them as to the observance of the Jewish ceremonial, and impresses upon them the duty of mutual forbearance that he who adhered to the Law should not condemn him who departed from it, and he who asserted his freedom should not despise his brother whose

³⁹ Rom. ix. 1-5.

conscience held him still bound. "I know, and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean; but if thy brother be grieved by thy meat thou walkest no longer according to charity. Destroy not him by thy meat for whom Christ died."⁴⁰

The Apostle, in conclusion (xv. 14), excuses his freedom towards a church already so well instructed, by pleading his office, that he had been called to be an apostle of the Gentiles, and that through miracles which God had wrought by his hands, he had now planted the Gospel round about from Jerusalem up to the confines of Illyricum. He then informs them of his intended route, that he was now going up to Jerusalem with the alms collected in Macedonia and Achaia, and that having disposed of that matter he proposed to visit Rome on his way into Spain. He closes the Epistle (xvi.) with numerous salutations and subjoins the usual benediction.

The letter ran thus:⁴¹

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. "PAUL, A SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST, CALLED [TO BE] AN APOSTLE, SEPARATED
2 UNTO THE GOSPEL OF GOD⁴² (which he had promised afore by his prophets in
3 the Holy Scriptures, concerning his Son, *who was born* of the seed of David
4 according to the flesh (*Matt. i. 1*),⁴³ *who was* declared to be the Son of God
in power (*Matt. xvii. 51*), according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrec-

⁴⁰ Rom. xiv. 14, 15.

⁴¹ The date of the Epistle may be fixed as follows:—

It was written from Corinth and not from Cenchrea, for Gaius, a Corinthian (1 Cor. i. 14), was the host of the Apostle at the time of writing the Epistle (Rom. xvi. 23); and while Paul mentions Cenchrea by name, he refers to Corinth as "the city," viz. in which he was sojourning, τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς (Rom. xvi. 1), ὁ οἰκόνομος τῆς πόλεως [of Corinth] (Rom. xvi. 23); and the date of the Epistle was after the completion of the collection for the poor Hebrews, not only in Macedonia but also in Achaia, and indeed when Paul was on the eve of starting with the collection for Jerusalem. νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κ.τ.λ. Rom. xv. 25. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 313, No. 1854. The date of the Epistle, therefore, was about the beginning of March, A.D. 58.

⁴² κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφωρισμένος, κ.τ.λ. It has been suggested that Paul here refers to his ordination at Antioch as an Apostle of the Gentiles. Ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν τε Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον. Acts xiii. 2. We may note three

steps in the Apostleship of Paul: 1. The election of him as the Apostle of the Gentiles at his conversion, εἰς οὓς νῦν σε ἀποστέλλω. Acts xxvi. 16. 2. His ordination as such Apostle by the church of Antioch. Acts xiii. 2. 3. The recognition of him as the Apostle of the Gentiles by the Hebrew church. Galat. ii. 19. After his conversion, and before his ordination as an apostle of the Gentiles at Antioch, he was known as a προφήτης and διδάσκαλος only. Acts xiii. 1. Even after his ordination, and before his recognition by the Hebrew church, he did not in his Epistles assume the title of Apostle (see the two Epistles to the Thessalonians); but after that time his title was fully recognized, and his Epistles open with the address, "Paul, the Apostle," &c., with the exception, however, of the Epistles to the Philippians and to the Hebrews, in which were special grounds for the omission, viz. the first being rather a friendly letter than an Apostolical Epistle; and the second being addressed to a church not under the Apostle's peculiar jurisdiction.

⁴³ Mary, therefore, as well as Joseph, was of the lineage of David.

5 tion from the dead, *even* Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom we have received
 grace and apostleship, *unto* obedience to the faith among all nations for his
 6, 7 name, among whom are ye also the called of Jesus Christ :) TO ALL THAT BE
 IN ROME, BELOVED OF GOD, CALLED [TO BE] SAINTS, GRACE TO YOU AND PEACE
 FROM GOD OUR FATHER AND THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

8 “First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith
 9 is spoken of throughout the whole world. For God is my witness, whom I
 serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make men-
 10 tion of you, always in my prayers *beseeking* ⁴⁴ if by any means now at length
 11 I *may* have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you. For I
 long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end
 12 ye may be established—that is, that I may be comforted together with you by
 13 the mutual faith both of you and me.⁴⁵ Now I would not have you ignorant,
 brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but *have been hindered*
 hitherto) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among *the*
 14 other Gentiles. I am debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians,⁴⁶ both to the
 15 wise and unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am *forward* ⁴⁷ to preach the
 16 Gospel to you also that are at Rome; for I am not ashamed of the Gospel of
 Christ.

“FOR IT IS THE POWER OF GOD UNTO SALVATION TO EVERY ONE THAT
 BELIEVETH, TO THE JEW FIRST, AND ALSO TO THE GREEK.⁴⁸

17 “FOR JUSTIFICATION ⁴⁹ *before* GOD IS REVEALED *in it* FROM FAITH TO FAITH :
 18 as it is written, ‘The just shall live by faith.’ (*Hab.* ii. 4.)⁵⁰ For the wrath
 of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of
 19 men, who *keep down* ⁵¹ the truth by unrighteousness; because that which may
 20 be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath shewed it unto them; for
 the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen,
 being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and
 21 Godhead, so that they are without excuse, because that, when they knew God,
 they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their
 22 imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to

⁴⁴ δέόμενος. In Eng. ver. “making request.”

⁴⁵ Paul had not founded the Roman church, and having spoken of conferring spiritual gifts upon them he qualifies and softens the expression by speaking of their mutual faith.

⁴⁶ Ἑλλῆσι τε καὶ Βαρβάροις—a common phrase, as in Jos. Ant. xvi. 6, 8; Bell. præf. 5; and passim both in Josephus and Philo. The word Βάρβαρος implied no degradation, for the Romans applied it to themselves as opposed to the Greeks. Thus:

“Huic nomen Græcè est Onagos fabulæ.

Demophilus scripsit, Marcus vertit Barbarè.”

Plaut. Asin. Prolog. 10.

Barbarè here means ‘into Latin.’

⁴⁷ πρόθυμον. In Eng. ver. “ready.”

⁴⁸ This is the general proposition which he is about to prove.

⁴⁹ δικαιοσύνη. In Eng. ver. “righteousness.”

⁵⁰ Cited verbatim from the LXX.

⁵¹ This is the literal meaning of κατεχόντων, as in 2 Thess. ii. 6, i.e. who by their unrighteousness prevent the upward buoyancy of truth.

23 be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into the *likeness of an image*⁵² of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts and *reptiles*. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves, who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen. 26 For this cause God gave them up unto *dishonourable passions*; ⁵³ for even their 27 women did change the natural use into that which is against nature; and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet. 28 And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not *becoming*,⁵⁴ 29 being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, 30 maliciousness, full of envy, murder, *strife*,⁵⁵ deceit, malignity, whisperers, back-biters, haters of God, *insolent*,⁵⁶ proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without 31 natural affection, implacable, unmerciful, who knowing the judgment of God, that they *who practise*⁵⁷ such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that *practise* them.

CH. II. “Wherefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest, for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, for thou that 2 judgest doest the same things. But we *know* that the judgment of God is 3 according to truth against them *that practise* such things. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them *that practise* such things, and doest the same, 4 that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?⁵⁸ but after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath 6 and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who ‘will render to every 7 man according to his deeds’ (*Ps. lxii. 12*)⁵⁹—to them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life, 8 but unto them that are contentious, and *disobey* the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every 9

⁵² ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης. In Eng. ver. “into an image made like to.”

⁵³ πάθη ἀτιμίας. In Eng. ver. “vile affections.”

⁵⁴ τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα. In Eng. ver. “not convenient.”

⁵⁵ ἔριδος. In Eng. ver. “debate.”

⁵⁶ ἰβριστάς. In Eng. ver. “despiteful.”

⁵⁷ ποάσσοντες. In Eng. ver. “commit.” The

same word is afterwards rendered in Eng. ver. in the same verse ‘do,’ which is the proper rendering of ποιοῦσιν.

⁵⁸ This passage is referred to by St. Peter in 2 Pet. iii. 15. We may infer, therefore, that St. Paul’s letters were in the hands of all the churches as scripture.

⁵⁹ Cited verbatim from the LXX.

10 soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the *Greek*⁶⁰; but
 glory *and* honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew
 11, 12 first, and also to the *Greek*, for there is no respect of persons with God; for
 as many as have sinned without Law shall also perish without Law, and as
 13 many as have sinned *under* the Law shall be judged by the Law, (for not the
 hearers of the Law are just before God, but the doers of the Law shall be
 14 justified; for when the Gentiles, which have not *a* law, do by nature the
 15 things *of* the Law, these, *not* having *a* law, are a law unto themselves, *who*
 shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing
 witness, and their thoughts *alternately*⁶¹ accusing or else excusing,) in the
 16 day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my
 Gospel.⁶²

17 “*But if*⁶³ thou art called a Jew, and retest in the Law, and makest thy boast
 18 of God, and knowest his will, and approvest the things that are excellent,
 19 being instructed out of the Law, and art confident that thou thyself art a
 20 guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the
 foolish, a teacher of babes, *holding* the form of knowledge and of the truth in the
 21 Law;—Thou therefore *that* teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou
 22 that preachest *not to* steal, dost thou steal? Thou that *tellest* not to commit
 adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou
 23 commit sacrilege?⁶⁴ Thou that makest thy boast in the Law, through *trans-*
 24 *gression*⁶⁵ *of* the Law dishonourest thou God? For ‘the name of God is
 blasphemed among the Gentiles through you,’ as it is written. (*Is. lii. 5.*)⁶⁶
 25 For circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the Law: but if thou be a
 26 *transgressor*⁶⁷ of the Law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision. There-

⁶⁰ Ἕλληνι. In Eng. ver. “Gentile,” which is the real, though not the literal meaning.

⁶¹ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων. In Eng. ver. “the mean while.” The meaning is, that a man’s own thoughts *inter se* upbraid and defend. “A man audits the accounts of his own conduct as a session-holder in his own heart, which is a forerunner of the great session that is to come.” Wordsworth.

⁶² κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. What Paul designates emphatically as *his* Gospel, is the doctrine so strongly inculcated by him, and which drew down upon him the bitter persecution of the Jews from his conversion to his death, viz. that the barrier between Jew and Gentile was completely broken down. While the Twelve were the Apostles of the circumcision, Paul and Barnabas were the Apostles of the Gentiles. Galat. ii. 9. But even Barnabas was carried away by the Judaizers at Antioch, Galat. ii. 13; and

Paul was then the only buttress of the truth against the pressure of Judaism. That Paul at the date of the Epistle was κατ’ ἐξοχήν the Apostle of the Gentiles, as Peter was of the circumcision, is evident from the Epistle itself, in which, writing to a church to which he was a stranger, he rests his apology on the ground of his office, that he was the Apostle of the Gentiles. Rom. xi. 13.

⁶³ This assumes the reading Εἰ δὲ instead of Ἴδε. In Eng. ver. “behold.” Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all consider εἰ δὲ the true text, though Ἴδε would be easier of interpretation.

⁶⁴ As by theft of tithes and offerings to God.

⁶⁵ παραβάσεως. In Eng. ver. “breaking.”

⁶⁶ τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι’ ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. In the LXX. the words are: δι’ ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

⁶⁷ παραβάτης. In Eng. ver. “breaker.”

fore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the Law, shall not his
 27 uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? and shall not uncircumcision
 which is by nature, if it fulfil the Law, judge thee, who *through* the letter and
 28 circumcision dost transgress the Law? For he is not a Jew, which is one
 29 outwardly, neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he
 is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the
 spirit and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.

CH. III. "What then *is the prerogative*⁶⁸ of the Jew? or what *the use*⁶⁹ of circum-
 2 cision? Much every way. *For firstly* because unto them were committed the
 3 oracles of God. For what if some *were unfaithful*, shall their *unfaithfulness*
 4 *undo*⁷⁰ the *faithfulness* of God? *Far be it!*⁷¹ yea, let God be true, but every
 man a liar; as it is written, 'That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings,
 and mightest overcome when thou art judged.' (Ps. li. 4.)⁷²

5 "But if our unrighteousness *commend* the righteousness of God, what shall
 6 we say? Is God unrighteous who *beareth wrath*? (I speak as a man.) *Far*
 7 *be it!*⁷³ *Else* how shall God judge the world? For if the truth of God hath
 abounded through my lie unto his glory, why yet am I also judged as a
 8 sinner? and not rather, (as we *are* slanderously reported, and as some affirm
 that we say) 'Let us do evil, that good may come?'⁷⁴ whose *condemnation* is
 just.

9 "What then? are we better than they? No, in no wise, for we have before
 10 proved both Jews and *Greeks*, that they are all under sin; as it is written, 'There
 11 is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none
 12 that seeketh after God; they *have* all gone out of the way, they *have* together
 13 become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no not one; their throat
 is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of
 14, 15 asps is under their lips; whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; their
 16, 17 feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and misery are in their ways; and
 18 the way of peace have they not known there is no fear of God; before
 19 their eyes.' (Ps. xiv. 3.)⁷⁵ Now we know that what things soever the Law
 saith, it *speaketh*⁷⁶ to them who are under the Law: that every mouth may be
 20 stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. *Wherefore* by the
 deeds of the Law 'there shall be no flesh justified in his sight:'⁷⁷ for by the
 Law is the knowledge of sin.

⁶⁸ τὸ περισσόν. In Eng. ver. "advantage."

⁶⁹ ὠφέλεια. In Eng. ver. "profit."

⁷⁰ καταργήσει.

⁷¹ See Vol. I. p. 348.

⁷² Cited verbatim from the LXX.

⁷³ See Vol. I. p. 348.

⁷⁴ The Apostle may here be alluding to a charge brought against Christians generally or

against himself personally. The latter is the more probable, as from the nature of the case the Judaizers must have charged him with impiously breaking the Law of Moses in order to make the Gospel palatable to the Gentiles.

⁷⁵ Cited verbatim from the LXX.

⁷⁶ λαλεῖ. In Eng. ver. "saith."

⁷⁷ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ

21 “But now *the justification of God hath been* manifested without the Law,
 22 being witnessed by the Law and the prophets, even the *justification of God*
 which is by Faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: for
 23 there is no difference, for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God;
 24 being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ
 25 Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through Faith in his
 blood, to declare his *justification through* the remission of past sins through
 26 the forbearance of God—to declare, [I say] at this time his *justification*, that
 27 he might be just, and the justifier of him *that is of Faith* in Jesus. Where is
 boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the
 28 law of Faith. Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by Faith without
 29 the deeds of the Law. Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the
 30 Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also, seeing *that God* is one which shall justify
 31 the circumcision by Faith, and *the uncircumcision by Faith*.⁷⁸ Do we then
 make void the Law through Faith? *Far be it!*⁷⁹ yea, we establish the Law.

CH. IV. “What shall we, then, say, that Abraham, our father, *according to the*
 2 *flesh*,⁸⁰ hath found? for if Abraham *was* justified by works, he hath whereof
 3 to *boast* (but not before God); for what saith the Scripture? ‘*And Abraham*
believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness’ (*Gen. xv. 6*);⁸¹
 4 now to him that worketh is the reward not *imputed* of grace, but of debt;
 5 but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly,
 6 his faith is *imputed* for righteousness; as David also describeth the blessedness
 of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, [saying,]
 7 ‘Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered:
 8, 9 blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not *impute* sin.’ (*Ps. xxxii. 1*).⁸²
 [Cometh] this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncir-
 10 cumcision also? for we say that Faith was *imputed* to Abraham for righteous-
 ness. How was it, then, *imputed*? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircum-
 11 cision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision; and he received the sign of
 circumcision, a seal of the justification of the Faith which *was in uncircumcision*,⁸³
 that he might be the father of all them that believe [*that are*] *in uncircum-*
 12 *cision*,⁸⁴ that righteousness might be imputed unto them also, and the father of

ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. In the LXX. (*Ps. cxliii. 2*) the words are: οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν. The same text is quoted in *Galat. ii. 16*, but in a different order: οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σὰρξ.

⁷⁸ The expression διὰ τῆς πίστεως is here substituted for the ἐκ τῆς πίστεως just before, but no contrast appears to be intended between the ἐκ and the διὰ.

⁷⁹ See note, Vol. I. p. 348.

⁸⁰ κατὰ σάρκα. In Eng. ver. “as pertaining to the flesh.”

⁸¹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., except that the Apostle changes the καὶ of the LXX. into δέ. (*Gen. xv. 6*.)

⁸² Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Ps. xxxii. 1*.

⁸³ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ. In Eng. ver. “which he had yet being uncircumcised.”

⁸⁴ δι’ ἀκροβυστίας. In Eng. ver. “though they be not circumcised.”

circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision, but who also walk in the steps of that Faith of our father Abraham which *was in uncircumcision*.
 13 For the promise that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham,
 14 or to his seed, through the Law, but through the *justification* of Faith; for
 if they which are of the Law be heirs, Faith is made void, and the promise *is*
 15 *done away*, because the Law worketh wrath; for where no law is, there is no
 16 transgression. Therefore, it is of Faith, that it might be by grace, to the end
that the promise might be sure to all the seed, not to that only which is of
 the Law, but to that also which is of the Faith of Abraham, who is the father
 17 of us all, (as it is written, ‘I have made thee a father of many nations,’ *Gen.*
xvii. 5)⁸⁵ *in the sight of*⁸⁶ him whom he believed, even God who quickeneth
 18 the dead and calleth *the* things which *are* not as though they were—who
 against hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many
 nations, according to that which was spoken, ‘So shall thy seed be.’ (*Gen. xv.*
 19 *5*.)⁸⁷ And being not weak in Faith, he considered not his own body now dead,
 (*being* about an hundred years old) *and* the deadness of Sarah’s womb. He
 20 staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in
 21 Faith, giving glory to God, and being fully persuaded that what he had
 22 promised he was also able to perform; *wherefore, also*, it was imputed to him
 23 for righteousness. Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was
 24 imputed to him, but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on
 him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was *betrayed*⁸⁸ for our
 25 offences, and was raised again for our justification.

CH. V. “Therefore, being justified by Faith, we have peace with God through our
 2 Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access by Faith *unto* this grace
 3 wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God; and not only so,
 but we glory in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience,
 4, 5 and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed,
 because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which
 6 is given unto us. For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ
 7 died for the ungodly; for scarcely for a righteous man will one die—yet per-
 8 adventure for a good man⁸⁹ *one* would even dare to die—but God commendeth
 his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.
 9 Much more, then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from
 10 wrath through him; for if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God

⁸⁵ Cited verbatim from the LXX.

⁸⁶ κατέναντι οὐ. In Eng. ver. “before.”

⁸⁷ Viz. “as the stars of heaven, so shall thy seed be.” The words of the Apostle are not meant to be a citation verbatim, but are a reference only to the passage in a general way. This

will be understood by turning to *Gen. xv. 5*.

⁸⁸ παρεδόθη. In Eng. ver. “delivered.”

⁸⁹ There is no antithesis between “a righteous man” and “a good man,” but they are equivalent expressions.

by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by
 11 his life, and not only so, but also *boasting*⁹⁰ in God through our Lord Jesus
 Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.

12 “Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin,
 13 and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned,⁹¹ for *before* the Law
 14 sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed when there is no law;⁹² neverthe-
 less, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned
 after the similitude of Adam’s transgression,⁹³ who is the figure of him that
 15 was to come; but not as the offence, so also is the free gift; for if through the
 offence of one many *died*, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace,
 16 which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many; and not as it
 was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to con-
 17 demnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification; for if by
 one man’s offence death reigned by one, much more they which receive the
 abundance of the grace and of the gift of *justification* shall reign in life by
 18 one, Jesus Christ. Therefore as by *one* offence [judgment came] upon all men
 to condemnation, even so by *one justification* [the free gift came] upon all men
 19 unto justification of life. For as by one man’s disobedience many were made
 20 sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. Now the
 Law *supervened*⁹⁴ that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded
 21 grace did much more abound, that as sin *had* reigned *in* death,⁹⁵ even so might
 grace reign through *justification* unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord.

CH. VI. “What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may
 2 abound? *Far be it!*⁹⁶ How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer
 3 therein? *or* know ye not, that so many of us as are baptized into Jesus Christ
 4 are baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism
 into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of
 5 the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life; for if we have
 been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the like-
 6 ness of his resurrection; knowing this, that our old man *hath been* crucified
 with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should

⁹⁰ *καυχόμενοι*. In Eng. ver. “we joy.”

⁹¹ All, as the posterity of Adam, were affected by his transgression, and born of a sinful nature, and so subject to death.

⁹² Acts which by the Law of Moses were declared to be sinful were done by mankind in the interval between Adam and Moses, but were not imputed as sin, because as yet men had only the light of nature and not the Law of Moses, and therefore what was not contrary to the light of nature was excused.

⁹³ Adam received an express command, and

he violated it, and the sin was imputed. In the interval between Adam and Moses, there was no express command, and therefore the sinful acts (where not forbidden by the light of nature) were not imputed. Nevertheless death reigned from the sin committed by Adam.

⁹⁴ *παρεισήλθεν*. Literally, ‘entered besides’ or ‘by the way.’ In Eng. ver. “entered.”

⁹⁵ *ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ*. Sin had exercised its dominion in causing the death of mankind.

⁹⁶ See Vol. I. p. 348.

7, 8 not serve sin ; for he that is dead is freed from sin. *But* if we be dead with
 9 Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him, knowing that Christ being
 raised from the dead dieth no more—death hath no more dominion over him ;
 10 for in that he died, he died unto sin once, but in that he liveth, he liveth unto
 11 God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive
 12 unto God through Jesus Christ.⁹⁷ Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal
 13 body, that ye should obey⁹⁸ the lust thereof ; neither yield ye your members
 as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin ; but yield yourselves unto God,
 as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of
 14 righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are
 not under the Law, but under Grace.

15 “What then ? shall we sin, because we are not under the Law, but under
 16 Grace ? *Far be it !*⁹⁹ Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves ser-
 vants *unto obedience*, his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto
 17 death, or of obedience unto *justification* ? But *thanks be to God* that ye were
 the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine
 18 which was delivered you.¹⁰⁰ Being then made free from sin, ye became the
 19 servants of righteousness ; (I speak after the manner of men, because of the
 infirmity of your flesh) : for as ye yielded your members servants to unclean-
 ness, and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants
 20 to righteousness unto holiness. For when ye were the servants of sin, ye
 21 were free from righteousness. What fruit *therefore* had ye then in those
 things whereof ye are now ashamed ? for the end of those things is death.
 22 But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your
 23 fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is
 death ; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CH. VII. “*Or* know ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the Law,)
 2 how that the Law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth ? For the
 woman which hath a husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as
 he liveth ; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her
 3 husband. So then if, while her husband liveth, she be *joined* to another man,
 she shall be called an adulteress ; but if her husband be dead, she is free from
 that law, so that she is no adulteress, though she be *joined* to another man.
 4 Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the Law by the body of
 Christ, that ye should be married to another, even to him who *was* raised from
 5 the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in

⁹⁷ The words τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν—‘our Lord’—
 have been rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lach-
 mann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

⁹⁸ In Eng. ver. “obey *it* in the lusts thereof ;”
 but the words αὐτῇ ἐν—‘it in’—are rejected by

Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

⁹⁹ See Vol. I. p. 348.

¹⁰⁰ More literally, ‘unto which ye were de-
 livered.’

the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the Law, did work in our
6 members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now we *are set free* from the
Law, that being dead wherein we were held: that we should serve in newness
of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.

7 “What shall we say then? Is the Law sin? *Far be it!*¹⁰¹ Nay, I had
not known sin, but by the Law:¹⁰² for I had not known *concupiscence* except
8 the Law had said, ‘Thou shalt not covet.’ (*Ex. xx. 17.*)¹⁰³ But sin, taking
occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence;
9 for without the Law sin was dead. For I was alive without the Law once,
10 but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died; and the command-
11 ment, which was [ordained] to life, *this unto me was* found unto death; for
sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me.
12 Wherefore the Law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good.
13 *Did* then that which is good *become* death unto me? *Far be it!*¹⁰⁴ But sin,
that it might appear sin, [*was*] working death in me by that which is good,
14 that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.¹⁰⁵ For we know
15 that the Law is spiritual, but I am carnal, sold *unto* sin: for that which I do
16 I *know* not; for what I would, that do I not, but what I hate, that do I. *But*
if I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now
17, 18 then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me; for I know that
in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present
19 with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not; for the good,
20 that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. *But* if I do
21 that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I
22 find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I
23 delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my
members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity
24 to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who
25 shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God,¹⁰⁶ Through
Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of
God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

CH. VIII. “There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ
2 Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For the law of the
Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and
3 death; for what the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh,

¹⁰¹ See Vol. I. p. 348.

¹⁰² The law must be the perfection of holiness, for it, and it only, enables me to distinguish what is sinful.

¹⁰³ Cited verbatim from the LXX.

¹⁰⁴ See Vol. I. p. 348.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. It was not the Law, but sin, that caused my death—not the Law, which is good, but sin, which became more sinful through the Law, which expressly prohibited it.

¹⁰⁶ Viz. that I am delivered.

God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin,¹⁰⁷ condemned sin in the flesh, that the *justification* of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit. For *the carnal mind* is death; but *the spiritual mind* is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be; *for* they that are in the flesh cannot please God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. *But* if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. *But* if Christ be in you, the body *indeed* is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. *But* if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God; for ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, ‘Abba Father!’¹⁰⁸ The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together; for I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us; for the earnest expectation of the *creation* waiteth for the *revelation* of the sons of God, for the *creation* was made subject to vanity,¹⁰⁹ not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected the same, in the hope, *that* the *creation* itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now; and not only so, but ourselves also,¹¹⁰ which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, [to wit] the redemption of our body; for *in* hope¹¹¹ we are saved, but hope *that* is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, *how also can* he hope for? but if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it. *And* likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh

¹⁰⁷ περὶ ἁμαρτίας. On account of sin, and for the purpose of destroying it.

¹⁰⁸ The Apostle here alludes apparently to the commencement of the Lord's Prayer.

¹⁰⁹ τῇ ὑστέρησι—‘emptiness,’ the want of fruit.

tion.

¹¹⁰ We Christians as opposed to the world at large.

¹¹¹ τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι. In Eng. ver. “by hope.”

27 intercession for us with *speechless*¹¹² groanings; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to [the will of] God.¹¹³ And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to his purpose; for whom he did foreknow, he did also predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren; *but* whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.¹¹⁴ What shall we, then, say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? as it is written, 'For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.' (Ps. xliv. 22.)¹¹⁵ Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us; for I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

CH. IX. "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great *pain* and continual sorrow in my heart; for I could wish¹¹⁶ that myself were accursed from Christ¹¹⁷ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites,¹¹⁸ *whose is* the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service [of God], and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom

¹¹² ἀλαλήτοις. In Eng. ver. "which cannot be uttered."

¹¹³ The great Searcher of hearts knoweth what the Spirit prompts on our behalf, for it is by the will of God that the Spirit thus operates.

¹¹⁴ The Apostle is regarding the Gospel scheme as a whole, and assumes the final consummation of all things as already come to pass; for "in hope we are already saved," ver. 24.

¹¹⁵ Cited verbatim from the LXX., Ps. xliv. 22.

¹¹⁶ ἡὺχόμεν, the imperfect, not the perfect tense — 'I was ready, if it were possible, to wish.'

¹¹⁷ ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Anathema, or Anathema Maranatha, was the expression used

for excommunication from the pale of the Church. 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Galat. i. 9. But because a person was excommunicated, it does not follow that he might not be saved on repentance. Thus, in the case of the incestuous person at Corinth, who was excommunicated (1 Cor. v. 4), he was again, on his repentance, admitted into the Christian community. 2 Cor. ii. 8. The Apostle, therefore, in the passage under consideration, seems to say, 'I could wish that even I myself were excommunicated and ejected from the church, if thereby my beloved fellow-countrymen could find *their* admission into it.'

¹¹⁸ See note ante, 2 Cor. xi. 22.

as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen.

6 “Not as though the word of God hath *fallen away*, for they are not all
7 Israel which are of Israel; neither because they are the seed of Abraham are
they all children; but, ‘In Isaac shall thy seed be called’ (*Gen. xxi. 12*);¹¹⁹
8 that is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of
9 God, but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. For this is the
word of promise, ‘At *that* time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son.’¹²⁰
10 (*Gen. xviii. 10*.) And not only this, but when Rebecca also had conceived by
11 one, even by our father Isaac (for the children being not yet born, neither
having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election
12 might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth), it was said unto her,
13 ‘The elder shall serve the younger’ (*Gen. xxv. 3*);¹²¹ as it is written, ‘Jacob
14 have I loved, but Esau have I hated.’ (*Mal. i. 2*.)¹²² What shall we say then?
15 Is there unrighteousness with God? *Far be it!*¹²³ For he saith to Moses,
I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on
16 whom I will have compassion.’ (*Ex. xxxiii. 19*.)¹²⁴ So then it is not of him
17 that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy; for
the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, ‘For this *very* purpose have I raised thee
up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be
18 declared throughout all the earth.’ (*Ex. ix. 16*.)¹²⁵ Therefore hath he mercy
19 on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. Thou wilt
say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault? for who hath resisted his
20 will? Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? ‘Shall the
thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?’ (*Is.*
21 *xxix. 16*.)¹²⁶ Or hath not the potter (*fig. 184*) power over the clay, of the
same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?¹²⁷
22 And what if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known,

¹¹⁹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Gen. xxi. 12*.

¹²⁰ Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι, καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός. Here the Apostle apparently quotes from memory, or the LXX. text has suffered, as the words are varied. In the LXX. the passage is: Ἐπαναστρέφω ἡξω πρὸς σέ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τῆς ὥρας, καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου. *Gen. xviii. 10*.

¹²¹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Gen. xxv. 23*.

¹²² Cited verbatim from the LXX., save that in the Septuagint τὸν Ἰακώβ follows ἡγάπησα.

¹²³ See ante, Vol. I. p. 348.

¹²⁴ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Ex. xxxiii. 19*.

¹²⁵ Ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου, κ.τ.λ. Here the Apostle

varies from the LXX. version, which is: Καὶ ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἰσχύίν μου, κ.τ.λ. *Ex. ix. 16*. In the rest of the passage, the citation agrees with the original.

¹²⁶ In the LXX. the passage is: Μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι αὐτὸ, Οὐ σύ με ἐπλάσας; ἢ τὸ ποίημα τῷ ποιήσαντι, Οὐ συνετῶς με ἐποίησας; *Is. xxix. 16*. The first six words are cited verbatim; the sense only of the latter part is given.

¹²⁷ The Apostle here is still referring to the same part of Isaiah, for the words cited above are preceded by the following: οὐχ ὡς πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως λογισθήσεσθε; The like figure is also found in *Is. xlv. 9*. μὴ ἐρεῖ ὁ πηλὸς τῷ κεραμεῖ, Τί ποιεῖς;

endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction,
 23 and that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy
 24 which he had afore prepared unto glory, even us whom he hath called, not of
 25 the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles? As he saith also in *Hosea*, 'I will
 call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved which was
 26 not beloved.' (*Hos.* ii. 23.)¹²⁸ And it shall come to pass, that in the place



Fig. 184.—A Potter at Work. From C. W. King's 'Antique Gems.' The potter is turning the wheel with his foot while he is moulding the vessel with his hands.

where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people; there shall they be called
 27 the children of the living God.' (*Hos.* i. 10.)¹²⁹ *Isaiah* also crieth concerning
 Israel, 'Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the
 28 sea, the remnant shall be saved; for he is making up the account, and cutting
 it short in justification; because a short account will the Lord make upon the
 29 earth.' (*Is.* x. 22, 23.)¹³⁰ And as *Isaiah* said before, 'Except the Lord of Sabaoth
 had left us a seed, we had been as *Sodom*, and been made like unto Gomorrhah.'
 30 (*Is.* i. 9.)¹³¹ What shall we say then?—that the Gentiles, which follow not
 justification, have attained to justification, even the justification which is of
 31 Faith; but Israel, which followeth the Law of justification, hath not attained
 32 to the Law of justification. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by Faith,
 but as it were by the works of the Law; for they stumbled at that stumbling-
 33 stone, as it is written, 'Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone and rock of
 offence: and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.' (*Is.* xxviii. 16.)¹³²

CH. X. "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, for [their]

¹²⁸ Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, λαόν μου· καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἡγαπημένην, ἡγαπημένην. Here also the Apostle varies slightly from the words of the LXX. which run thus: Ἀγαπήσω τὴν οὐκ ἡγαπημένην, καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαῷ μου, λαός μου εἰ σύ. *Hos.* ii. 23.

¹²⁹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Hos.* i. 10; except that for κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ in the latter, the Apostle writes, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται.

¹³⁰ The Apostle substitutes Ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ instead of Ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ in the LXX.; and again he substitutes ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς for ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη, the expression in the LXX. *Is.* x. 22, 23. In other respects the cita-

tion is verbatim.

¹³¹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is.* i. 9.

¹³² Ἴδου τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται. In the LXX. the passage runs somewhat differently, viz.: Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελῆ, ἐκλεκτὸν, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ. *Is.* xxviii. 16. The expressions λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου are probably drawn from *Is.* viii. 14, where we read: Οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι.

2 *salvation*; for I bear them *witness* that they have a zeal of God, but not
 3 according to knowledge; for they being ignorant of God's *justification*, and
 going about to establish their own *justification*, have not submitted themselves
 4 unto the *justification* of God; for Christ is the end of the Law for *justification*
 5 to every one that believeth. For Moses describeth the *justification* which is
 of the Law, that 'The man which doeth *these* things shall live by them'
 6 (*Lev. xviii. 5*);¹³³ but the *justification* which is of Faith speaketh on this wise,
 Say not in thine heart, 'Who shall ascend into heaven?' (*Deut. xxx. 12*)¹³⁴
 7 (that is, to bring Christ down); or, 'Who shall descend into the deep?'
 (*Deut. xxx. 13*)¹³⁵ (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead); but
 8 what saith it? 'The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy
 heart' (*Deut. xxx. 14*):¹³⁶ that is, the word of Faith, which we preach—
 9 that if thou *wilt* confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and *wilt* believe in
 10 thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved; for
 with the heart man believeth unto *justification*, and with the mouth confession
 11 is made unto salvation; for the Scripture saith, 'Whosoever believeth on him
 12 shall not be ashamed' (*Is. xxviii. 16*);¹³⁷ for there is no difference between
 the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that
 13 call upon him; for 'Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall
 14 be saved.' (*Joel ii. 32*).¹³⁸ How then shall they call on him in whom they
 have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have
 15 not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they
 preach, except they be sent? as it is written, 'How beautiful are the feet of
 them that *bring glad tidings* of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!'
 16 (*Is. lii. 7*).¹³⁹ But they have not all obeyed the *glad tidings*; for *Isaiah* saith,
 17 'Lord, who hath believed *what he hath heard of us*?' (*Is. liii. 1*).¹⁴⁰ So then
 18 Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But I say,
 Have they not heard? Yes, verily, 'Their *speech hath gone* unto all the
 19 earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.' (*Ps. xix. 4*).¹⁴¹ But I
 say, *Hath* not Israel *known*? First Moses saith, 'I will provoke you to
 jealousy by them that are no *nation*, by a foolish nation I will anger you.'
 20 (*Deut. xxxii. 21*).¹⁴² But *Isaiah* is very bold, and saith, 'I was found of them

¹³³ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Lev. xviii. 5*.

¹³⁴ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Deut. xxx. 12*, except that the Apostle omits the word ἡμῖν.

¹³⁵ In the LXX. the corresponding expression is, *Τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης*; *Deut. xxx. 13*.

¹³⁶ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Deut. xxx. 14*, except that Paul writes: Ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν, for Ἐγγύς σου ἐστὶ τὸ ὄημα σφόδρα.

¹³⁷ Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασχύνηται. The LXX. runs: Ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχύνηται. *Is. xxviii. 16*.

¹³⁸ Cited verbatim from the LXX. *Joel, ii. 32*.

¹³⁹ Ὡς ὠραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ. In the LXX. the words are: Ὡς ὦρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοῇ εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθὰ. *Is. lii. 7*.

¹⁴⁰ τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν—i.e. 'what he hath heard from us.' *Is. liii. 1*. The citation from the LXX. is verbatim.

¹⁴¹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Ps. xix. 4*.

¹⁴² Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Deut. xxxii. 21*.

that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after
21 me' (*Is. lxx. 1*);¹⁴³ but to Israel he saith, 'All day long I have stretched
forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.' (*Is. lxxv. 2*).¹⁴⁴

CH. XI. "I say then, Hath God cast away his people? *Far be it!*"¹⁴⁵ for I also
2 am an Israelite,¹⁴⁶ of the seed of Abraham,¹⁴⁷ of the tribe of Benjamin: ¹⁴⁸ God
hath not cast away his people which he foreknew. Or wot ye not what the
Scripture saith of *Elijah*? how he *intercedeth* to God against Israel, saying,
3 'Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I
4 alone am left, and they seek my life.' (*1 Kings xix. 10*).¹⁴⁹ But what saith
the answer of God unto him? 'I have reserved to myself seven thousand
men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.' (*1 Kings xix. 18*).¹⁵⁰
5 Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the
6 election of grace; *but* if by grace, then is it no more of works, otherwise grace
is no more grace; [but if it be of works, it is no more grace, otherwise work
7 is no more work.]¹⁵¹ What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he
seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest *are* blinded (ac-
8 cording as it is written, 'God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes
that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear' (*Is. xxix. 10*);¹⁵²)
9 unto this *very* day. And David saith, 'Let their table be made a snare, and
10 a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them; let their eyes
be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back alway.' (*Ps.*
11 *lxix. 22, 23*).¹⁵³ I say then, have they stumbled that they should fall? *Far*
*be it!*¹⁵⁴ but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for
12 to provoke them to jealousy. *But* if the fall of them be the riches of the
world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much
13 more their fulness? (For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the

¹⁴³ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is. lxx. 1*, except that the Apostle has reversed the order of the two parts of the passage. In the LXX. the words "I was made manifest," &c., come first.

¹⁴⁴ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is. lxxv. 2*, with a slight change in the position of the words.

¹⁴⁵ See ante, Vol. I. p. 348.

¹⁴⁶ See ante, Vol. II. p. 28.

¹⁴⁷ See note ante, 2 Cor. xi. 22.

¹⁴⁸ Every Benjamite was proud of his tribe, from Saul, the first king of Israel, having belonged to it.

¹⁴⁹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *1 Kings xix. 10*, except that here again the Apostle has reversed the order of the two first sentences. In the LXX., 'they have digged down thine altars' precedes 'they have killed thy prophets.'

¹⁵⁰ Κατέλιπον ἑμαντῶ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτι-

νες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ. In the LXX. the passage is: Καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκλασαν γόνυ τῷ Βάαλ. *1 Kings xix. 18*.

¹⁵¹ The words in brackets are omitted by Griesbach, Scholtz, and Lachmann.

¹⁵² Ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν. This passage appears to be taken, with some variation, from *Is. xxix. 10*: Πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς Κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως, καὶ καμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν.

¹⁵³ Cited from the LXX., *Ps. lxix. 22, 23*, except that the Apostle writes Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς θήραν, καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς, instead of γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα, καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον.

¹⁵⁴ See Vol. I. p. 248.

14 Apostle of the Gentiles. I magnify mine office, if by any means I may provoke
 15 to emulation them which are my flesh, and *may* save some of them.) For if
 the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the
 16 receiving of them be, but life from the dead? *But* if the first-fruit be holy,
 17 the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches. *But* if
 some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, *hast been*
 grafted in among them, and *art* with them *a joint partaker* of the root and
 18 fatness of the olive tree, boast not against the branches; but if thou boast,
 19 thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, 'The
 20 branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in.' Well; because of
 unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by Faith. Be not high-
 21 minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest
 22 he also spare not thee. Behold, therefore, the goodness and severity of God!
 on them which fell severity, but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in
 23 his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they
 abide not in unbelief shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in
 24 again; for if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and
 wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree, how much more shall
 these, which *are* the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree?
 25 For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye
 be wise in your own conceits, that blindness in part *hath* happened to Israel,
 26 until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved,
 as it is written, 'There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn
 27 away ungodliness from Jacob; *and* this is my covenant unto them' (*Is.* lix.
 28 20),¹⁵⁵ 'when I shall take away their sins.' (*Is.* xxvii. 9.)¹⁵⁶ As concerning the
 Gospel, they are enemies for your sakes; but as touching the election, they are
 29 beloved for the fathers' sakes; for the gifts and calling of God are *not repented*
 30 *of*.¹⁵⁷ For as ye in times past *did* not believe God, *but* have now obtained
 31 mercy through their unbelief; even so have these also now not believed *that*
 32 through your mercy they also may obtain mercy; for God hath concluded all
 33 in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. O the depth of the riches
 both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judg-
 34 ments, and his ways past finding out! For 'who hath known the mind of the
 35 Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?' (*Is.* xl. 13)¹⁵⁸ or who hath first given
 36 to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? for of him, and through
 him, and to him, are all things—To *him* be glory for ever. Amen.

CH. XII. "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye

¹⁵⁵ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is.* lix. 20, 21, except that the Apostle substitutes *ἐκ Σιών* for *ἐνεκεν Σιών*.

¹⁵⁶ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is.* xxvii. 9, except that the Apostle writes *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτοῦ*.

¹⁵⁷ *ἀμεταμέλητα*—i.e. are not uncertain and revocable.

¹⁵⁸ Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is.* xl. 13, except that *καὶ* is changed into *ᾗ*.

present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is
 2 your reasonable service; and be not conformed to this world, but be ye
 transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that
 3 good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God. For I say, through the grace
 given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more
 highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath
 4 dealt to every man the measure of faith; for as we have many members
 5 in one body, *but* all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are
 6 one body in Christ, and *severally* members one of another. Having then gifts
 differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy [let us
 7 prophesy] according to the proportion of faith; or ministry [let us wait] on
 8 our ministry; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on
 exhortation: he that giveth [let him do it] with *liberality*; ¹⁵⁹ he that ruleth,
 9 with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be
 without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is
 10 good. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour
 11 preferring one another; not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving
 12 the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in
 13 prayer; *communicating* to the necessities of saints; *pursuing* ¹⁶⁰ hospitality.
 14, 15 Bless them which persecute you; bless, and curse not. Rejoice with them
 16 that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep; be of the same mind one
 toward another. Minding not high things, but *having a fellow feel ng with* ¹⁶¹
 17 men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits. Recompense to no
 man evil for evil. 'Provide things honest in the sight of all men.' (*Prov.*
 18 iii. 4.) ¹⁶² If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all
 19 men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath, for
 it is written, 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord' (*Deut.*
 20 xxxii. 35); ¹⁶³ therefore 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give
 him drink: for *this* doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.' (*Prov.*
 21 xxv. 21.) ¹⁶⁴ Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

CH. XIII. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no
 2 power *except* of God, *but* the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever

¹⁵⁹ ἐν ἀπλότητι—'with liberality'—as in 2 Cor. viii. 2; ix. 11, 13. In Eng. ver. "with simplicity."

¹⁶⁰ δίδωκοντες. In Eng. ver. "given to."

¹⁶¹ συναπαγόμενοι. In Eng. ver. "condescend to."

¹⁶² προνοούμενοι κατὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων. In the LXX. the words are: προνοοῦ κατὰ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Prov. iii. 4.

¹⁶³ Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω. Deut.

xxxii. 35. The same words are again cited by the Apostle, Heb. x. 30, and yet the words vary very considerably from the LXX., and are not much nearer to the Hebrew. In the LXX. the words are ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω.

¹⁶⁴ Cited verbatim from the LXX., Prov. xxv. 21. The meaning is, By returning good for evil, thou wilt create in him a feeling of remorse, and so lead him to repentance.

setteth himself up against the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they
 3 that resist shall receive to themselves *condemnation*; ¹⁶⁵ for rulers are not a
 terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power?
 4 Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same, for he is the
 minister of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid,
 for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, an avenger
 5 to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be
 6 subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For for this cause
 pay ye tribute also; for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon
 7 this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute
 is due; custom to whom custom; ¹⁶⁶ fear to whom fear; honour to whom
 8 honour. Owe no man any thing, *save* to love one another; for he that loveth
 9 another hath fulfilled the law. For this, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,
 Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness,
 Thou shalt not covet;' ¹⁶⁷ and if there be any commandment, it is *summed*
up ¹⁶⁸ in this saying, namely, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'
 10 (*Lev. xix. 18.*) ¹⁶⁹ Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore love is
 11 the fulfilling of the law. And *this*, knowing the time, that now *it is the*
hour ¹⁷⁰ to awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we
 12 believed. The night is far spent, *and* the day is at hand; let us therefore cast
 13 off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light; let us walk
becomingly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering
 14 and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus
 Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

CH. XIV. "Now him that is weak in the faith receive ye, [but] not to *deter-*
 2 *minations* of disputations."¹⁷¹ One believeth that he may eat all things;
 3 another who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that
 eateth not; and let not him, *that* eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God
 4 hath received him.¹⁷² Who art thou that judgest *another's* servant? To his
 own master he standeth or falleth; *but* he shall be *made to stand*,¹⁷³ for God is
 5 able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another; another
 esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.
 6 He that regardeth the day regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth
 not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the

¹⁶⁵ Make themselves liable to punishment both in this world and in the next.

¹⁶⁶ τέλος—custom in the sense of 'toll.'

¹⁶⁷ Cited verbatim, but in a different order, and with omissions, from Exod. xx. 13.

¹⁶⁸ ἀνακεφαλαιούται. In Eng. ver. "it is briefly comprehended."

¹⁶⁹ Cited verbatim from the LXX., Lev. xix. 18.

¹⁷⁰ ὥρα. In Eng. ver. "high time."

¹⁷¹ Not to the discussion of doubtful points.

¹⁷² If a man eat with a clear conscience, God accepteth him (that is, finds no fault), and do not thou, therefore, reject him.

¹⁷³ σταθήσεται δέ. In Eng. ver. "he shall be holden up."

Lord, for he giveth God thanks;¹⁷⁴ and he that eateth not, to the Lord he
 7 eateth not, and giveth God thanks;¹⁷⁵ for none of us liveth to himself, and *none*
 8 dieth to himself; for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we
 die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live, therefore or *whether we* die, we are
 9 the Lord's; for to this end Christ both died, and *lived*,¹⁷⁶ that he might be Lord
 10 both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why
 dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment
 11 seat of Christ; for it is written, 'As I live,' saith the Lord, 'every knee shall
 12 bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.'¹⁷⁷ So, then, every one of
 13 us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, therefore, judge one
 another any more; but judge *ye* this rather, that no man put a stumbling-
 14 block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way. I know, and am persuaded
in the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself; *save that* to him that
 15 esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean. But if thy brother
 be grieved *by thy* meat, *thou* walkest *no longer according to love*; destroy not
 16 him *by thy* meat, for whom Christ died. Let not, then, your good be evil spoken
 17 of; for the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and
 18 peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; for he that in these things serveth Christ
 19 is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us, therefore, follow the things
 20 *of* peace, and *the things of edification toward one* another; for meat destroy not
 the work of God. All things, indeed, are *clean*;¹⁷⁸ but it is evil *to* that man
 21 who eateth with offence. It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor
 22 any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is weak. Hast
 thou faith? Have it to thyself before God. Happy is he that condemneth not
 23 himself in that thing which he *approveth*.¹⁷⁹ *But* he that doubteth is *self-*
condemned if he eat, because *it is* not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith
 is sin.

CH. XV. "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and
 2 not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbour for his
 3 good to edification; for Christ *also* pleased not himself: but, as it is written,
 4 'The reproaches of them that reproached thee, fell on me.' (Ps. lxxix. 9.)¹⁸⁰ For
 whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our *teaching* that

¹⁷⁴ This shows how ancient the practice is of saying grace at meals.

¹⁷⁵ One eateth meat and another herbs, but he that eateth meat giveth thanks, and he that refraineth from meat and confineth himself to herbs, also giveth thanks. Both he that eateth and he that eateth not therefore do it with a pious heart.

¹⁷⁶ ἔζησεν. The words ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέζησεν are not found in the most ancient MSS., but the word ἔζησεν only, and the latter reading has

therefore been adopted by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁷⁷ Ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει Κύριος· ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ Θεῷ. In the LXX. the words are: Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεός. ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ ὁμείται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τὸν Θεόν. Is. xlv. 21, 24.

¹⁷⁸ καθαρά. In Eng. ver. "pure."

¹⁷⁹ δοκιμάζει. In Eng. ver. "alloweth."

¹⁸⁰ Cited verbatim from the LXX., Ps. lxxix. 9.

5 we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. Now the
 God of patience and consolation grant you to be like-minded one toward another
 6 according to Christ Jesus, that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify
 7 God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! Wherefore, receive ye one an-
 8 other, as Christ also received *you*¹⁸¹ to the glory of God. *For*,¹⁸² I say, that Jesus
 Christ was a minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God to confirm the
 9 promises made unto the fathers;¹⁸³ and that the Gentiles might glorify God for
 his mercy;¹⁸⁴ as it is written, 'For this cause I will confess to thee among the
 10 Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.' (Ps. xviii. 49.)¹⁸⁵ And again he saith 'Rejoice,
 11 ye Gentiles, with his people' (Deut. xxxii. 43),¹⁸⁶ and again, 'Praise the Lord, all
 12 ye Gentiles, and laud him, all ye people' (Ps. cxvii. 1),¹⁸⁷ and again, *Isaiah* saith,
 'There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that *riseth up* to reign over the Gentiles,
 13 in him shall the Gentiles *hope*' (Is. xi. 10.)¹⁸⁸ Now the God of hope fill you with all
 joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the
 14 Holy Ghost! And I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also
 are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another.
 15 *But* I have written the more boldly unto you, brethren, in some sort, as putting
 16 you in mind *through* the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the
 minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that
 the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the
 17 Holy Ghost. I have, therefore, whereof I may *boast in* Jesus Christ in those
 18 things which pertain to God; for I will not dare to speak of any of those
 things which Christ hath not wrought by me; to make the Gentiles obedient,
 19 by word and deed, *in the power of* signs and wonders,¹⁸⁹ *in* the power of the
 spirit of God;¹⁹⁰ so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum,¹⁹¹ I
 20 have fully preached the Gospel of Christ; yea, so have I striven to preach the
 Gospel, where Christ *hath not been* named, *that I might not* build upon another

¹⁸¹ In Text. recept. and Eng. ver. ἡμᾶς, but Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all adopt the reading ὑμᾶς.

¹⁸² The true reading, according to Lachmann, Alford, and Tischendorf, is γὰρ not δέ.

¹⁸³ Christ came to the Jews on account of the truth of God, for the purpose of fulfilling the promise made to Abraham and the fathers.

¹⁸⁴ Christ came to the Gentiles, not to fulfil the promises (which were made exclusively to the Jews) but out of the mercy of God; and the Gentiles, therefore, who receive the Gospel, not by promise but by mercy, ought the more on that account to glorify God.

¹⁸⁵ Cited verbatim from the LXX., Ps. xviii. 49, with the omission of the word Κύριε.

¹⁸⁶ Cited verbatim from the LXX., Deut.

xxxii. 43.

¹⁸⁷ In the LXX. the passage runs with the omission of the copulative. Ps. cxvii. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Cited verbatim from the LXX., with the omission of the words ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ. Is. xi. 10.

¹⁸⁹ By the working of external miracles.

¹⁹⁰ By the inward operation of the Spirit, which has enabled me to preach with power.

¹⁹¹ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ. The Apostle views Jerusalem as the centre, and says that he had preached in concentric circles westward up to Illyricum, that is, throughout Macedonia up to the borders of Illyricum. See ante, p. 36. He had still two concentric circles further in view, viz. first Rome and then Spain. The one he lived to accomplish certainly, the other probably.

21 man's foundation ; but as it is written, 'To whom *it was not reported* concerning him, they shall see ; and they that have not heard, shall understand.' (*Is. lii. 15.*)¹⁹²
 22 For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming to you ; but
 23 now, having no more place in these parts,¹⁹³ and having a *yearning* these many
 24 years to come unto you, whensoever I take my journey into Spain¹⁹⁴
 [I will come to you]¹⁹⁵ for I trust to see you on my journey and to be *for-*
warded on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your
 25, 26 company. But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints ;¹⁹⁶ for
 Macedonia and Achaia *have been pleased* to make a certain contribution for the
 27 poor of the saints which are at Jerusalem—they *have been* pleased verily, and
 their debtors they are, for if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their
 28 spiritual things, *they ought* also to minister unto them in carnal things. When,
 therefore, I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will
 29 *go away*¹⁹⁷ by you into Spain ; and I am sure that, when I come unto you, I
 30 shall come in the fulness of the blessing¹⁹⁸ of Christ. But I beseech you,
 brethren, *by our* Lord Jesus Christ and *by* the love of the Spirit, that ye strive
 31 together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from
 them that do not believe in Judea,¹⁹⁹ and that my *ministration*²⁰⁰ at Jerusa-
 32 lem may be accepted of the saints, that I may come unto you with joy by the
 33 will of God, and may with you be refreshed. Now the God of peace be with
 you all. Amen.

CH. XVI. "I commend unto you Phebe our sister, *who* is a *deaconess*²⁰¹ of the
 2 church which is at Cenchrea,²⁰² that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh

¹⁹² Cited verbatim from the LXX., *Is. lii. 15.*

¹⁹³ Having exhausted all Macedonia. See ante, p. 36.

¹⁹⁴ Paul at this time (A.D. 58) was intending a visit to Spain, and he may have visited it for a short time after his release from imprisonment at Rome in A.D. 63. But his imprisonment for four years from A.D. 59-63 disturbed all his plans, and he could only make a brief circuit in Spain, and was then obliged to make again the circuit of the churches which he had previously planted. In A.D. 66 he suffered martyrdom. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 341, No. 1999.

¹⁹⁵ The words in brackets, *ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*—"I will come to you"—are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, and Alford.

¹⁹⁶ I.e. to take up the alms collected for the relief of the poor Hebrews.

¹⁹⁷ *ἀπελεύσομαι*. In Eng. ver. "I will come."

¹⁹⁸ The words 'of the Gospel' (*τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*) are omitted by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁹⁹ From his asking the prayers of the Ro-

mans that he might be delivered from the Jews who *did not believe*, we may collect that he was under no apprehension from those who *did believe*; more particularly as he was charged with a liberal contribution from Macedonia and Achaia for the relief of the poor Hebrews of the church.

²⁰⁰ *διακονία*. The Apostle alludes of course to the alms with which he was charged for the relief of the poor Hebrews of the church at Jerusalem.

²⁰¹ In all ages the church has availed itself largely of the services of the female sex; and especially in the early ages of the church. The women thus employed were anciently known as 'deaconesses'—*διάκοναι*, or in Latin 'ministræ.' Thus Pliny: "Ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur." *Ep. x. 96, 8.* Their duties resembled in some measure those of the sisters of charity of the present day.

²⁰² This was the eastern port of Corinth, in the Saronic Bay. See Vol. I. p. 299.

saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you, for
 3 she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also. *Salute* Priscilla and
 4 Aquila, my work-fellows in Christ Jesus (who have for my life laid down
 their own *neck*,²⁰³ unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches
 5 of the Gentiles;) *and salute* the church that is in their house.²⁰⁴ *Salute* my
 6 well-beloved Epenetus, who is the first-fruits of *Asia*²⁰⁵ unto Christ. *Salute*
 7 Mary, who *hath* bestowed much labour on us. *Salute* Andronicus and
Junias,²⁰⁶ my kinsmen,²⁰⁷ and my fellow-prisoners,²⁰⁸ who are of note among
 8 the Apostles, who also were in Christ before me.²⁰⁹ *Salute* Amplias,²¹⁰ my
 9 beloved in the Lord. *Salute* Urbanus,²¹¹ our *work-fellow* in Christ, and
 10 Stachys, my beloved. *Salute* Apelles,²¹² *the* approved in Christ. *Salute*
 11 them which are of Aristobulus' household.²¹³ *Salute* Herodion, my kinsman.

²⁰³ Paul probably alludes to the way in which Aquila and Priscilla had endeavoured to shield him from his enemies during the riot of Demetrius at Ephesus. See Vol. I. p. 409.

²⁰⁴ In the earliest stage of Christianity, the disciples used to meet in the private houses of the wealthiest converts.

²⁰⁵ *Ἀσίας* and not *Ἀχαΐας* is now admitted to be the true reading, by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford. The house of Fortunatus was the firstfruits of Achaia. 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

²⁰⁶ *Ἰουνίαν*, which might no doubt be rendered as in Eng. ver. "Junia," a woman. But Junias, a man, must have been intended, as Andronicus and Junias are said to have been of note among the Apostles—i.e. to have been Apostles of distinguished rank. They were amongst the earliest converts, their conversion preceding that of Paul himself, as he here tells us; and they were perhaps the "apostles" or missionaries who first propagated the Gospel at Rome. Some, however, would render the words "of note amongst the Apostles," as meaning only that they were highly thought of by the Apostles, and were not classed as Apostles themselves. But this is not likely.

²⁰⁷ *τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου*—'my fellow-countrymen,' viz. Jews. See Jos. Bell. ii. 18, 4.

²⁰⁸ *συναιχμαλώτους μου*. See note to Philem. v. 23.

²⁰⁹ Andronicus and Junias were therefore converts before the spring of A.D. 37, when Paul was converted. See Fasti Sacri, p. 253, No. 1515. As they were Jews, they may have been amongst the pilgrims from Rome who heard and were converted by St. Peter on the Day of

Pentecost, A.D. 33. Acts ii. 10.

²¹⁰ The abbreviation of Ampliatus.

²¹¹ *Ὀὕρβανόν*. In Eng. ver. "Urbane," the Old English form of writing Urban. But many English readers, not being aware of this, take Urbane to mean a woman, and read it as a trisyllable.

²¹² A well-known Jewish name; as in Horace:
 " . . . Credat Judæus Apella."
 Sat. i. 5, 100.

²¹³ One Aristobulus was the son of Herod of Chalcis, and, like his cousin Agrippa the younger, had been kept as a kind of hostage about the court at Rome. Jos. Bell. ii. 11, 6. Nero succeeded Claudius on the 13th of October, A.D. 54; and in the course of the first year of his reign, Aristobulus was made prefect of Lesser Armenia. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 4; Tac. Ann. xiii. 7. Fasti Sacri, p. 305, No. 1823. It is unlikely therefore that this Aristobulus would be residing or have a permanent establishment at Rome in A.D. 58, the date of the Epistle.

Another Aristobulus was the brother of Agrippa I., and was living A.D. 39, Ant. xviii. 8, 4: see Fasti Sacri, p. 262, No. 1569. Agrippa I. died A.D. 44 at the age of 54, Ant. xiv. 8, 2 (see Fasti Sacri, p. 280, No. 1678), and therefore in A.D. 58 would have been sixty-eight. Aristobulus was a younger brother, and would not be so old, and might therefore very well be still living.

As the household of Aristobulus, and not Aristobulus himself are saluted, we may conjecture that Aristobulus was not a convert, though his household were.

J. B. Lightfoot has pointed out another and very plausible meaning of the Apostle's re-

Salute them that be of the household of Narcissus,²¹⁴ which are in the Lord.
 12 Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa,²¹⁵ who labour in the Lord. Salute the
 13 beloved Persis, *who hath* laboured much in the Lord. Salute Rufus,²¹⁶ *the*
 14 chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.²¹⁷ Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon,
 15 Hermas,²¹⁸ Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them. Salute
 Philologus, and Julia,²¹⁹ Nereus, and his sister, and Olympas, and all the
 16 saints which are with them. Salute one another with a holy kiss.²²⁰
 17 *All*²²¹ the churches²²² of Christ salute you. Now I beseech you, brethren,
 mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which
 18 ye have learned,²²³ and avoid them; for they that are such serve not our
 Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches
 19 deceive the hearts of the simple; for your obedience is come abroad unto all

markable expression, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου. 'When' (he writes) "the slaves of a household passed into the hands of a new master by cession, or inheritance, or confiscation, they continued to be designated by the name of their former proprietor. Thus a slave whom the Emperor had inherited by the will of the Galatian king Amyntas is described as *Cæsaris Ser. Amyntanus*. Gruter, p. 577, 5. In the same way in the imperial household we meet with Mæcenatiani, Agrippiani, Germaniciani, &c., where in like manner the names preserve the memory of their earlier masters. Now it seems not improbable, considering the intimate relations between Claudius and Aristobulus, that at the death of the latter his servants wholly or in part should be transferred to the palace. In this case they would be designated *Aristobuliani*, for which I suppose St. Paul's οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου to be an equivalent." J. B. Lightfoot on Philippians, p. 173. The like remark would be applicable to the expression that follows: τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου.

²¹⁴ Supposed to be the household of the celebrated freedman who was Secretary of Letters (ab Epistolis) to Claudius. He was put to death in the course of the first year of Nero, who began his reign the 13th of October, A.D. 54. Tac. Ann. xiii. 1; Dion Cass. lx. 34. Seneca confirms this, for in the 'Vision of Judgment' (Ἀποκολ.) written by him, Narcissus is described as having glided down the back way to welcome his master's arrival in Tartarus. The 'household of Narcissus' would not imply that Narcissus himself was living, but the expression τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου would receive the like interpretation as the phrase τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου mentioned just before. See note ²¹³ supra.

The Apostle, therefore, would refer to the Narcissiani, or those who had been servants of Narcissus, and since transferred to another master. One of these Narcissiani is actually mentioned in an inscription: "Ti. Claudio Sp. F. Narcissiano." Muratori, p. 1150, 4.

The Narcissus put to death by Galba (Dion Cass. lxiv. 3) was a different person, though he also was an imperial freedman and had attained great notoriety, but he was of a base character.

²¹⁵ Probably sisters.

²¹⁶ Probably Rufus, the son of Simon of Cyrene mentioned by Mark, xv. 21. As Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, and identifies Simon as being the father of Alexander and Rufus, the Roman church must have been well acquainted with Rufus, and there is, therefore, strong ground for believing that this Rufus is the one alluded to by Paul.

²¹⁷ The Apostle, in calling her his mother, means that he had the same respect for her as if she were really his mother.

²¹⁸ Supposed to be the author of the work called 'The Shepherd.'

²¹⁹ Probably man and wife.

²²⁰ See note on 1 Thess. v. 25.

²²¹ The word *πᾶσαι* is adopted as the true reading by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²²² I.e. the churches of Achaia, whence the Apostle was writing at the time.

²²³ The Apostle here warns the Romans against the Judaizers, who for their own carnal ends had caused so much dissension in the Corinthian church (see ante, p. 42); and might at any time enter, and perhaps had already entered, into the fold of the Roman church.

men. I rejoice, therefore, on your behalf. But I would have you wise unto
 20 that which is good, and simple concerning evil; and the God of peace shall
 bruise Satan under your feet shortly. THE GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST
 BE WITH YOU. AMEN.²²⁴

²²⁴ The Apostle here concludes his letter with the usual benediction in his own hand, by which the genuineness of the letter was authenticated. See Vol. I. p. 284. What follows is a postscript.

The preceding catalogue of salutations gives rise to the following remarks:—

1. St. Paul here greets no fewer than twenty-six persons, all of them apparently known to him, besides the entire households of Aristobulus and Narcissus, and the church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and the brethren with Asyncritus and others (xvi. 14). How could Paul, whose ministry had been confined to Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, have made so many acquaintances at the capital? We answer that wherever Paul preached he was still within the Roman Empire; and from Rome, the centre, radiated out in all directions channels of communication by sea and land, so that a constant flux and reflux was maintained between the capital and the provinces. Paul in his earliest days, and while under Gamaliel at Jerusalem, must have been familiar with Rufus, one of those now saluted, for Rufus and Alexander were the sons of Simon of Cyrene, who in A.D. 33 had borne the cross of Christ. Mark xv. 21. If we follow the Apostle to Tarsus, his native city, it was the university from which were selected the tutors of the imperial family, and of the principal magnates of Rome. Strabo makes the striking remark "Rome is full of Tarsians"—*Ταρσέων ('Ρώμῃ) ἐστὶ μεστή.* Strabo xiv. 5 (p. 231 Tauchn.). Paul also resided for some time at Antioch, and here the Roman Prefect of Syria held his state surrounded by his council and friends, with a Roman guard. At Ephesus, again, where the Apostle laboured for three years, the Proconsul of Asia gathered about him a host of Roman officials, not to mention that Ephesus was the great commercial port through which passed the trade between Rome and the East. It was no doubt at Ephesus that Paul was introduced to Epenetus, described as the first-fruits of Asia. At Corinth, again, the Apostle was stationary for more than a year and six months, and Corinth was the gate through which, especially in winter, travellers to and

from Rome made their way to avoid the dangerous circumnavigation of the Morea. When Claudius issued his decree in the midwinter of A.D. 51-52 for all Jews to depart from Rome, they would flock in vast numbers to Corinth, which lay in the direct winter route from Rome to the East, and here Paul would make their acquaintance. It was here that Paul formed an intimacy with two at least of those saluted, viz. Aquila and Priscilla.

2. The nationalities of those saluted are also very suggestive. The Roman names are only three, Urbanus, Amplias, and Julia, and the last is not brought forward independently, but as the wife of Philologus a Greek. Of the others some are evidently Jews, as Mary (*Μαριάμ*) and Andronicus, and Junias, whom the Apostle calls his kinsmen, and Herodion, connected, perhaps, with the Herod family, and Apelles, a common Jewish name. The rest are neither Romans nor Jews, but Greeks. If, therefore, we may take the whole group as a fair sample of the constitution of the Roman church at this period, it results that two-thirds of them were Greeks, and the remainder Jews, with a few Romans. This view tallies with other facts. Mark, who composed his gospel for the Roman church, wrote in Greek. Clement, bishop of Rome, wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians in Greek. Indeed all the primitive fathers of the Roman church used the same language, and the earliest bishops, with but few exceptions, were Greeks.

3. When we examine more closely into the names saluted we are struck by the coincidence that almost all these names are found on inscriptions and columbaria, or sepulchral dovecots in connection with the household of the Cæsars at this period. And as the Apostle in his letter to the Philippians sends a greeting from the household of Cæsar (Philipp. iv. 22), we are led to conjecture that Paul's acquaintances lay chiefly in that direction. This is natural, as the household was mainly composed of Greeks and Syrians, Jews and Samaritans.

J. B. Lightfoot, to whom the author is indebted for the substance of this note, has given (on Philippians, p. 172) a curious analysis of the several names as follows:—

21 “*Timothy* my work-fellow and *Lucius*,²²⁵ and *Jason* and *Sosipater*²²⁶ my
 22 kinsmen, salute you. (I, *Tertius*, who wrote this Epistle,²²⁷ salute you in the
 23 Lord.) *Caius*, mine host and of the whole church, saluteth you. *Erastus*,

AMPLIAS or AMPLIATUS.—This name occurs often in connection with the household. Thus AMPLIATUS HILARI AUGUSTOR. LIBERTI SER. VILICUS. Gruter, 62, 10. And so Murat. p. 1249, 14 (comp. p. 1150, 7) and Accadem. di Archeolog. xi. pp. 359, 374.

URBANUS.—A name equally common in the household. Thus TI. CLAUDI. URBANI SER. MEN-SORIS ÆDIFICIORUM. Murat. p. 924, 8. CLAUDIÆ PHILETI AUG. L. LIBERTÆ HEURESI URBANUS ET SURUS FRATRES SORORI PISSIMÆ. Murat. p. 996, 5. URBANUS LYDES AUG. L. DISPENS. IMMUNIS DAT. HERMÆ PATRI. Murat. p. 920, 1. T. FLAVIUS AUG. LIB. URBANUS. Gruter, p. 589, 10.

STACHYS.—A person so called held an important office in the household near the time when St. Paul wrote. STACHYS MARCELLÆ MEDICUS. Corrip. Archeol. 1856, p. 15, No. 44.

APELLES.—One Cl. Apelles was a member of the household. Orell. 2892.

TRYPHENA.—Found in the imperial household about the time when Paul wrote. D. M. TRYPHENÆ VALERIA TRYPHENA MATRI B. M. F. ET VALERIUS FUTIANUS. Accadem. di Archeol. xi. p. 375. And again, Q. VALERIO SALUTARI AUG. PUTEOLIS ET CUMIS ET VALERIÆ TRYFENÆ HERODES. Gruter, p. 481, 2. And again, CLAUDIA TRYPHENA FECIT ASIATICÆ FILIÆ SUÆ. Murat. p. 1150, 3.

TRYPHOSA.—Not so common, but also found in the household. AGRIÆ TRYPHOSÆ VESTIFICÆ LIVIUS THEONA AB EPISTOLIS GRÆC. SCRIBA A. LIB. PONTIFICALIBUS CONJUGI SANCTISSIMÆ B. D. S. M. Gruter, p. 578, 6. Comp. ib. p. 446, 6. And again, DIS MANIBUS JULIÆ TRYPHOSÆ T. FLAVIUS FORTUNATUS CONJUGI. Gruter, p. 796, 3. Comp. ib. p. 1133, 1. And again, VALERI PRIMI ET JUN. TRYPHOSÆ VIVA FEC. Gruter, p. 893, 2.

RUFUS.—Constantly recurring in the household.

HERMES.—A score of them could be counted up in the household about the time of Paul.

HERMAS.—A contraction of Hermagoras, Hermeros, Hermodorus, Hermogenes, &c., and almost as common as Hermes.

PATROBAS.—An abbreviation of Patrobius. A freedman of Nero by this name was put to death by Galba. Tac. Hist. i. 40; ii. 95. The name also appears in the inscription TI. CL. AUG. L. PATROBIUS (not Patronus). Gruter, p. 610, 3. See ib. p. 1329, 3.

PHILOLOGUS.—The name occurs more than once in the household. C. JULIO C. L. PHILOLOGO, Murat. p. 1586, 3. DAMA LIVIÆ L. CAS. PHÆBUS PHILOGI. Mon. Liv. p. 168. TI. CLAUDIUS AUGUSTI LIB. PHILOGUS AB EPISTOLIS. Murat. p. 2043, 2. TI. CLAUDIUS AUGUSTI LIB. PHILOGUS LIBERALIS. Gruter, p. 630, 1.

NEREUS.—Found in the household on a monument at Ancyra. EUTYCHUS NEREI CÆSARIS AUG. SER. VIL. FILIO. Murat. 899, 7.

These inscriptions show how extensive the Domus Augusta, or imperial household, must have been, and J. B. Lightfoot has made out a partial but curious list of the various officials. Pædagogus puerorum, dispensator rationis privatæ, exactor tributorum, præpositus velariorum, procurator prægustatorum, præpositus auri escarii, procurator balnei, villicus hortorum, &c.: a lapidicinis, a pèndice cedri, a frumentis, a commentariis equorum, a veste regia, a curâ catellæ, ab argento potorio, a supellectile castrensi, a veste forensi, a libellis, a studiis, ab epistolis, a rationibus, a bibliothecâ Græcâ Palatinâ, &c.: architectus, tabellarius, castellarius, chirurgus, ocularius, diætarchus, nomenclator, tesserarius, designator, vicarius, symphonix, musicarius, pedissequus, lexicarius, cocus, argentarius, sutor, cubicularius, triclinarius, ostiarius, ornator, unctor, &c.: tonstrix, sarcinatrix, obstetrix, &c.

²²⁵ Thought by some to be Luke, who was now, or at least had been lately, with the Apostle at Corinth, whence the Apostle was writing (pp. 13 and 38). But according to others, Lucas is the contraction of Lucanus, which could scarcely pass into the form of Lucius. If so, then the Lucius here mentioned may be the Lucius of Cyrene, who was a colleague of St. Paul in the

church of Antioch. Acts xiii. 1. See Vol. I. p. 113.

²²⁶ No doubt Jason of Thessalonica and Sopater of Berea, who were now with Paul at Corinth. See ante, p. 38. The words ‘my kinsmen’ apply to these two, but not necessarily to Lucius.

²²⁷ At this period there were two modes of writing. One in general use amongst the Romans was this: small tablets of the shape of a

24 the chamberlain of the city,²²⁸ saluteth you, and Quartus, *our* brother. THE
 25 GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL. AMEN. NOW TO HIM
 THAT IS OF POWER TO ESTABLISH YOU ACCORDING TO MY GOSPEL²²⁹ AND THE
 PREACHING OF JESUS CHRIST, ACCORDING TO THE REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY
 26 WHICH WAS KEPT SECRET FROM *time eternal*, BUT NOW IS MADE MANIFEST, AND
 BY THE SCRIPTURES OF THE PROPHETS ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT OF THE
 EVERLASTING GOD IS MADE KNOWN TO ALL NATIONS *unto* OBEDIENCE OF FAITH—
 27 TO THE ONLY WISE GOD²³⁰ BE GLORY THROUGH JESUS CHRIST FOR EVER. AMEN.”

The whole Epistle was dictated to Tertius, the amanuensis, with the exception of the benediction, which, as usual, was written with the Apostle's own hand.²³¹

4. We conclude with the remark that amongst the numerous names mentioned by St. Paul that of Peter does not occur. It is plain, therefore, that he was not at this time (A.D. 58) at Rome, nor is there any allusion to him in the Epistles written by the Apostle *from* Rome during his first captivity (Ephesians, Colossians, Philip-
 pians, and Philemon), A.D. 62-63; so that neither was Peter then at Rome. Nor is he mentioned

in the Epistle written during the second captivity, viz. the second to Timothy, about A.D. 66; so that either Peter was not then living, or was not at Rome. In short there is no trace of Peter having visited Rome, or of his having gone westward at all, except that he was martyred there, and was probably, like Paul, sent thither as a prisoner.

schoolboy's slate, and one-fourth of the size, and strung together at the corner, were overlaid with wax in the hollow part within the frame. The writer then employed a stylus or metallic pen pointed at one end and flattened at the other, and with the point he wrote the word upon the wax, and if he wished to correct it, he turned the stylus and again flattened the wax (*Sæpe stylum vertas, &c.*). The other mode of writing was with pen and ink, as at the present day, except that the pen was not a quill or of metal, but a calamus or reed, and the paper was not a composition from rags but from the papyrus of the Nile whence paper takes its name (fig. 189). The ink was prepared from various materials, and amongst others from the black liquid emitted by the cuttle fish. St. John wrote with pen and ink upon paper (*διὰ χάρτον καὶ μέλανος*, 2 John v. 12; *διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμῳ*, 3 John v. 13), and St. Paul in like manner employed pen and ink, as is evident from his address to the Corinthians: "Ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with *ink*, but with the Spirit of the living God." 2 Cor. iii. 3. But from the reference in 2 Tim. iv. 13 to parchments (*μεμβράνας*) it is likely that the more important documents, such as the Epistles, were written upon parchment, as the more durable material. (See figs. 185, 186, 187, 188.)

²²⁸ "The city," i.e. of Corinth, whence the Apostle was writing. Phœbe was spoken of as the deaconess of *Cenchrea*, and not of "*the city*," as Paul was not at Cenchrea at the time of writing, but at Corinth. The word *οἰκόνομος* would more correctly have been rendered 'Quæstor' than 'Chamberlain.' Corinth was a Roman colony governed by two Duumviri (see Vol. I. p. 271), but besides these ordinary magistrates, there was another officer called indifferently Quæstor, or Censor, or Quinquennalis (from the renewal of the office every fifth year), who exercised powers and discharged duties corresponding to those of the Quæstor and Censor at Rome. It would seem that Erastus, at the date of the Epistle, had the honour of holding this office.

²²⁹ See note ⁶², ante, p. 49.

²³⁰ In the Greek is the word *ᾧ*, 'to whom,' which is superfluous. The grammatical blemish may either be owing to the copyist or to the looseness of Paul's style.

²³¹ Who was the bearer of the Epistle is uncertain. It is generally considered that Phœbe, the deaconess of the church of Cenchrea, took charge of it. But if so, Paul would most likely have noticed it at the mention of her name. "I commend unto you Phebe our sister," &c. It is evident, however, that she was either the bearer herself or accompanied the bearer, and



Fig. 185.—A girl holding in her right hand a stylus, and in her left a wax tablet. From Barre's Herculaneum.



Fig. 186.—A youth reading a papyrus roll. From Barre's Herculaneum.

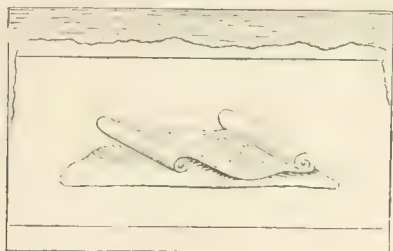


Fig. 187.—A papyrus roll open, and written in columns. From Barre's Herculaneum.

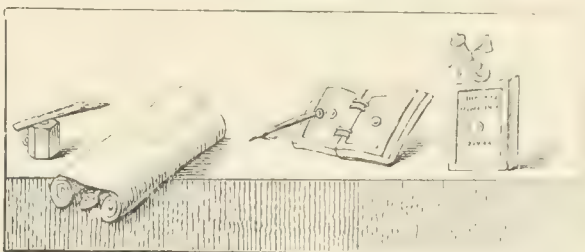


Fig. 188.—Writing materials. From Barre's Herculaneum. On the left are a pen and inkstand with a roll. In the middle, a wax tablet with a stylus ready for writing. On the right, a tablet as closed when the writing has been finished.



Fig. 189 —The Papyrus (or Paper-reed) of the Nile. From Cassell's Bible Dictionary.

Paul was now ready to pass from Corinth to Cenchrea, the place for embarkation for Jerusalem. A prospect of peril was before him! If the Jews so persecuted him from place to place even in strange lands, what was he to expect at Jerusalem, the fountain-head of Judaism, where the report of his preaching against the law of Moses among the Gentiles was now rife, and resolute enemies had banded themselves together to take his life? He was fully apprised of the danger, and in his Epistle to the Romans he had solemnly implored their aid at the throne of grace: "I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from *them that do not believe* in Judea, and that my ministration at Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints."²³² He had once hesitated as to the propriety of visiting Jerusalem,²³³ but the vow made after his providential escape at Ephesus was to be completed there, and Macedonia and Achaia had requested him to superintend the distribution of their alms, and after the liberality with which they had responded to his call he could scarcely refuse.

He was just on the point of starting from Corinth, when all his plans were deranged by the discovery of another conspiracy against his life. The Jews of Corinth on his former visit had attempted to procure his conviction before Gallio, the Proconsul, but instead of redress they had seen their own chief of the synagogue beaten before their eyes. Despairing of their object by legitimate means, they now had recourse to the work of assassins. What was the precise plot does not appear—whether to waylay the Apostle on his road to Cenchrea, or to fall upon him at sea in the course of his voyage. Paul eluded his adversaries by a change of route. He determined, instead of crossing the sea direct, to go round by Macedonia. The better to escape a watchful foe, Paul and his friends divided²³⁴ themselves into two companies, and it was arranged that Timothy, Sopater of Berea,²³⁵ Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius of Derbe, Tychicus, and Trophimus should sail for Troas, the common resting-place, and there await the Apostle's arrival, and that Paul himself, and Luke and Titus with Jason, should make a forced march by land up to and through Macedonia,²³⁶ and rejoin the others at Troas. Both companies were then

the main object of her journey was the despatch of some urgent business that required her presence at Rome, for the Apostle requests the Roman church to lend her their services in accomplishing what she had in view, "that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you." Rom. xvi. 2.

²³² Rom. xv. 30, 31.

²³³ 1 Cor. xvi. 4.

²³⁴ He had now about him a numerous retinue, as Luke, Titus, Jason, Timothy, Sopater of Berea, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius of Derbe, Tychicus, and Trophimus.

²³⁵ In some MSS. it is Sopater Πύρρον, or son of Pyrrhus; and this reading is adopted by Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. Acts xx. 4.

²³⁶ The words συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ, &c., Acts xx. 4, have been taken by some to imply that Paul and his company set out together, and continued together as far as Philippi, where they separated, some of them starting first for Troas by land, and the others following by sea. However, if all were at Philippi, why did not all stay there during the Feast? It cannot be because they were Gentiles; for Luke, who stayed, was a

to proceed together as far as Asia (Ephesus or Miletus), and were then to separate.

Paul bade farewell to Corinth, the church he so affectionately loved and for which he had lately suffered so much mental anxiety, and at the beginning of March, A.D. 58,²³⁷ set forth upon his journey. Jason probably stopped by the way at Thessalonica, his native place, but Paul, Luke and Titus arrived at Philippi just before the Passover, which this year was celebrated on the 27th of March.²³⁸ The feast lasted eight days, and Paul, who himself observed the Jewish law, though he forbade the Gentiles to do so, remained at Philippi during the solemnity. The festival closed on the 3rd of April, which fell on a Monday.²³⁹ On Tuesday the 4th of April (for we can now trace the Apostle day by day) he started for Neapolis, the Port of Philippi, not perhaps without some warning of the troubles to be expected at Jerusalem—at least in the course of his voyage he tells the Ephesians, “*The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city that bonds and afflictions abide me.*”²⁴⁰ At Neapolis he was detained by contrary winds, or perhaps no vessel was ready to sail at the moment of his arrival.²⁴¹ At all events, he did not reach Troas until the fifth day after leaving Philippi, the day of starting included,²⁴² which brings us to Saturday the 8th of April.

Gentile, and Timothy, who went, was a Jew. From the words οὗτοι προελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν, Acts xx. 5, it has been argued that Luke never quitted Philippi from the time when he arrived there in A.D. 51 (see Vol. I. p. 221), until he sailed from Troas in A.D. 58; but we have seen that Paul sent him in A.D. 57 from Philippi to Corinth (see ante, p. 13); and in fact, the above passage shows it, for the word ἡμᾶς has relation to the προελθόντες, and assumes that Luke was himself at the place from which those who went before set out first on their journey—i.e. at Corinth. Luke, however, may have remained at Philippi from A.D. 51 to A.D. 57, when he was dispatched to Corinth. It is further argued that the word προελθόντες has reference to Philippi, and is placed in opposition to ἐξεπλεύσαμεν, and so denotes that Paul's companions generally journeyed from Philippi to Troas by land (with the exception of the Hellespont), while Paul himself and Luke sailed from Philippi to Troas. But this construction appears forced and fanciful.

²³⁷ For the proofs that the voyage was in this year, see Fasti Sacri, p. lxxii.

²³⁸ See Fasti Sacri, p. 313, No. 1856.

²³⁹ See De Morgan's Book of Almanacks.

²⁴⁰ Acts xx. 23.

²⁴¹ It has been supposed, and is not unlikely,

that from Neapolis, or at least from Troas, to Patara, Paul and his company chartered a vessel of their own, for it waited for him at Assos, Acts xx. 13; and sailed by Ephesus without touching, for Paul's convenience, Acts xx. 16; and again waited at Miletus till the members of the Ephesian church arrived. Acts xx. 17. At Patara he found a merchant vessel bound for Tyre, and embarked in it. Acts xxi. 2.

²⁴² ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε. Acts xx. 6. The word ἄχρις denotes the full completion of five days, but they may be either *inclusive* or *exclusive* of the day of starting; and the question, whether it was inclusive or exclusive must depend, as we shall see, upon the further inquiry whether Luke, by the statement of the sojourn at Troas (οὐ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, Acts xx. 6) means that the first day of the week was one of the seven, or was a distinct day, making altogether eight days. Thus Paul quitted Philippi at the close of the Passover on Tuesday, the 4th of April, and if the five days be *inclusive*, he would arrive at Troas on Saturday the 8th of April, and the seven days at Troas would expire on Saturday the 15th of April; and as this would be the *last* and not the *first* day of the week, it is clear that on this hypothesis we must assume that under the words ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, Luke means

At Troas (fig. 190, 191) he rejoined Timothy and the brethren, from whom he had separated at Corinth. Paul remained here a week²⁴³ and a day, that is, until Sunday,



Fig. 190.—The Gymnasium of Alexandria Troas. From Choiseul Gouffier.

The spectator is looking in a westerly direction, and opposite is seen the island of Tenedos. The Gymnasium (sometimes called the Baths) is the most extensive and striking relic of the ancient city.

the 16th of April, the Christian sabbath,²⁴⁴ a sojourn the more remarkable, as we know that the Apostle was pressed for time. He had been obliged through the plot of the

another day, the ninth. This appears to us the more probable supposition, and similar instances of Luke's computation by fragments of time in this cumulative way will be found Vol. I. p. 296.

If the five days be reckoned *exclusive* of the day of starting, then the case will stand thus: Paul set forth from Philippi on Tuesday, the 4th of April, and the five days exclusive would end on Sunday the 9th of April, and the seven days at Troas would expire on Sunday the 16th of April. On this theory, therefore, the words *ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*, must denote not a separate day, but the last of the seven days. It is an objection to this view that it makes the passage from Neapolis to Troas five complete days, a voyage accomplished by Paul on a former occasion in two days, viz., from Troas to Samothrace in one day and on the next to Neapolis. Acts xvi. 11. On the present occasion the winds must have been contrary or four days could not have been consumed. But how can we believe that the voyage occupied so much as five days?

As we here commence the long sea voyage of Paul from Neapolis to Cæsarea, it may be proper to notice briefly the rate of sailing amongst the ancients. Scylax allows 500 stades for a day's voyage, and the like for a night's voyage, making 1000 stades for the twenty-four hours, *ἀντὶ τῶν φ' σταδίων ἡμεραίον τὸν πλοῦν*. Scyl. ad finem Descript. Europ. And so the old geographers, as recorded by Ptolemy: *τοῦ Θεοφίλου τὸν τοῦ νυχθημέρου φόρον πλοῦν χιλίων ὑποτιθεμένων σταδίων οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἠκολούθησεν*, &c. Ptolemy, i. 9. 1000 stades are equal to 125 miles Roman or somewhat more than 100 miles English, which would therefore be the rate for the *νυχθημέρον*, or night and day of twenty-four hours. This general statement will be found fully borne out by a number of instances collected by Greswell in his Dissertations, vol. iii. p. 309, 1st ed.

²⁴³ οὐ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Acts xx. 6.

²⁴⁴ ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων. Acts xx. 7.

Jews to adopt a circuitous route, and he was now making all haste upon his road, so as "*if possible*" to reach Jerusalem before the feast of Pentecost, which would fall on the 17th of May. Perhaps the church planted at Troas on his former visit, when he was flying from Ephesus, might now from some peculiar circumstances imperatively require his presence. The delay, however, may have arisen from the mere necessity of attending upon the movements of the vessel. Troas was a city of considerable consequence, and the ship may either have unloaded there or taken a cargo on board, or adverse winds may have prevented her from sailing.



Fig. 191.—Remains of the theatre of Alexandria Troas. From Choiseul Gouffier.

In what manner the Christian sabbath was observed by the early disciples, is not very accurately known; but perhaps the most valuable hint upon the subject is derived not from any sacred writer, but from a Pagan, namely, the younger Pliny who, in his famous letter addressed to Trajan from Bithynia, an adjoining province to Troas, about fifty years after this period, acquaints him that the Christians "were wont to meet together on a stated day (*stato die*) *before it was light*, and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as God, and bind themselves by an oath (*sacramento*) not to the commission of any wickedness, but on the contrary, not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them; and when these things were ended, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal which they ate in common without any disorder."²⁴⁵ From this account we may infer that the

²⁴⁵ "Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento, non in scelus aliquid obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia,

ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent; quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum ta

Christians met at *break of day* to celebrate our Lord's *resurrection*, and again in the *evening* in commemoration of the *last Supper*.²⁴⁶



Fig. 192.—Bacchus visiting Icarus. From a sculpture in the British Museum.

A Greek house with open windows and broad window-sills, affording ample room for sitting. It was from some such window-sill in the upper story of the house at Troas that Eutychus fell.

The words of Luke are, "Upon the first day of the week when the disciples were come together²⁴⁷ to break bread." They were, therefore, not convoked by Paul, but had assembled in ordinary course, and that for the celebration either of the Eucharist, or the meal then commonly known as the Love Feast. And this was in the evening, for "there were many lights,"²⁴⁸ a remark introduced either to distinguish the open, undisguised and sober banquet of the Christians from the impure, nocturnal rites of the heathen gatherings, or to exclude any suspicion in the reader's mind, that a deception or imposition could be practised with respect to the miraculous occurrence that followed.²⁴⁹ The Trojan church was only a year old, and all the circumstances indicate an infant society. The place of meeting was a large upper room or attic on the third floor: light and air were admitted through windows, which were not glazed, and the shutters or casements were now removed for better ventilation (fig. 192, 193).

Paul intending to take leave on the morrow, made an earnest and impassioned address, and, carried away by his feelings, dilated upon each topic that rose to his view, and, arguing, admonishing, comforting, and instructing, was little aware how

men et innoxium" Plin. Ep. x. 96. In the above passage the writer seems to allude to the recitation of the ten commandments, which forbid stealing (*furtum*), murder (*latrocinium*), adultery (*adulterium*), false witness (*ne fidem fallerent*), and coveting our neighbour's goods (*ne depositum appellati abnegarent*).

²⁴⁶ That the Sunday was observed by the early Christians is well attested. See ante, Vol. II. p. 4.

²⁴⁷ *συνηγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν*. Acts xx. 7. This is the formal expression for a solemn convocation, whence the word *συναγωγή*.

²⁴⁸ Acts xx. 8.

²⁴⁹ Kuinoel suggests also that many lamps were lighted in honour of the day, as candles are now lit in churches, and more particularly amongst Roman Catholics, to give the effect of greater solemnity. On the subject of lights, see Renan's St. Paul, p. 263.

the precious moments flew. The hour of midnight arrived, and still the preacher instant in season and out of season was impressing upon his hearers the vast and paramount importance of the great cause he was advocating. In one of the window-sills was seated Eutychus,²⁵⁰ a youthful convert, unaccustomed to so late an hour, and not perhaps of a sufficiently matured understanding to follow the masterly but sometimes difficult reasoning of the Apostle.²⁵¹ The room was hot and suffocating, and nature was exhausted, when amid the profound silence of the audience as they listened to the preacher, Eutychus overcome by sleep, and losing all consciousness,



Fig. 193.—A Roman house with window. From T. H. Dyer's *Pompeii*.

fell from the window and was precipitated from the third floor to the ground, and “was taken up dead.”²⁵² A scene of confusion followed, and Paul, overflowing with emotion, and ever actuated by the warmest feelings, “went down, and fell on him, and embraced him.”²⁵³ The mental suffering of the Apostle drew compassion from the skies, and he felt himself invested with supernatural power. “Trouble not yourselves,” he said, “for his life is in him. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted.”²⁵⁴

Paul returned to the upper room, and as soon as the excitement produced by so startling an incident had been allayed, and order was restored, the Apostle “broke bread,”²⁵⁵ that is, administered the holy communion, and afterwards made a frugal

²⁵⁰ A common name for a domestic; and perhaps Eutychus was a lad attendant upon some one of the congregation.

²⁵¹ Luke (Acts xx. 12) describes Eutychus as *παῖδα*, and therefore quite a boy.

²⁵² Acts xxvi. 9.

²⁵³ Acts xx. 10.

²⁵⁴ Acts xx. 10, 12.

²⁵⁵ *κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον*. Acts xx. 11. The article, as observed by Wordsworth, is emphatic, and indicates *the* bread—i.e. the bread or loaf of the sacrament.

repast²⁵⁶ to strengthen him for his intended journey (for the Eucharist and the Love Feast not unusually accompanied each other), and then arrangements were made for the departure. The vessel was to touch at Assos, otherwise Apollonia,²⁵⁷ a town to the south-east of Troas, and was obliged to take the circuitous route of doubling the promontory of Lectum (fig. 196), which lay between Troas and Assos. The journey overland from Troas to Assos was considerably shorter, and there was a high road all the way, and as Paul was anxious not to part from his converts until the last moment, it was agreed that his fellow-travellers should embark at once, but that Paul himself should tarry a little longer, and then cross the country to Assos (fig. 194).²⁵⁸ The Apostle's companions now took their way to the ship, while Paul continued amongst his friends, discharging to the last the duties of the high office committed to him.²⁵⁹ The morning broke on Monday the 17th of April, when

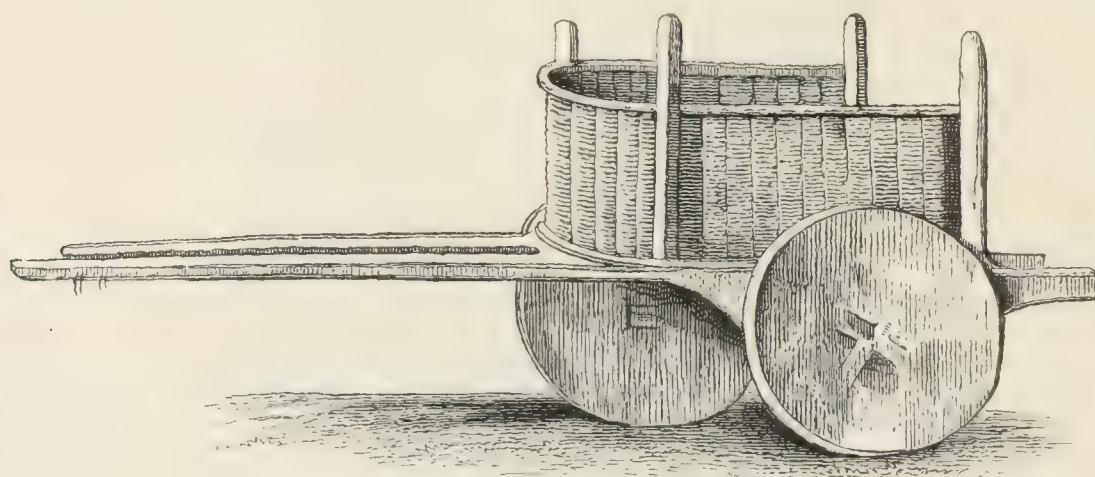


Fig. 194.—Car in common use in the Troas. From Clarke's Travels.

the Apostle bestowing a parting benediction, and receiving perhaps in return some prophetic intimation of approaching peril at Jerusalem, bade them farewell, and pursued the road to Assos.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ γευσάμενος. Acts x. 11. This word is not to be connected with κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον, which is a formula for the sacrament, but is perfect in itself, and indicates a separate ordinary meal. Thus καθεζόμενος τε ἐγεύσατο. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 98. συνηγάκασεν [Saulum] ἡ γυνὴ γεύσασθαι. Jos. Ant. vi. 14, 3. Others, as Kuinoel, suggest that the words κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον καὶ γευσάμενος are to be taken together as indicating, not the eucharist or a love feast, but merely an ordinary meal taken by Paul before starting on his journey to Assos on foot. Kuinoel, Acts xx. 11. Certainly Paul only is expressly mentioned as breaking bread—κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον—but this he would do as the officiating minister.

²⁵⁷ Assos eadem Apollonia. Plin. N. H. v. 32.

²⁵⁸ It has also been suggested that it was to avoid any ambush of the Jews which might have been laid for him had he started with the rest.

²⁵⁹ ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλήσας ἄχρις αὐγῆς.

²⁶⁰ The word in Greek is πεζεύειν, Acts xx. 13, which many have taken literally, and suppose that Paul *walked* all the way from Troas to Assos, which, though possible, is not very likely, as thus he would save no time. The word πεζεύειν is "to go or travel by *land*, as opposed to going by *sea*," (Liddell and Scott;) and clearly this is the sense here, for the contrast is between ἡμεῖς προελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον, and Paul μέλλων αὐτὸς πεζεύειν.

This was distant about nineteen miles ²⁶¹ (fig. 195), and Paul would reach it easily in the course of the day. The city (now in a ruinous state, but then populous and splendid, as the remains of it amply testify) was perched upon a high rock, which somewhat resembled the Acropolis at Athens (figs. 198, 199, 200). There was a



Fig. 195.—Map of the country between Alexandria Troas and Assos, with the principal roads. From Choiseul Gouffier

sharp descent down to the sea where was the port,²⁶² protected by an excellent pier, but the slope from the town to the beach, more than a mile long, was so steep that it was a common proverb, "Go to Assos and break your neck."²⁶³ If the unfortunate

²⁶¹ Peutinger Tables. From Alexandria Troas to Smythium iii.; Assos xv. making 19 miles.

²⁶² In following the footsteps of the Apostle from Assos to the shore, Fellowes observes: "I descended toward the sea, and found the whole

front of the hill a wilderness of ruined temples, baths, and theatres, all of the best workmanship, but all of the same grey stone as the neighbouring rock." Fellowes' Lycia.

²⁶³ "Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἀσσοῦ ἐρυμνὴ καὶ εὐτειχὴς, ἀπὸ



Fig. 196.—View of the Promontory of Lectum, the cape between Alexandria Troas and Assos, and which a ship would have to round in passing from Troas to Assos.



Fig. 197.—Gateway in the outer wall of Assos, and through which is seen the acropolis or citadel. It was under this gateway that Paul passed. From Cassell's Bible Dictionary.

traveller chanced to verify the proverb there was conveniently found in the neighbourhood the famous stone called Ssarcophagus, which was reported to possess the



Fig. 198.—Coin of Assos. From the British Museum.
Obv. Head of Pallas.—Rev. Head of an ox with the legend ΑΣΣΙΟΝ (of the Assians).

incredible property of consuming the whole body entombed in it, except the teeth, in less than forty days.²⁶⁴ Assos was about halfway between Troas and Mitylene,

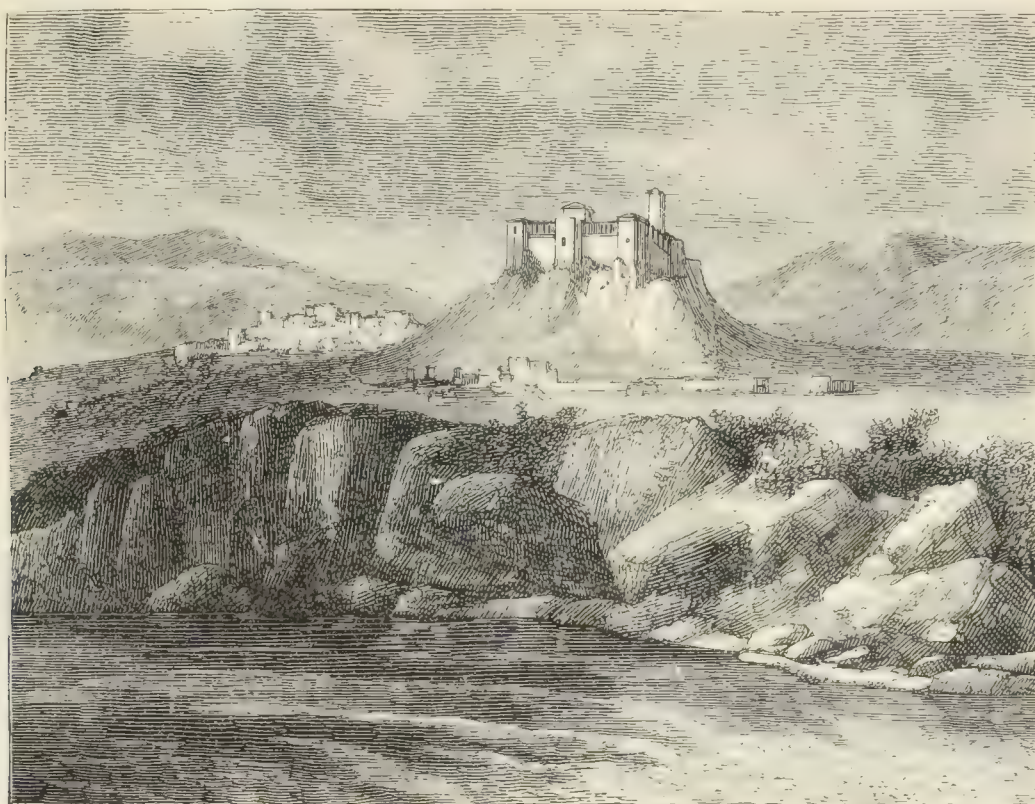


Fig. 199.—View of Assos from the sea, i.e. from the south. From a sketch in passing.

and was a convenient resting-place in the track of the coasting trade. Paul entered Assos by the gateway which still remains (fig. 197), on Monday the 17th of April,

θαλάττης καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ὀρθίαν καὶ μακρὰν ἀνάβασιν
ἔχουσα, ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἰκείως εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ τὸ τοῦ
Στρατονίου τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ,

Ἄσσον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἵκηαι.

ὁ δὲ λιμὴν χώματι κατεσκευάσται μεγάλῳ. Strabo,
xiii. 1 (p. 126, Tauchnitz). The line of Strato-
nicus is a piece of wit of the ancients, and a
specimen of their punning. The verse is taken
from the Iliad, in which it forms the conclusion

of a warrior's bragging speech to his adver-
sary:

ἄσσον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἵκηαι.

Il. vi. 143.

"Come near (ἄσσον), that thou mayest the sooner reach the
borders of death."

(We are reminded of the similar boastful threats
of Goliath: "Come to me, and I will give thy
flesh unto the fowls of the air and the beasts of

²⁶⁴ Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 27.

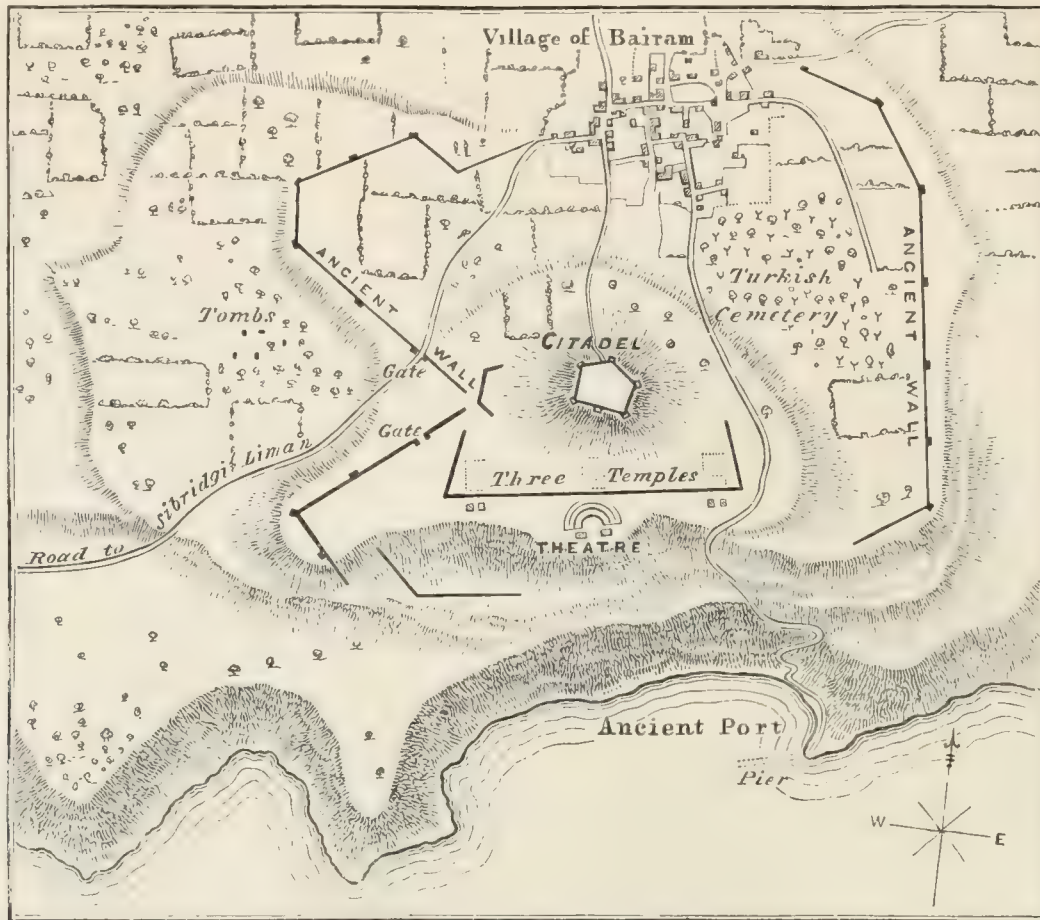


Fig 200.—Plan of Assos. From Choiseul Gouffier.



Fig. 201.—View of Mitylene from the north. From Choiseul Gouffier.

and, the vessel which carried his companions having sailed round the promontory and entered the port, the Apostle embarked.



Fig. 202.—Plan of Mitylene with its two ports. From Admiralty Chart.

They sailed the same day to Mitylene (figs. 201, 202, 203), a free city,²⁶⁵ and the capital of Lesbos, the native country of Alcæus and Sappho (one the inventor of the

the field." 1 Sam. xvii. 44.) But Stratoniceus accents the word "Ἀσσυον, and so applies it to the city. Assos is now Beahrahm.

With respect to the present state of Assos, Leake tells us that there is a theatre in perfect preservation, with the remains of several temples, some of them dedicated to Augustus, and therefore standing in the time of Paul. On the western side of the city, by which Paul approached, are walls and towers, with a gate in complete preservation, and without the walls a

cemetery with numerous sarcophagi, and some of gigantic dimensions. "The whole, perhaps," he continues, "gives the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists." Leake's Asia Minor, p. 129. The architectural details are given by Choiseul Gouffier, from whom the accompanying plan is taken; and he adds that the port is 150 toises deep, and protected from the south winds by a massive mole. Voyage Pittoresque, ii. 87.

²⁶⁵ Et libera Mitylene. Plin. N. H. v. 39.

Alcaic, and the other of the Sapphic metre), and also of Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece. The city lay on the eastern side of the island, and was situate on a neck of land running out eastwards, and on each side of the peninsula was a port, the northern protected by a mole, and of convenient anchorage for ships of the largest burden.²⁶⁶ The town was handsomely built, but unhealthy.²⁶⁷ Mitylene, under the form of Mytilni,²⁶⁸ is still the name of the island and of the town.



Fig. 203. — Coin of Mitylene. From the British Museum.
Obv. Head of Apollo.—Rev. A lyre with the legend ΜΥΤΙ (of the Mitylenians).

On Tuesday, the 18th of April,²⁶⁹ they sailed from Mitylene and reached the eastern side of the Isle of Chios (figs. 204–209). On Wednesday, the 19th of April,²⁷⁰ they



Fig. 204.—The Eastern coast of Chios. From a sketch by W. Simpson.

²⁶⁶ ἔχει ἡ Μιτυλήνη λιμένας δύο, ὧν ὁ νότιος κλειστός τριηρικὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁ δὲ βόρειος μέγας καὶ βαθύς, χώματι σκεπαζόμενος. Strabo, xiii. 2 (p. 137, Tauchnitz). At the present day the southern port is small and shallow, but the northern spacious and deep. The view in the annexed woodcut is of the northern port. See Laborde's Voyage Pittoresque.

²⁶⁷ Oppidum Mitylene magnificentē est ædifi-

catum et eleganter, sed positum non prudenter. . . . Auster cum flat, homines ægrotant; cum Eurus, tussunt; cum Septentrio, restituuntur in sanitatem, sed in angiportis et plateis non possunt consistere propter vehementiam frigoris.

²⁶⁸ The older travellers call it Castro.

²⁶⁹ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ. Acts xx. 15.

²⁷⁰ τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ. Acts xx. 15.

crossed the bay of Ephesus and, steering in a south-easterly direction, put in at Samos²⁷¹ (figs. 210, 211, 212). What must have been Paul's emotions as the wind wafted him in front of Ephesus! There, about the same season last year had occurred the uproar of the silversmiths, when he had so narrowly escaped with his life. He must have yearned, as he passed, to visit the flourishing church which he



Fig. 205.—Coin of Chios. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of sphinx with the legend ΤΡΙΑ ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ (three asses, or the threepenny piece).—Rev. An amphora with the legend ΕΠΙ ΑΡ. ΚΟ. ΟΥΛ. ΠΡΕΙΜΟΥ ΧΙΩΝ (under the archonship of Q. Valer. Primus. Of the Chians). See 2 Eckhel, 566.

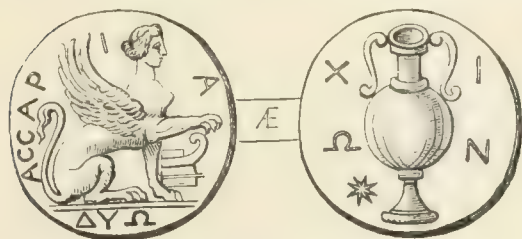


Fig. 206.—Coin of Chios. From Pellerin.

Obv. ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΔΥΩ (two asses, or the twopenny piece).
—Rev. ΧΙΩΝ (of the Chians).

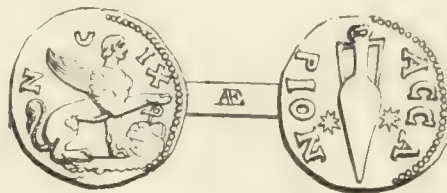


Fig. 207.—Coin of Chios. From J. Y. Akerman.

Obv. ΧΙΩΝ (of the Chians).—Rev. ΑΣΣΑΡΙΟΝ (the as or penny).

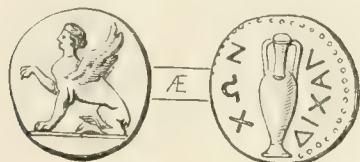


Fig. 208.—Coin of Chios. From Pellerin.

Obv. Head of sphinx. Rev. ΔΙΧΑΛΚΩΝ (two farthings, or the halfpenny).

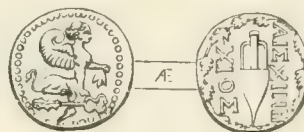


Fig. 209.—Coin of Chios.—From Pellerin.

Obv. Head of sphinx.—Rev. ΧΙΟΣ ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (Chios Æschines). As the preceding coin was the δίχαλκων or two χαλκοί, the present coin must be the χαλκοῦς, quadrans or farthing, containing two λεπτά. See note, Vol. I. p. 336.

had planted and watered with so much labour and anxiety, but Ephesus had almost lost her port, and the vessel did not touch there, but was bound for Miletus, whither trade was gradually shifting.

Samos, where the vessel put in, was the capital of the island of that name. The port of Samos is now known as port Tigani, and had the same relation to the town of Samos (which lay chiefly inland on the site of the modern Chora) that the Piræus had to Athens. There was also another resemblance between Samos and Athens, viz. that as there was a sacred way from Athens to Eleusis, so there was a sacred way (which

²⁷¹ παρεβάλομεν. Acts xx. 15. So ὁ ὅπ, word may mean equally well 'we crossed over.' παραβαλοῦ. Aristoph. Ranæ, 180, 269. But the



Fig. 210.—View of the Port of Samos, now Tigani. The spectator is looking west. From Admiralty Chart.

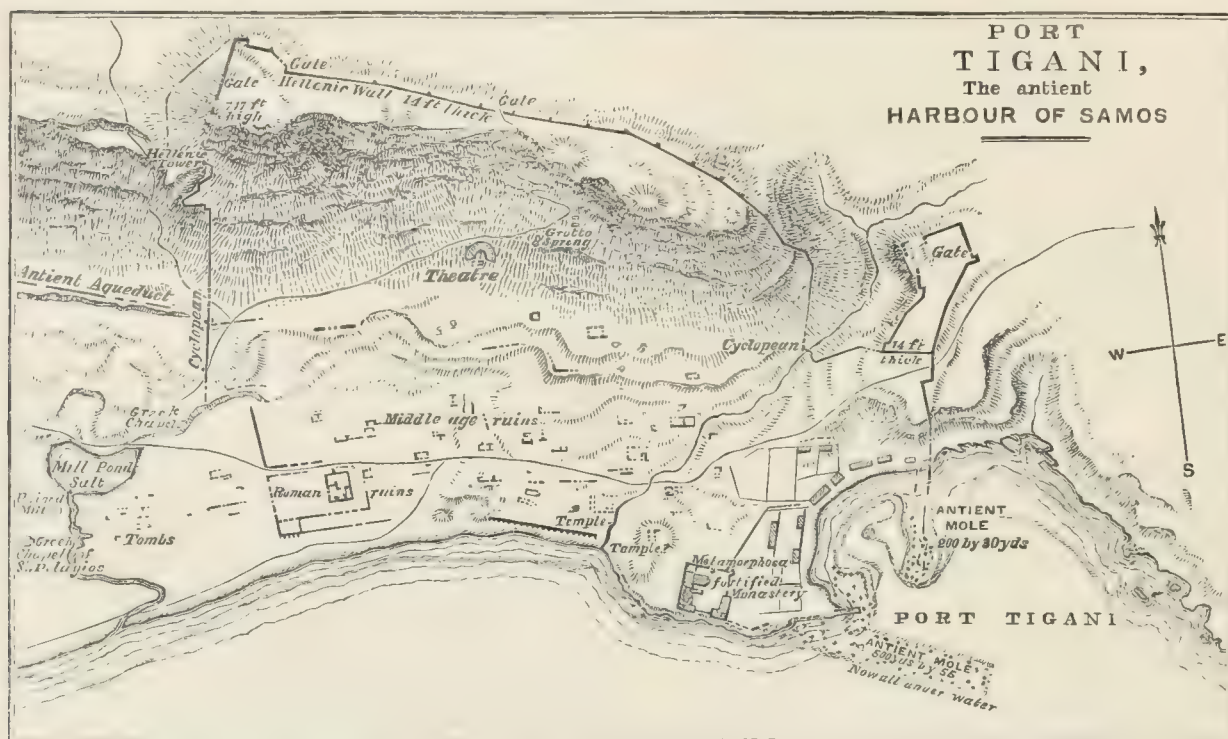


Fig. 211.—This plan comprises not only the port, but also a general outline of the city which lay to the north and west of the port.



Fig. 212.—Coin of Samos. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of a lion.—Rev. The head and shoulders of an ox with the legend Ηγῆσιανᾶξ Σα. (Hegesianax, of the Samians).

can still be traced) from Samos to Heræum, or the Temple of Juno, the great goddess of the island which lay about two miles to the west, on the headland now called Cape Colonna, from the single column of the temple, which still remains.

As Samos at this time was a celebrated port, the calling there may have been for landing passengers or merchandise, but the ship made no stay, and the business dispatched, she steered across the strait,²⁷² between the island and the mainland, to the opposite promontory of Trogilium (fig. 213). Just off the promontory was a small island, with a port, of the same name, and here they cast anchor.



Fig. 213 —Plan of Port Trogilium and the adjacent ports. From Admiralty chart.

The three islands lying about Trogilium are referred to by Pliny by the names of Sandalion, Pylon, and Argennon. Nat. Hist. v. 37. The port where Paul anchored is generally considered to be that sheltered by Sandalion, but the port now known as the port of St. Paul is that protected by the island of Nero, the ancient Argennon.

The Apostle might no doubt have been landed somewhere on the coast and have found his way to Ephesus, or he might now travel thither from Trogilium, as he had done from Troas to Assos, but should he by any accident have been detained at Ephesus, or on the road, he might fail in reaching Miletus before the vessel again sailed, and so, losing his passage, might be disappointed of his great object—that of arriving at Jerusalem by Pentecost, the 17th of May. Paul therefore determined on

²⁷² This strait is about a mile wide. ὅσον ἑπταστάδιον πορθμόν. Strabo, xiv. 1 (p. 168, Tauchnitz).

remaining on board, and continuing his voyage to Miletus, with the intention, as soon as he arrived there, of dispatching a messenger across the country to invite the Ephesian church to an interview.²⁷³

On Thursday, the 20th of April,²⁷⁴ the ship weighed anchor from Trogilium and reached Miletus in the course of the afternoon (figs. 216, 217). Miletus was originally a Carian city, but on the Ionic emigration was occupied by Neleus and his fellow-countrymen, and from that time it rose rapidly to great importance, trading with all the world and sending forth numerous colonies. It was the mother of no less than eighty cities on various coasts, more particularly in the Euxine and the straits leading to it. Miletus once the capital of Ionia, had previously borne several names, as Libyeis, Pityusa, and Anactoria, a proof of its great antiquity.²⁷⁵ In B.C. 494 it was captured by the Persians; and again, in B.C. 334, by Alexander the Great, and never afterwards attained to its pristine celebrity.²⁷⁶ But in the time of the Apostle it was still a considerable emporium of trade, with four ports, or docks, well filled with shipping. A little in front of it was a group of islands that served to harbour smugglers and pirates. Miletus stood on the south-western side of the Latmian Gulf; and opposite to it, in a direction due east, was the mouth of the Meander (fig. 214). Four miles up the river was Myus, anciently on the sea margin, but the soil poured down by the turbid stream had gradually extended the continent for many miles beyond.²⁷⁷ The Meander, indeed, was a common thief, and was indictable in the law courts for undermining and carrying away the land upon its banks, and the fines imposed were levied upon the ferries. Miletus was at that time some miles from the mouth of the Meander.²⁷⁸ But what a change has occurred! The continued deporation of soil has since filled up the entire gulf, and not only so, but has pushed the land forward for several miles into the deep sea, so that Miletus, instead of being some miles in advance, is now eight miles in the rear of the embouchure of the Meander. The cluster of islands that lay off the city are now distinguishable only as gentle elevations rising out of the vast plain²⁷⁹ (fig. 215). Thus, in the words of an old writer, the Meander has wrested the sea from the navigator and given it to the husbandman; ridges of furrows have succeeded to the waves, and the kid disports where the dolphin gambolled. The same phenomenon still proceeds, and perhaps

²⁷³ The want of time is assigned by St. Luke as the motive. Acts xx. 16. But De Wette suggests that it was policy to avoid trouble from his enemies at Ephesus. Apostg. 153.

²⁷⁴ τῇ ἐχομένῃ. Acts xx. 15.

²⁷⁵ Miletus Ioniæ caput, Lelegeis ante, et Pityusa, et Anactoria nominata, super octoginta urbium per cuncta maria genetrix. Plin. N. H. v. 31.

²⁷⁶ See Dr. W. Smith's Geog. Dict. Miletus is now a desolation (fig. 215).

²⁷⁷ In the sketch, given at p. 92, and taken from

the Voyage Pittoresque, the reader will see depicted the line of shore at six successive periods: 1. At the time of the Ionic emigration; 2. In the time of Strabo; 3. In the time of Paul; 4. In the time of Pausanias; 5. In A.D. 866; and 6. At the publication of Choiseul Gouffier's work, A.D. 1782.

²⁷⁸ Strabo xiv. 1 (p. 167, Tauchnitz).

²⁷⁹ ὁ γὰρ Μαίανδρος διὰ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Καρῶν ἀρουμένης ὅσα ἔτη ῥέων, τὴν μεταξὺ Πιρίνης καὶ Μιλήτου θάλασσαν ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πεποίηκεν ἡπειρον. Pausan. Arcad. viii. 24, 5.

some traveller in the next millennium may record the fact, that a natural bridge has been thrown across the sea from the mainland to the island of Samos.

Paul, as soon as he arrived at Miletus, dispatched an envoy to Ephesus, a distance of thirty-six miles, to summon the elders of the church. He could not proceed thither himself without endangering his voyage to Judea; but he could not pass the coast without meeting (if it were possible) his Ephesian flock. He foresaw that trials awaited them, and he was anxious to warn them of the approaching danger. It was but too probable that the heretical doctrines disseminated by the Judaizers in Galatia and Corinth, would soon find, if they had not already found, their way into Ephesus. The Jews, whether believing or unbelieving, had through his whole life been his great antagonists. In the capital of Asia, as in all other quarters, he had been daily exposed to their insidious designs, but nothing had deterred him from preaching the great truths, however unpalatable, that justification was not by the works of the Law, but by Faith in Jesus Christ, and was not confined to the Jews, but embraced the Gentiles also. "Ye know," he afterwards tells the Ephesians, "how from the first day I came into Asia I served the Lord with many tears and temptations which befell me, by the *lying in wait of the Jews*. How I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, testifying both to the Jews and also to the Greeks repentance towards God, and *Faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ*."²⁸⁰ He was now going up to Jerusalem to bondage, and perhaps to death, a martyr to the same cause, but this did not discourage him from publishing the tidings of salvation, not by the Law, but by the Grace of God. "None of these things," he says, "move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus to testify the Gospel of the Grace of God."²⁸¹ He felt a strong impression that he should never see his Ephesian brethren again. Dangers awaited him at Jerusalem, and if he escaped them, his plan, now that he had evangelized Asia Minor and Greece, was, after visiting Jerusalem, to sail for Italy and then for Spain,²⁸² and, with the prospect of a long ministry in those remote parts, he could scarcely hope to revisit the church of Ephesus. True that a tedious imprisonment of nearly five years deranged all his preconceived plans, and eventually brought him back to the Eastern churches, but this he could not foresee, and the fact that the presentiment which he now felt was not verified by the event, derogates nothing from the apostolic character. He had no foreknowledge of the future, beyond the discernment of a sound judgment, as he tells us himself, "I go unto Jerusalem, *not knowing the things that shall befall me there*."²⁸³ It was only on certain occasions,

²⁸⁰ Acts xx. 18-21.

²⁸¹ Acts xx. 24.

²⁸² Rom. xv. 28.

²⁸³ Wordsworth suggests that Paul never did visit Ephesus again; for that, when, on his way from Crete to Macedonia after his first imprisonment, he charged Timothy to remain at Ephesus

(1 Tim. i. 3), Paul himself was not at Ephesus, and did not there deliver the injunction, but sailed by Ephesus, and sent for Timothy to meet him; just as, when Paul was sailing *from* Macedonia, before his first imprisonment, he passed by Ephesus and sent for the elders to Miletus. Acts xx. 17. Even, however, if this be admitted,

and for adequate purposes, that he was divinely illuminated, as in predicting to the Thessalonians the coming of Antichrist. He was now to part from the Ephesians for many years, perhaps for ever, and his conscience did not reproach him, for he had fearlessly unfolded the catholic character of the Gospel. "Wherefore I take you to record this day," he tells the Ephesians, "that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you *all the counsel* of God."²⁸⁴ Paul felt assured that the Judaizing principles which were abroad would penetrate into the



Fig. 214.—Map of Miletus and the parts adjacent.

In the time of Paul the sea had free entrance into the bay of Latmus, from which it is now completely excluded by many miles of intervening land. The gradual changes from the earliest to the latest period are seen distinguished in the above plan, from Choiseul Gouffier.

Ephesian church when he should not be present to meet the advancing tide, and his mind could not be at rest until he had solemnly impressed upon the pastors of the church the awful responsibility they had undertaken of guarding the flock against the ravages of the marauder. "I know," he says, "that after my departure²⁸⁵ shall grievous wolves enter in among you; take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church

it is clear that Onesiphorus afterwards visited him, and probably in prison at Ephesus itself (2 Tim. i. 18); for the consolation thus administered by Onesiphorus cannot with any reason be referred to a period prior to the Apostle's first captivity.

²⁸⁴ Acts xx. 26, 27.

²⁸⁵ After his *departure* from them (*ἀφίξιν*), and not after his death. Meyer, *Apostg.* p. 368. Paul was not then expecting his own end (*ἀνάλυσιν*, 2 Tim. iv. 6), but believed that he was now parting from them not to return.

of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."²⁸⁶ This warning was not given without reason, as we learn from the melancholy announcement contained in the Apostle's last letter, written shortly, and perhaps a few days only, before his death. "This thou knowest, that *all they which are in Asia* be turned away from me."²⁸⁷

Another reason for the Apostle's anxiety to see the Ephesian elders may have been that they had parted from him at a moment of peril, when Paul, from the disturbed state of Ephesus consequent on the riot of Demetrius the silversmith, had been prevented from delivering to them a solemn admonition upon the duties of their office.



Fig. 215.—View of the plain of the Meander in its present state. The spectator is looking west. From Choiseul Gouffier.

The remains in the front ground on the left are those of Miletus, and beyond is the present Turkish village. In the plain are seen the wandering channels (some of them abandoned) of the Meander. The eminence at the farther end of the plain is what anciently was the island of Lade, and between that and the ruins on the left was the port in which Paul's vessel cast anchor. On the right is seen the Promontory of Mycale, and beyond it is the Isle of Samos.



Fig. 216.—Coin of Miletus. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Apollo.—Rev. A lion with a monogram of Miletus and the name of Alcon the chief magistrate.

Paul had forwarded his message to them on Thursday, the 20th of April, and on the following Sunday, the 23rd of April, they arrived at Miletus. They now gathered round the venerable champion, and listened with deep attention to his impressive and

²⁸⁶ Acts xx. 25–28.

²⁸⁷ 2 Tim. i. 15.

affecting charge. Luke was present, and fortunately has preserved to us the substance of his address.

“Ye know,” he said, “from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I was with you the whole time,²⁸⁸ serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with²⁸⁹ tears and temptations which befel me by the lyings in wait of the Jews, how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but showed you and taught you publicly from house to house, testifying both to Jews and also to Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there, save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me. But I take account of nothing,²⁹⁰ neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy,²⁹¹ and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. And now, behold! I know that ye shall not all of you, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, see my face again.²⁹² Wherefore I take you to witness this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God. Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops to feed the church of God which he purchased with his own blood; for this I know, that after my departing²⁹³ shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them. Therefore, watch and remember, that for the space of three years²⁹⁴ I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears. And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among

²⁸⁸ τὸν πάντα χρόνον. Acts xx. 18.

²⁸⁹ The word πολλῶν, ‘many,’ is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²⁹⁰ οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιῶμαι. Acts xx. 24.

²⁹¹ The words μετὰ χαρᾶς are rejected by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²⁹² καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ οἶδα, ὅτι οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες. Acts xx. 25. The strict literal interpretation is “and now behold I know that ye shall not all of you see my face again,” and some interpret this, that as his absence would be long, it could not be expected that *all* of the presbyters whom he addressed would live to see him again; others that *none* of the presbyters would see him again, or in other words, that he should never return to Ephesus. From the dangers that awaited him at Jerusalem, and from the plans he had formed of visiting Italy and Spain, he might be fully persuaded that he should not return (as he did not for

more than five years); but this presentiment would be the result of private judgment only, for he said himself that he did not know what should befall him. Acts xx. 22. That he did in fact revisit Ephesus cannot with reason be doubted. In the First Epistle to Timothy he tells him to stay on at Ephesus as Paul on his way to Macedonia had charged him (1 Tim. i. 30), and to stay on until Paul arrived himself (1 Tim. iv. 13), which he hoped to do shortly (1 Tim. iii. 14); and these words cannot by any possibility be referred to any part of Paul’s life before his imprisonment at Rome. We shall see hereafter that Paul not only revisited Ephesus, but was imprisoned there; and during his captivity received great attentions from Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 18), and was afterwards sent away from Ephesus to his martyrdom at Rome.

²⁹³ See note, p. 285.

²⁹⁴ See Vol. I. p. 296.

all them which are sanctified. I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak,²⁹⁵ and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'²⁹⁶

We cannot better describe the touching scene that followed than in the simple language of the sacred historian. "And when he had thus spoken he kneeled down and prayed with them all; and they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him; sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that 'they should see his face no more.' And they accompanied him unto the ship."²⁹⁷



Fig. 217.—View of the theatre, the principal ruin of ancient Miletus. From Laborde.
The spectator is looking in a south-eastern direction.

The charge of the apostle was, perhaps, extended at Miletus, as before at Troas, deep into the night of the Sunday. On Monday, the 24th of April, the vessel sailed, and Paul tore himself from his beloved Ephesian flock. Many also of the faithful friends, who had come with him all the way from Corinth, could not accompany

²⁹⁵ τῶν ἀσθενούντων—'the poor.'

²⁹⁶ Acts xx. 18–35. This quotation of the words of our Saviour is not found in any of the Gospels. The crucifixion of our Lord had occurred only a quarter of a century before, and there must have been hundreds, or rather thousands, of his hearers still alive, who would fondly cherish his sayings and pass them on from mouth to mouth. This incidental notice of our Lord's remarks falling so naturally from the

Apostle's lips, carries with it a strong argument, if any were needed, for the reality of the Gospel narrative. Paul was preaching at a period when multitudes could have confuted any misstatement. See a list of other sayings of our Lord not mentioned in the Gospels, in B. F. Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 424.

²⁹⁷ Acts xx. 36. The harbour where the ship lay was probably at some little distance from the scene of the Apostle's last charge.

him beyond the coast of Asia,²⁹⁸ and here taking their leave and receiving his last embrace, returned to their different homes. Amongst those, who here left Paul, was probably Timothy, who returned with the elders of Ephesus to that city—at least, he is



Fig. 218.—View of Kos, the spectator looking south-west. From Admiralty Chart.

not mentioned as in Paul's company at Jerusalem, and Ephesus appears to have been entrusted peculiarly to the care of Timothy. It is an ancient tradition that he was Bishop of it, and certainly, in Paul's last circuit we find him stationed there, with an

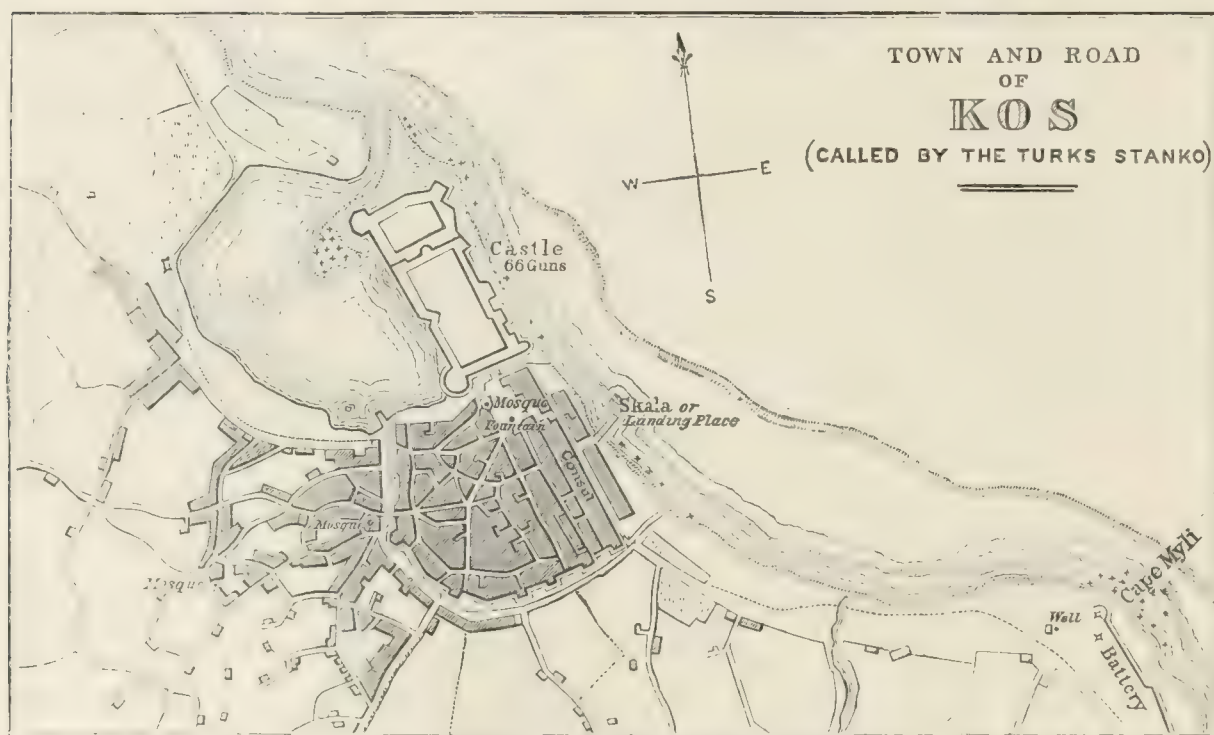


Fig. 219.—Plan of Kos. From Admiralty Chart.

injunction to remain,²⁹⁹ and during Paul's second imprisonment, and just before his death, Timothy was still either at Ephesus itself or in the immediate neighbourhood.³⁰⁰ Paul, and Luke, and Trophimus, the bearers of the alms from Macedonia

²⁹⁸ συνέειπετο δὲ αὐτῷ ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας, κ.τ.λ. Acts xx. 4. By Asia is here meant Lydian Asia, and the Apostle's companions therefore did not part

from him at Troas, but at Miletus.

²⁹⁹ 1 Tim. i. 3.

³⁰⁰ See post.

and Achaia, and such others as were bound for the Jewish capital, now proceeded on their voyage.



Fig. 220 — Coin of Cos From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Hercules with lion's skin.—Rev. A crab with the legend ΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΟΣΧΙΑΝ (of the Coians. Moschion the chief magistrate).

The wind was favourable, and the vessel the same day reached Cos, the garden of the Egean (fig. 218, 219, 220). The chief town,³⁰¹ which was of the same name, lay on the eastern shore



Fig. 221.— View of Rhodes. From a sketch taken by the author from the high ground on the north-west of the city.

The harbour with the shipping on the left is that now commonly used by vessels of any considerable burden. The harbour with the shipping on the right is the ancient harbour in which Paul's vessel anchored. The famous Colossus stood at the entrance to this harbour on the spectator's left, where is now the high tower or Pharos. The mainland of Asia Minor is seen in the distance.

On Tuesday, the 25th of April,³⁰² they arrived at Rhodes (fig. 221, 222, 223). This city was delightfully situate at the western extremity of the island, on an

³⁰¹ Now Stanchio, from Ἐς τὴν Κῶ, as Stamboul (Constantinople) from Ἐς τὴν Πόλιν.

³⁰² τῇ ἐξῆς. Acts xxi. 1.

ing mariner, was thrown to the ground by an earthquake. The legs only as high as the knees retained their upright posture, while the rest of the gigantic mass lay extended along the margin of the port.³⁰⁵ It is a singular circumstance that for nearly nine hundred years superstition, or a better feeling, protected this wondrous monument of Rhodian art from the hand of the destroyer; but at length, in the seventh century, the barbarous Saracens, on becoming masters of the city, spared not a work which the world could not replace. They broke the mass into pieces, and transported the materials on 900 camels to Egypt.³⁰⁶ In the city itself the Apostle might have gazed on the beautiful Pythium, or Temple of Apollo; and had he inquired at whose expense so noble a structure was reared, the answer would have been, at the sole cost of a Jew—one of his own countrymen—Herod the Great.³⁰⁷ A Jew erecting a temple to an idol!

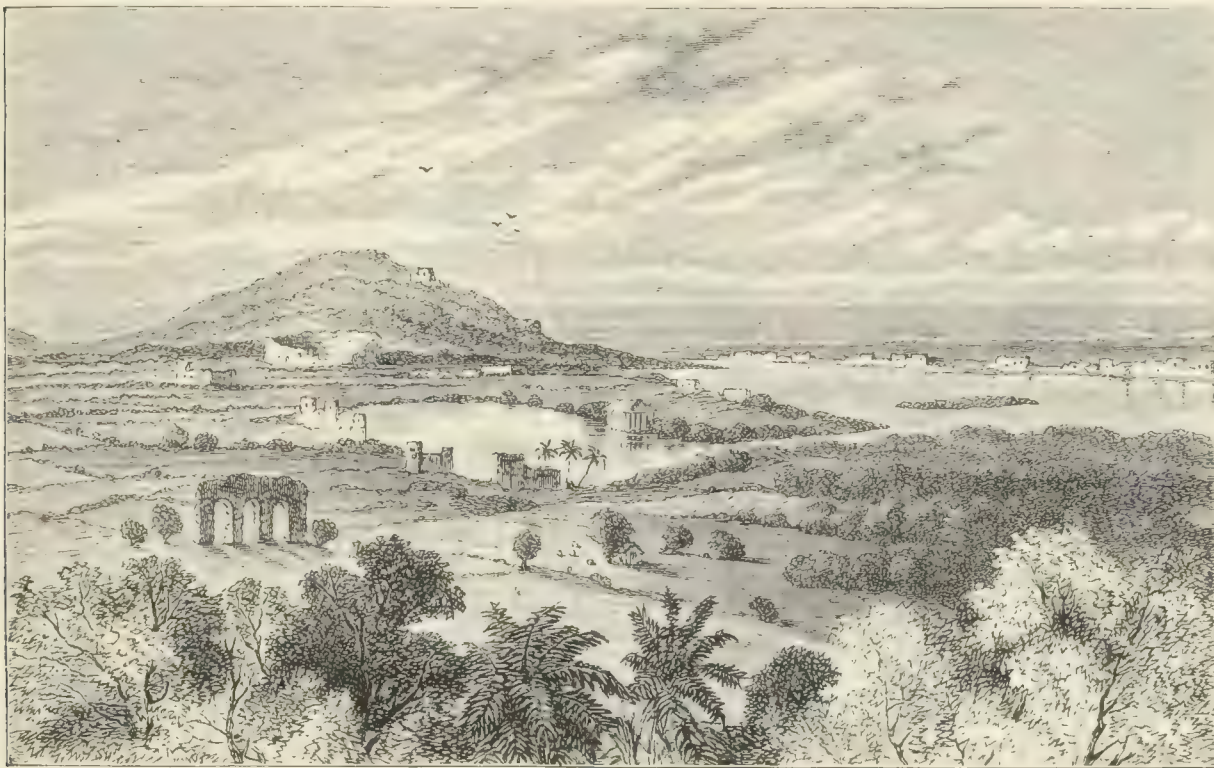


Fig. 224.—View of Patara. From *Ionian Antiquities*.

The spectator is looking to the south-west. In the centre and to the right are the ancient ports, now marshes. Beyond the right-hand port is the sandy beach thrown up by the sea and blocking up the entrance to the harbour. Beyond the sand beach is the Mediterranean, bounded only by the horizon. A little river flows into the ancient port on the extreme right.

The following day, Wednesday, the 26th of April, Paul and his company sailed to Patara, the port of Xanthus, the capital of Lycia³⁰⁸ (fig. 224, 225, 226). Patara

³⁰⁵ See Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 18; Strabo, xiv. 2 (p. 194, Tauchnitz); and Fellowes' Lycia, &c.

³⁰⁶ Μαβίας καταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥόδον καθεῖλε τὸν Κολοσσόν, μετὰ αὐτῆς (1365) ἔτη τῆς αὐτοῦ ιδρύσεως· ὃν ὠνησάμενος ἔμπορος ἐννακόσια καμήλια ἐφόρτωσε τὸν χαλκόν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι θαλασσοκρατήσαντες ἀνέστησαν ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν τῷ ἡλίῳ πηχῶν π' (80), ὡς λέγει τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπίγραμμα·

τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Κολοσσόν ὀκτάκις δέκα
Λάχης 'ποίησε πήχεων ὁ Λίνδιος.

Cedrenus, Hist. p. 431.

³⁰⁷ Jos. Ant. xvi. 5, 3.

³⁰⁸ Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατήει, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων. App. B.C. iv. 81. Patara caput gentis. Liv. xxxvii. 15. Πατάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ὁ δῆμος. Boeckh, 4280, 4281, 4283.

stood seven or eight miles³⁰⁹ to the east of the mouth of the Xanthus or Yellow river, and at the south-eastern extremity of the delta or triangular plain, irrigated by the muddy waters from which the stream took its name. Toward the east the city was

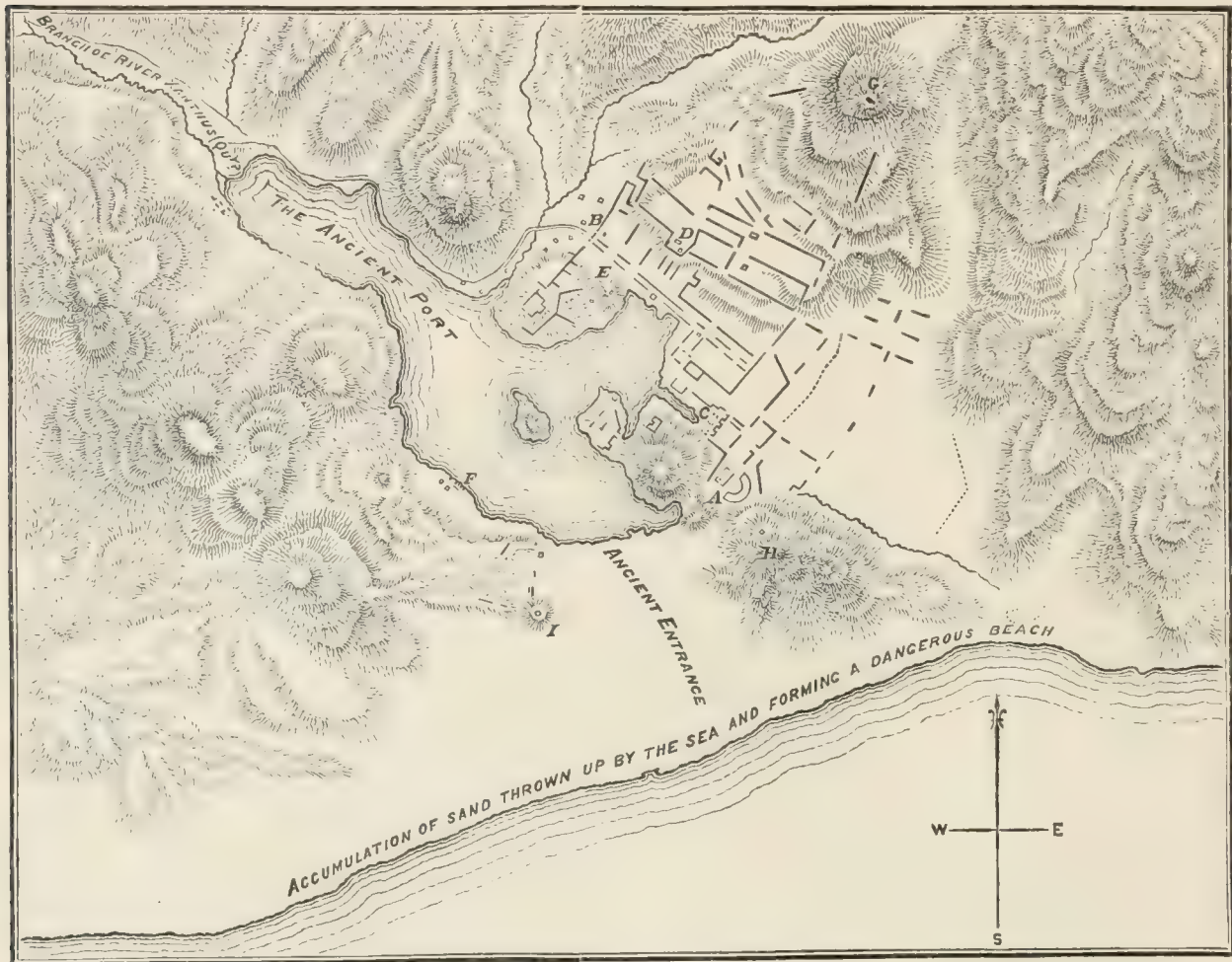


Fig. 225.—Plan of Patara. From *Ionian Antiquities*.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| A. Theatre. | F. Horreum. |
| B. Arch. | G. Acropolis. |
| C. Buildings (baths?) | H. Citadel. |
| D. Column. Doric temple. | I. Pharos. |
| E. Tomb of Mr. Bedford | |



Fig. 226.—Coin of Patara. From the British Museum.
Obv. Head of Apollo.—Rev. ΠΑ. ΛΥΚΙΩΝ (Patara of the Lycians).

overlooked by a commanding hill, which, running southward, divided the bay of Xanthus from the bay of Calamatia, two miles to the east. Patara had a convenient haven, frequented by the ships of all nations.³¹⁰ At present Patara is a ruin. There

³⁰⁹ Sixty stades. Stadiasm. Mar. Mag. But Scylax places it on the Xanthus: ποταμὸς Ξάνθος

δι' οὗ ἀνάπλους εἰς Πάταρα πόλιν. Scylax, Syria.
³¹⁰ εἰς Πάταρα πόλιν καὶ λιμένα ἔχει. Scylax,

are still the remains of a theatre, and some massive walls and arches, and one of the gates of the city with three arches nearly perfect, and numerous sarcophagi scattered around. Near the theatre is a deep circular pit of singular appearance. A flight of steps leads to the bottom, and from the centre a square pillar rises above the surface of the ground. It is possible that this was the seat of the Oracle of Patareus Apollo. The insulated pillar may have supported the statue of the deity, and the pit may have afforded some secret means of communication for the priest. The town walls encompassed an area of considerable extent, and may be easily traced, as well as the site of a castle which commanded the harbour, and of several towers which flanked the walls. At the northern extremity, and facing the theatre, one of the gates is still erect.³¹¹ The port is completely filled with sand, and is now a pestiferous swamp.³¹² All communication with the sea is cut off by a straight beach, through which there is no opening, and the sand has not only filled up the harbour, but rises to a considerable height between the ruins and the river Xanthus on the west, lying in ridges, and the surface wrinkled like a sea-beach.³¹³

At Patara, fortunately, Paul and his company found a merchantman bound direct for Tyre, and thence to Acre. The ship in which he had arrived either stopped at Patara, or intended sailing along the coast of Pamphylia and Cilicia. The good luck of meeting with a passage at once to Tyre would not only enable him to reach Jerusalem in time for the feast on the 17th of May, but would even place several surplus days at his disposal.

On Thursday, the 27th of April, they set sail from Patara, and stretching across the open sea for Tyre passed Cyprus on their left. The distance was about 450 Roman miles, and at the rate of 125 Roman miles for each day and night of twenty-four hours (the average of ancient navigation), they would arrive at Tyre (fig. 227, 228, 229) on Sunday, the 30th of April. This city it is difficult to describe, or not to describe, for it is too famous to be passed over in silence, and it is not easy to say little. It had originally stood on the mainland, but the siege of Nebuchadnezzar drove them into the small island lying opposite. Here it attained a wonderful prosperity, and was the proudest of all the daughters of commerce till the time of Alexander the Great. Tyre made a manful resistance against the Macedonian, and he could only capture it at last by throwing a vast mound (which still remains) from the continent across the channel to the island.³¹⁴ Alexander showed his littleness of soul by destroying his gallant enemy, but such were the natural advantages of the spot that Tyre rose again into importance; and at the time of the Apostle's visit it competed with Sidon for the

Lycia. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον Πάταρα, καὶ αὕτη μεγάλη πόλις, λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὰ πολλὰ, κτίσμα Πατάρου. Strabo, xiv. 3 (p. 215, Tauchnitz). But the port was not very capacious, for, quum percunctatus esset [Æmilius] utrumnam Pataris universa classis in portu stare posset, quum respondissent non posse, causam nactus omit-

tendæ rei, Samum reducit naves. Liv. xxxv i. 17.

³¹¹ Karamania, by Capt. Beaufort, p. 3.

³¹² Allen's Dead Sea, i. 125.

³¹³ Karamania, by Capt. Beaufort, p. 5.

³¹⁴ Plin. N. H. v. 17.

supremacy of Phœnicia, and indeed was the principal resort of the Levantine trade. It was allowed by the Romans to retain its freedom.³¹⁵ It was famous for its manufacture of purple,³¹⁶ and being a mercantile town, was full of Jews.³¹⁷ The city stood on what had once been the island, but was then a peninsula, jutting into the sea for the length of a mile, narrow at the neck and widening towards the end, and of the average breadth of about one-third of a mile. The circuit of the town itself was not quite three miles.³¹⁸ The harbour was on the north, between the peninsula and the mainland, and was protected by a mole, of which some remains have survived the buffeting of the waves. The vessel was here to unload and take in a fresh cargo, so that a week would elapse before the Apostle could resume his voyage.

This was not Paul's first visit to Tyre. Shortly after his conversion he had been conducted by the brethren from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, whence he proceeded to Tarsus. Even if he embarked at Cæsarea he might well have touched at Tyre; but as he tells us himself, that upon receiving his Apostleship he had preached successively at Damascus and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the country of the Jews,³¹⁹ he may have travelled from Cæsarea to Tarsus by land, which would carry him through Tyre and then through Sidon, where we shall see presently that he also had friends.³²⁰ This, too, would exactly tally with the statement that upon his conversion he had gone to the parts of Syria and Cilicia,³²¹ for such would be the order in which he would then visit those countries. Whether his route was by sea or land, Tyre lay in



Fig. 227.—Coin of Tyre. From Pellerin.

Obv. Laureated head with the legend ΤΥΡΟΥ [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ (of Tyre the metropolis).—*Rev.* Κοινου της φοινικης (community of Phœnicia), with the date ΑΚΤ (321) of the era of the Seleucidae, answering to A.D. 10, and in the centre is the Temple of Hercules, the deity most venerated at Tyre.

the beaten track, and Paul may have first planted that church. He must also have halted at Tyre on other occasions, for twice, as ambassador of the church of Antioch, he had gone to Jerusalem and back, and at the close of his second circuit he had again proceeded from Jerusalem to Antioch. Luke, in relating the present voyage, mentions only that they “found *the disciples*,”³²² but the expression clearly implies a previous acquaintance.

³¹⁵ Strabo, xvi. 2 (p. 367, Tauch.); Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 1.

³¹⁶ Plin. N. H. v. 17, ix. 60.

³¹⁷ Jos. Bell. ii. 18, 5.

³¹⁸ Oppidum ipsum xxii. stadia obtinet. Plin. N. H. v. 17.

³¹⁹ Acts xxvi. 20.

³²⁰ Acts xxvii. 3.

³²¹ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας. Gal. i. 21.

³²² καὶ ἀνευρόντες τοὺς μαθητάς. Acts xxi. 4. The translation “and finding disciples” is inaccurate.



Fig. 228.—View of Tyre from the land. From Cassas.

The spectator is looking south-west. The city of Tyre is seen on the little peninsula which runs out to sea. The city was originally on an island, but Alexander the Great carried a dam across the narrow strait and so captured the city, which has ever since been peninsular. The aqueduct runs from the adjacent high ground on the east along the dam to the city.

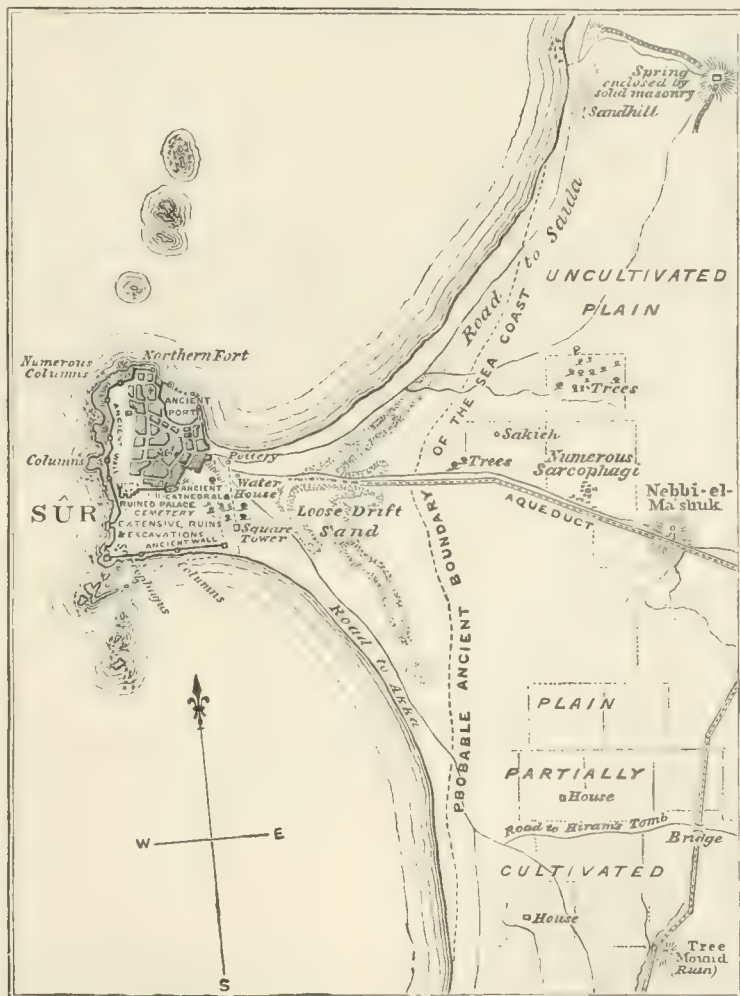


Fig. 229.—Plan of Tyre. From Admiralty Chart.

Paul and his comrades remained at Tyre a week,³²³ and at the end of that time he had so established himself in the affections of the brethren, whether his own converts or not, that with their wives and children they accompanied him out of the city down to the beach. They might never see him again, for here also it was announced to the Apostle that Jerusalem would be the scene of danger. Paul and the brethren knelt down together upon the sea shore and offered up a fervent prayer, and then, with a warm embrace, parted from each other. Paul embarked on board the vessel, and the Tyrians returned to their homes.

The ship sailed on Monday the 8th of May, and the same day arrived at Ptolemais, or Acre (fig. 230, 231, 232). Here closed the sea voyage of the Apostle—either the



Fig. 230.—View of Acre. From Vandeveldt.

The spectator is looking north-west. The ancient port (not now used) is seen on the left, to the south of the city.

vessel did not sail any farther, or a land journey to Jerusalem from this point was more convenient. Acre must be familiar to most readers. Here fought Richard Cœur de Lion; here Sir Sidney Smith first rolled back the tide of conquest on the French invader; and here, still more recently, the gallantry and skill of our fleet silenced in an hour the fortress which had defied Napoleon. Acre was a city of Phœnicia,³²⁴ and was invested by the Romans with the privileges of a colony.³²⁵ It

³²³ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Acts xxi. 4. It is implied that it was a full week from the expression: ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς ἐξαπρίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας. Acts xxi. 5.

³²⁴ Phœnicia was a narrow slip along the

coast, and is said to have extended sometimes to Mount Carmel (Jos. Bell. iii. 3, 1), and sometimes to Dora (Jos. Vit. 8), and sometimes even to Cæsarea (Ant. xx. 9, 6).

³²⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 17.

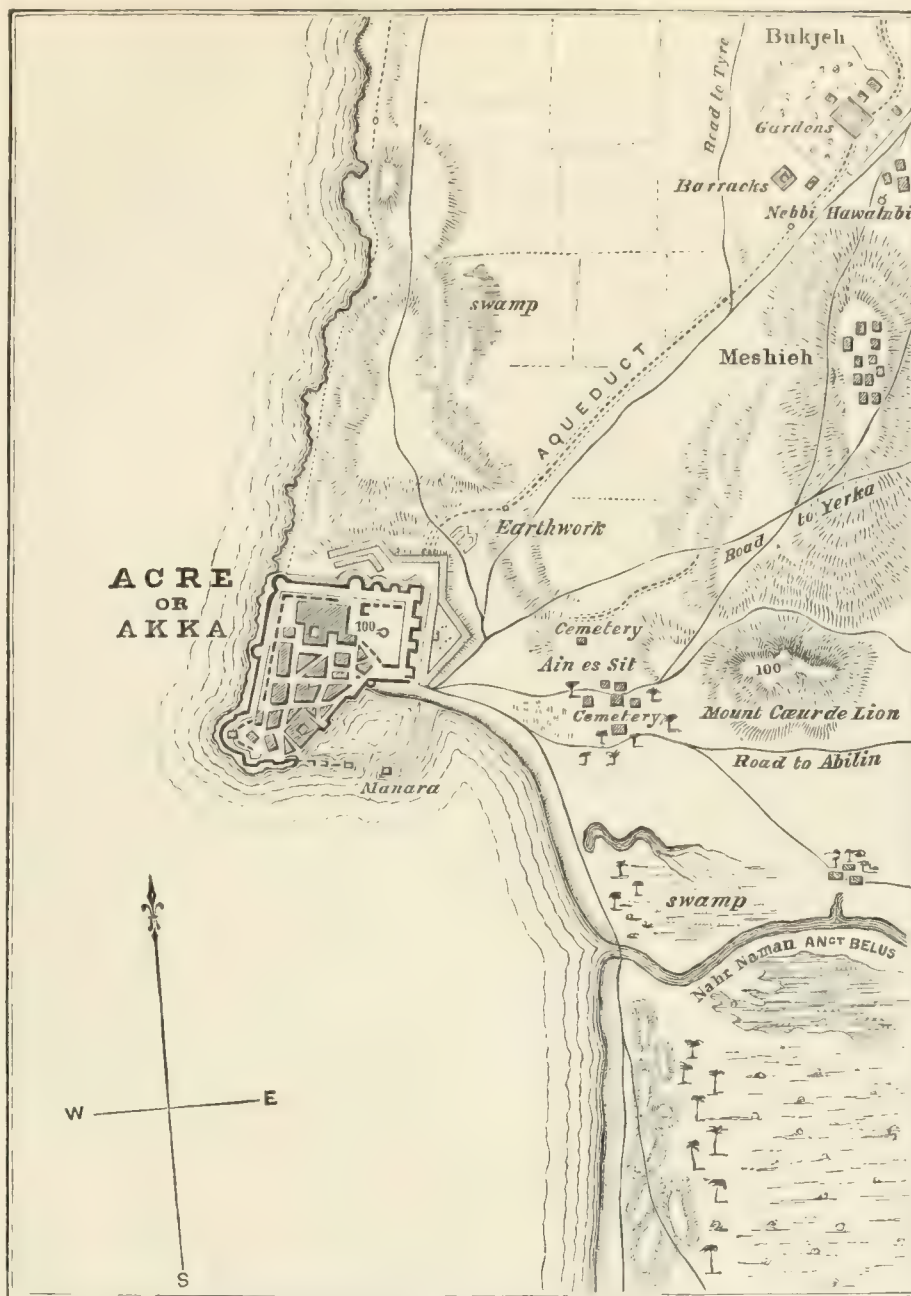


Fig. 231.—Plan of Acre. From Admiralty Chart.



Fig. 232.—Coin of Ptolemais or Acre. From Pellerin.

Obv. Head of Claudius with the legend [Claudius] CAE. P. MAX. COS. IV. IMP. XIII., and therefore struck in A.D. 47, when Claudius was both Consul IV. and Imperator XIII. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 286.

Rev. Two oxen striking the boundary line of the colony, with four standards bearing the numbers of the legions to which they belonged, viz., 6, 9, 10, and 11. The colony was planted by the veterans of these four legions.

Round the margin are the words *Divos* [Claudius], the divine Claudius, shewing that divine honours were paid to the emperors even in their lifetime. At the foot of the reverse is the word *Πτολ.* (Ptolemais or Acre), and in the centre are the letters *Col. C. C. S.*, *Colonia Claudia cives servati* (Claudian colony. Citizens saved).

stood on a promontory, the north-western horn of the crescent-like bay, of which the projecting rock of Mount Carmel formed the south-western horn. At the north of the bay, but to the south of the city, was a roadstead protected by a mole, now in ruins, running out from the south-western point of the promontory toward the coast.³²⁶ At the present day the sea at this part is not of sufficient depth for vessels of large tonnage, but on the south of the bay, under the shelter of Carmel, is anchorage for ships of the heaviest burden, which is the modern anchorage.

At Acre was a numerous colony of Jews, as may be inferred from the fact that at the outbreak of the Jewish war 2000 were slain, besides those that were imprisoned.³²⁷ A church also had been planted at Acre, and Paul and his companions were evidently acquainted with the members of it, for Luke remarks that "we *saluted the brethren* and abode with them one day."³²⁸ Cæsarea was forty-four miles, or two days journey from Acre,³²⁹ and on Wednesday the 10th of May they reached Cæsarea. Here also a Christian society had been formed, and was under the happiest auspices, as Philip the Evangelist, who had been one of the seven deacons, was residing there with his family. Meyer suggests that Philip must before this have resigned his office of deacon.³³⁰ But the fact is that, on the persecution in the time of Stephen, all the disciples were dispersed from Jerusalem with the exception of the Apostles.³³¹ The deacons themselves therefore were amongst the fugitives, and indeed had they remained, their office would have been a sinecure on the breaking up of the church at Jerusalem. On their office becoming nugatory the deacons went about preaching the Gospel, not in the character of apostles, which they did not assume to be, but by the name of Evangelists. Philip, one of the seven, was long occupied in spreading the Gospel throughout Samaria,³³² but eventually fixed his residence at Cæsarea. Philip had four daughters, who were virgins,³³³ and, touched with the zeal of their father, were prophetesses,³³⁴ or expounders of the sacred volume. Paul took up his abode with him, and the communication between them must have yielded the highest gratification, as they were both impressed with the same enlarged views of Christianity, Philip being the Evangelist of the Samaritans, and Paul the apostle of the Gentiles.

The distance of Cæsarea from Jerusalem was, according to Josephus, six hundred stadia, or seventy-five miles,³³⁵ or according to *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* sixty-

³²⁶ See Robinson's Palestine, 1856, p. 91.

³²⁷ Jos. Bell. ii. 18, 5.

³²⁸ Acts xxi. 7.

³²⁹ The distance from Ptolemais or Acre in Anton. Itin. is Sycamina xxiii. Cæsarea xx., making together xlv. But in Itin. Hierosol. the distance is,

Mutatio Calamon xii.

Mansio Sicamenos iii.

Mutatio Certa viii.

Civitas Cæsarea Palæstina, id est Judæa viii.

xxxi.

In the Peutinger Table, the distance is, Thora xx. Cæsarea xxviii., making together xlviii.

³³⁰ Apostg. 376.

³³¹ Acts viii. 3.

³³² Acts viii. 5.

³³³ Philip had followed the advice of the Apostle, 1 Cor. vii. 37.

³³⁴ See note ante, 1 Cor. xi. 5.

³³⁵ Jos. Ant. xiii. 11, 2; Bell. i. 3, 5.

eight miles, and was about a three days journey; and as the feast of Pentecost was to occur on the 17th of May at 6 P.M., Paul had several days to spare, which he might either pass at Jerusalem or at Cæsarea. He preferred the latter,³³⁶ and this with a view to his own safety, for though it was his fixed resolution to be present at the feast at Jerusalem, he could not but be conscious that a sojourn there of any long continuance might lead to some popular commotion, and he proposed to reach it only just in time for the celebration of the Feast.

While the Apostle was thus lingering at Cæsarea, Agabus, a prophet of the Hebrew church, who had some years before predicted at Antioch the famine which occurred in the reign of Claudius,³³⁷ came down from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and, with the symbolical action of the East, took Paul's girdle and binding with it his own hands and feet exclaimed,³³⁸ "Thus saith the Holy Ghost, so shall the *Jews* at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the *Gentiles*."³³⁹ Such was the gloomy announcement, and Luke and his other companions, and even the brethren of Cæsarea, alarmed for his safety, used the most earnest entreaties that he would forego his visit to Jerusalem. But Paul, though warned of danger, had not been prohibited from the journey. Indeed, his sufferings at Jerusalem were eventually to be the means of transferring his labours to Rome, which for so many years he had been desirous of visiting. It pained an affectionate heart to refuse compliance with the wishes of dear friends, but Paul was resolute in the path of duty. "What mean ye," he said, "to weep and to break mine heart, for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus?" Upon this the disciples resigned themselves into the hands of Providence, saying, "The will of the Lord be done."³⁴⁰

On Monday the 15th of May, Paul and his friends, having packed up their baggage³⁴¹

³³⁶ ἐπιμενόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας πλείους. Acts xxi. 10.

³³⁷ Acts xi. 28.

³³⁸ Symbolic action of this kind was a common usage with the prophets. See similar instances, Is. xxii. 2; Jer. xiii. 1; xxvii. 2; Ezek. iv. 1; xii. 3; Hos. i. 2.

³³⁹ This may mean in a general sense that the Jews should be the cause of Paul's imprisonment by the Romans, who should bind him hand and foot, which they did at all events when Paul was about to be put to the rack. However, the literal prophecy is that *the Jews* should bind Paul both *hand and foot* at Jerusalem before he was delivered to the Gentiles, and though the fulfilment of this prediction has not been recorded by St. Luke, it may be surmised that when the Jews set upon Paul in the court of the women (a place deemed too sacred to be the scene of assassination), they at once bound him hand and foot in order to drag him without the

power of resistance into the outer or lower court. It is said expressly that they laid violent hands on him: ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτόν, Acts xxi. 27; and proceeded to drag him along: ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ Παύλου εἴλκον, xxi. 30, and the Rabbinical instruction was to tie the hands and feet first. Thus: Postquam ad lapidationem condemnatus est . . . veniunt testes; *manus ac pedes ipsius ligant*; ipsumque in locum lapidationis deducant. Tanchuma, fol. 39, 3, cited Schoettgen's *Horæ Hebraicæ*, i. 441. When Lysias came down he would naturally order the temporary bands of the Jews to be unloosed, and direct Paul to be secured by two chains in the Roman fashion—δεθῆναι ἀλύσει διῦσι (Acts xxi. 33)—viz. one from each wrist to the wrist of a soldier.

³⁴⁰ An allusion perhaps to the words of the Lord's prayer—"Thy will be done."

³⁴¹ In the Text. recept. the word is ἀποσκευασάμενοι (Acts xxi. 15), which the Eng. ver.

and taking with them the contributions of Macedonia and Achaia for the poor saints at Jerusalem, set out upon their ominous journey. The company of brethren must have been almost as numerous as a caravan, for Paul was not only attended by Luke, Trophimus, and others, but many of the brethren of Cæsarea also accompanied him to the feast.

They arrived at Jerusalem on Wednesday the 17th of May, when Paul was conducted by his Cæsarean companions to the house of their acquaintances Mnason, a Cyprian,³⁴² and an ancient disciple,³⁴³ with whom the Apostle was to lodge.³⁴⁴ The Pentecost was to begin at six o'clock the same evening.

Having thus traced Paul to Jerusalem, we must resume our sketch of the civil state of Judea, as the interesting occurrences we are about to relate have a close connection with political events and historical personages. That Paul, however long on his journey, had not come to Jerusalem before the very day of the festival, is evident from his afterwards reminding Felix that only twelve days had elapsed since his arrival, as Felix, he continues, who was familiar with the time of the Feast, must be aware,³⁴⁵ and of course Felix could only judge of the duration of Paul's sojourn on the supposition that he came to Jerusalem on the day of the Feast. The Feast of Pentecost lasted one day only, that is, from 6 P.M. one day to 6 P.M. the next day, as appears from Josephus.³⁴⁶

renders: 'we took up our carriages,' or things to be carried, i.e. 'our baggage.' But *ἀποσκευασμένοι* is rather 'we unpacked our luggage'; and some take Luke to mean that they disencumbered themselves of their heavy baggage and left it at Cæsarea. However, there is a great variety of readings; as besides *ἀποσκευασμένοι* we meet with *ἀποταξάμενοι* and *ἐπισκευασάμενοι*. The last appears the best, and is adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, and then the proper meaning is, 'having packed up our baggage and put it upon the beasts of burden.' See Kuinoel, Acts xxi. 15.

³⁴² And therefore a fellow-countryman of Barnabas, and perhaps converted by Paul and Barnabas on their first circuit. But as he is

called an old disciple, he may have been one of those residents at Jerusalem who were dispersed from Jerusalem more than twenty years before, on the persecution by Saul. Acts xi. 19.

³⁴³ *ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ*. Acts xxi. 16. Perhaps an original disciple, but certainly an old disciple, as opposed to a neophyte. See 1 Tim. iii. 6.

³⁴⁴ There are two interpretations of Acts xxi. 16: one that Mnason was at Cæsarea and went up with them to be their host at Jerusalem; the other, that he was at Jerusalem, and that Paul was conducted to his house by his fellow-travellers from Cæsarea. See Kuinoel, Acts xxi. 16. The latter view is adopted in the text.

³⁴⁵ Acts xxiv. 11.

³⁴⁶ Jos. Ant. xiii. 8, 4. See p. 142, post.

CHAPTER III.

Review of Jewish History, from the Death of Agrippa A.D. 44 to A.D. 58—Sketch of Jerusalem, and of the Leading Public Characters at the time of Paul's arrival.

Bitter is bondage to the freeborn mind,
 Ev'n where the lord would fain make service light.
 But, oh! how bitter where the cords that bind
 Are drawn the tightest! Where the oppressor's might,
 Spurning at law and trampling upon right,
 Rushes, like wolf, on its defenceless prey.
 Such, land of Judah, thy unhappy plight!
 The crafty freedman who has fawned his way
 From servitude to power, now rules with ruthless sway.

ANON.

WE parted from the thread of Jewish history at the death of Agrippa the Great, who, in A.D. 44, after a reign of seven years, expired in agony at Cæsarea, while celebrating the games there in honour of the Emperor Claudius, on his return from the conquest of Britain. He left four children, Agrippa the younger, his only son, and three daughters, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla. Agrippa was at that time seventeen years of age, and was in detention as a kind of hostage at Rome, at the court of Claudius, who took charge of his education. Bernice was sixteen, and a little before had married her paternal uncle, Herod of Chalcis. Mariamne at her father's death was only ten years of age, and Drusilla was six. The latter grew up to be one of the most celebrated beauties of the day. The young Agrippa had learnt the vices of the age at the Imperial Court, but profligacy is the only charge that history has recorded against him. He is described by Josephus as a man of extraordinary accomplishments.¹ His three sisters were all of them but indifferent characters, and, indeed, the single favourable trait mentioned of any one of them is, that at the commencement of the Jewish war Bernice, as the representative of her family, in the absence of her brother Agrippa, had the courage and patriotism to present herself barefooted as a suppliant before the tribunal of Gessius Florus, the tyrannical Procurator, to intercede for the lives of her countrymen, whose blood he was then recklessly shedding.^{1a}

Agrippa, the late king, had received a solemn promise from the Emperor Claudius that Agrippa, his son, should inherit his crown, and the Emperor, who, with many

¹ Ὁ θαυμασιωτάτος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. Jos. c. Apion. i. 9.

^{1a} Jos. Bell. ii. 15, 1.

faults, had much kindness of heart, was now desirous of redeeming his pledge. However, he had neither decision of character nor talents for business, and was entirely under the government of his wife Agrippina, and some favourite freedmen. They represented, and not without some plausibility, that the feeble hands of a stripling like Agrippa were little capable of swaying the sceptre of such a rebellious province as Judea; that the wisest course, at least for the present, would be to appoint a Procurator, whose experience and known talents would furnish some security for the maintenance of tranquillity. Claudius succumbed to the advice (calculated no doubt to answer the private ends of the counsellors), and Agrippa was retained about the court for the amusement of the Emperor who had a partiality for him, and the kingdom of Judea again became a Roman province, annexed, as before, to Syria, but governed by a separate Procurator.

Cuspius Fadus was the first to fill the office, and during the short continuance of his administration, the wisdom of his rule justified the appointment. Amongst other beneficial acts, he captured and put to death Tholomæus, the notorious captain of banditti, who had infested the south-western parts of Judea for many years. Throughout the province also, by the prudent measures that were taken, the marauders were dragged from their hiding-places, and public security was for a time restored.²

The next matter that engaged the Procurator's attention may appear trifling at first sight, but had a strange importance in the eyes of the Jews. The pontifical robes worn on the great festivals had originally been kept in a vestry built on the mount a little to the north of the Temple, afterwards the site of Fort Antonia. When the vestry was fortified by Herod, the robes were still preserved in the garrison, and upon the banishment of Archelaus, and the reduction of Judea to a Roman province (A.D. 6), they came under the custody of the military Governor of Antonia, by whom, the day before a feast,³ they were delivered out to the High Priest, and on the conclusion of the ceremony were again restored to their repository, and laid up under the seal of the treasurers of the Temple. Thirty-one years after the banishment of Archelaus, Vitellius the Prefect of Syria, being present at Jerusalem at the Passover, A.D. 37,^{3a} and pleased with his welcome, granted the Jews the boon of taking the robes under their own charge, and so it continued until the death of Agrippa the elder. Cuspius Fadus, on being appointed to the province (A.D. 44), had received orders from the Emperor to withdraw the pontifical robes, and also the crown of Agrippa, from the custody of the Jews and keep them in Fort Antonia, under the surveillance

² ἐκαθάρθη τε ληστηρίων ἅπαντα τοῖντεῦθεν ἡ Ἰουδαία φροντίδι καὶ προνοίᾳ τῇ Φάδου. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 1. Felix also cleared the country of robbers; and Tertullus's compliment to him upon the occasion is conveyed in nearly similar language: Πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ, καὶ

κατορθωμάτων γινομένων τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας πάντῃ τε καὶ πανταχοῦ. Acts xxiv. 3.

³ In another place, Josephus says "seven days before." Cf. Ant. xviii. 4, 3, and Ant. xv. 11, 4.

^{3a} See Fasti Sacri, p. 248, No. 1495.

of the Romans. As the execution of the injunction would, as was foreseen, throw all Jerusalem into a ferment, the Procurator took no steps until Longinus, the Prefect of Syria, had arrived with an overwhelming force. Fadus then issued the command, and the utmost consternation followed. To resist by arms was hopeless, but by the most earnest importunities, the Jews at length prevailed that on giving their children as hostages, they might be permitted to send ambassadors to Rome, to lay the case before the Emperor. Young Agrippa, who was still at the Imperial Court, was of great service in introducing his countrymen, and obtaining for them a favourable hearing. The request was granted, and as the rescript of Claudius does honour to Roman liberality, and shows the friendly feeling entertained by Claudius towards the Jews generally, and the family of Agrippa in particular, we shall transcribe it entire.

“CLAUDIUS CÆSAR GERMANICUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE THE FIFTH TIME, CONSUL ELECT THE FOURTH TIME, IMPERATOR THE TENTH TIME, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY—TO THE MAGISTRATES OF JERUSALEM, THE SENATE, THE PEOPLE, AND ALL THE NATION OF THE JEWS, GREETING.

“My Agrippa (whom I have educated, and retain with me as most dutiful) having introduced to me your ambassadors who came to thank me for the care I had taken of your nation, and earnestly and anxiously entreated that the holy vest and the crown might be in your custody, I grant it, as was done by the most noble and excellent Vitellius, and I am of this mind, first *from my own sense of religion, and my desire that all men should live according to the customs of their fathers*, and next, because I know that in so doing I shall highly gratify King Herod himself, and Aristobulus the younger,⁴ with whose loyalty to myself and zeal for your interests I am well acquainted, with whom I have the greatest friendship, as they are most worthy and esteemed by me. I have also written about these matters to Cuspius Fadus, my Procurator.

“The bearers of the letter are Cornelius, son of Keron, Typhon son of Theudion, Dorotheus son of Nathaniel, John son of John. Dated the 4th before the kalends of July, in the Consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus” (28th June, A.D. 45).⁵

The Herod and Aristobulus referred to in the rescript, were Herod, King of Chalcis, and Aristobulus his son. As Claudius was in this good humour, Herod of Chalcis now preferred a request of his own, which also was complied with, viz., that he, as representative of the royal family during the minority of young Agrippa, might have (1) the appointment of the High Priests, (2) the superintendence of the Temple, and (3) the regulation of the Corban, or sacred treasure. This triple favour was one of no little magnitude, especially the last, as may be conceived from the fact that every Jew, both in and out of Judea, paid annually to the Temple a poll-

⁴ Aristobulus, the son of Herod of Chalcis, and called the younger to distinguish him from Aristobulus the brother of Herod of Chalcis.

⁵ Ant. xx. 1, 2. See Fasti Sacri, p. 283, No. 1691.

tax of two drachmas, about seventeen pence, so that a continual stream of contributions was pouring into Jerusalem from all quarters of the globe.⁶ This wealth, as it flowed in, was expended for the present on the repairs of the Temple, according to the magnificent design projected by Herod the Great. That monarch had commenced the undertaking after a year's preparations, about the eighteenth year before the Christian era, and it was proceeding when our Saviour visited it with His disciples in A.D. 29. "Forty and six years," said the Jews, "has this temple been building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"⁷ Though eighteen thousand men were constantly employed upon the work, the fabric was not fully completed until A.D. 65, only five years before its destruction by the army of Titus.⁸

Herod of Chalcis, being invested with these honours, lost no time in exercising his prerogative, for he forthwith deposed Elionæus, called Cantheras, who had been left in the high priesthood by Agrippa the Great, and appointed Joseph, the son of Cami, in his stead;⁹ and not long after, being displeased with the latter, deprived him of the office to make room for Ananias, of whom we shall hear more presently.¹⁰

Cuspius Fadus, having governed Judea for two years, was succeeded in A.D. 46 by Tiberius Alexander, the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria, and the nephew of Philo, the celebrated philosopher.¹¹ Tiberius was a renegade, and had abandoned the religion of his fathers to further his worldly interests.¹² He was now rewarded for his subserviency by being appointed to the province of Judea. Unprincipled as he was, he seems to have retained some of his better feelings, for during the whole period of his administration he committed no gross or flagrant violation of the Jewish constitution. At the end of two years he was recalled, but still continued on the road to preferment, for he afterwards succeeded to the Prefecture of Egypt,¹³ and in the Jewish war was the generalissimo of the forces under Titus at the destruction of Jerusalem.¹⁴ His conscience must have smitten him as he witnessed, partly by his own instrumentality, the conflagration of that Temple, which he had been taught in his childhood to regard as the Holy of Holies. On the fall of Jerusalem, he was compensated for his services by the erection of a triumphal statue in his honour at Rome, much to the disgust of the public, as we learn from the Satirist:—

"Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
Nescio quis titulos Ægyptius atque Alabarches."
Juv. Sat. i. 129.

Oh! shame amongst the Roman great, to mark
That mountebank, th' Egyptian Alabarch.

⁶ See Vol. I. p. 31.

⁷ John ii. 20. See Fasti Sacri, p. 94, No. 745.

⁸ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 7. See Fasti Sacri, p. 336, No. 1978.

⁹ Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 3.

¹⁰ Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2.

¹¹ Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 1. See Fasti Sacri, p. 285, No. 1701.

¹² Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2.

¹³ Tac. Hist. i. 11; ii. 74, 79. Jos. Bell. ii. 15, 1. Fasti Sacri, p. 343, No. 2004.

¹⁴ Jos. Bell. iv. 10, 6; vi. 4, 3.

The united administrations of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, the two first Procurators of Judea, occupied a period of four years, and during that interval (A.D. 44–48) prevailed the great famine,¹⁵ which, in the words of Luke, “came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.”¹⁶ It was foretold by Agabus, as we have seen, and Paul and Barnabas, in anticipation of it, had carried up to Jerusalem the collection of the Antiochian church for the relief of the Hebrew Christians.

The successor of Tiberius Alexander was Ventidius Cumanus, who was appointed in A.D. 48,¹⁷ a man cold and unfeeling, regardless of human suffering, a rigid exacter of vengeance where it endangered not his power, and shamelessly blind to the violation of law where the accused had the means of influencing the scales of justice by the offer of a bribe.

Cumanus had no sooner arrived in his province than Herod, the brother of Agrippa the elder and King of Chalcis, died, leaving three children, Aristobulus by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus by Bernice.¹⁸ Aristobulus had attained to manhood, and a few years after (A.D. 55) was promoted to the government of the lesser Armenia.¹⁹ The two others were infants, as Bernice their mother was still only twenty. Agrippa the younger, who, at the death of his uncle, had reached the age of twenty-one, was now invested with the kingdom of Chalcis, a high-sounding title, but conferring little extent of territory, and a very moderate income. Agrippa, therefore, still remained at the imperial court, and Bernice his sister, the widow of Herod of Chalcis, seems to have joined him at Rome, and to have resided at his house. Indeed, scandal was very busy with her character, and we learn from the Satirist that the fashionable world in the capital had shrewd suspicions of too great a familiarity between her and Agrippa—

“Adamas notissimus et Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior : hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori.”
Juv. Sat. vi. 156.

See what a brilliant doth Bernice wear !
Sparkling itself,—more sparkling on the fair !
This to his sister young Agrippa gave,
Of men a monarch, but to lust a slave !

¹⁵ ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. The words of Luke are nearly the same : ἐσήμανε διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, λιμὸν μέγαν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην. Acts xi. 28. τὴν οἰκουμένην here means, not the world, but Judea, as in Luke xxi. 26; Acts xi. 28. Josephus also occasionally applies ἡ οἰκουμένη to Judea only; thus Agrippa the younger, who honours us with the mention of Britain, dissuades the Jews from rebellion by the following argument : σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ τὸ Βρεττανῶν τεῖχος οἱ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμων τείχεσι πεποιθότες καὶ

γὰρ ἐκείνους περιβεβλημένους ὠκεανὸν, καὶ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης οὐκ ἐλάσσονα νῆσον οἰκούντας, πλεύσαντες ἐδουλώσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι. Bell. ii. 16, 4. Cf. Ant. viii. 13, 4; and see Fasti Sacri, p. 109, No. 835.

¹⁶ Acts xi. 28.

¹⁷ Fasti Sacri, p. 287, No. 1719.

¹⁸ Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. See Fasti Sacri, p. 287, No. 1720.

¹⁹ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 4. See Fasti Sacri, p. 305, No. 1823.

At the same time that Agrippa was installed in the kingdom of Chalcis, he was also invested with the prerogative of appointing the High Priests and with the wardenship of the Temple and the disposition of the Corban. As Josephus expressly mentions the exercise of these powers by Agrippa from this period, it must have been an oversight when he wrote that the same privileges continued till the end of the war with the *descendants* of Herod of Chalcis—he must have meant with his family in the *collateral* line.²⁰

The Procuratorship of Cumanus was from beginning to end (from A.D. 48 to A.D. 52)²¹ one continued scene of bloodshed. The first occurrence of the kind threw half Jerusalem into mourning. At the great Jewish festivals, namely, the Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, there were wont to be congregated at Jerusalem vast multitudes of people from all quarters, amounting, it is said, to the almost incredible number of nearly 3,000,000 males.²² These, in the course of their devotions, were daily streaming into the Temple, a square area, measuring a furlong on each side, and encompassed by a high wall, with an open colonnade round the interior. Upon the roof of the cloister, on the western side, a body of Roman soldiers was usually stationed at the festivals, and was kept under arms to repress, at the instant, any outbreak amongst the turbulent mass below, and whom the guard, from their elevation, could narrowly watch. At the Passover of A.D. 49,²³ when Cumanus had been not a year in office, one of the Roman soldiery upon the portico offered a gross insult by his indecency to the worshippers in the Temple, and the dense multitude was at once thrown into a ferment, and bitter invectives were uttered against Cumanus, who was accused of having prompted the affront. The Jews, despairing of redress from the Procurator, were for taking vengeance themselves. Stones began to be thrown at the soldiers, as heavy drops of rain betoken the impending storm. Cumanus saw that a conflict was at hand, and doubting the sufficiency of the force posted on the cloister and at Antonia, with which the porticoes communicated, marched down his whole

²⁰ Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 3.

²¹ See Fasti Sacri, p. 296, No. 1775.

²² In the time of Nero, Cestius ordered the priests to calculate the population from the number of sacrifices at the Passover. It was found that the sacrifices were 256,500; and allowing ten persons (there were sometimes twenty) to join together in offering each sacrifice, the worshippers alone would exceed two millions and a half. To these would be added such as were excluded from participating—as the Jews that were unclean and the Gentiles. The passage in Josephus is so curious that we transcribe it: °Ος (Κέστιος), τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως διαδηλῶσαι Νέρωνι βουλόμενος καταφρονοῦντι τοῦ Ἰθνους, παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, εἴ πως δυνατὸν εἴη,

τὴν πληθὺν ἐξαριθμήσασθαι. Οἱ δ' ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐορτῆς (πάσχα καλεῖται) καθ' ἣν θύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ ἐννάτης ὥρας μέχρι ἐνδεκάτης, ὥσπερ δὲ φρατρία περὶ ἐκάστην γίνεται θυσίαν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἀνδρῶν δέκα (μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι δαίνυσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ σὺν εἴκοσιν ἀθροίζονται), τῶν μὲν οὖν θυμάτων εἴκοσι πέντε μυριάδας ἠρίθμησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἑξακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια. Γίνονται δ' ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα ἐκάστου δέκα δαιτυμόνας θῶμεν, μυριάδες ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι καθαρῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀγίων, οὔτε γὰρ λεπροῖς, οὔτε γονορροίοις, οὔτε γυναιξὶν ἐπαμμήνοισι, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλως μεμιασμένοις, ἐξὴν τῆςδε τῆς θυσίας μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ὅσοι κατὰ θρησκείαν παρήσαν. Bell. vi. 9, 3.

²³ See Fasti Sacri, p. 290; No. 1736.

army from the barracks round the Prætorium in the Upper City. No sooner did his troops appear in sight than a sudden panic seized the defenceless multitude, and fearing an instantaneous onslaught, the cry was "Fly, Fly." They struggled to extricate themselves from the crowded court of the Temple, but in vain. Such was the throng, and so narrow the outlets, that in their efforts to escape they only trampled down each other, and in one fatal hour there perished within the four walls of the Temple more than ten thousand, or according to another account as many as twenty thousand, persons. Thus a day of rejoicing was converted into one of lamentation and woe.²⁴

This disaster was followed by another of much less magnitude in its actual consequences, but which nearly involved the nation in a general insurrection. Jerusalem being the Jewish, as Cæsarea was the Roman, capital of the province, couriers of the Emperor and the Procurator were continually passing along the high road, connecting the two. It ran through Bethoron, which was a few miles from Jerusalem. One of the Imperial messengers was travelling with property of considerable value under his charge, when at Bethoron he was suddenly set upon by some banditti, and plundered of the treasure. Cumanus was in a fury at such an outrage against the meanest servant of the divine Cæsar, and the miscreants having escaped, he commanded his troops to lay waste the adjoining villages, and bring the principal inhabitants in chains before him. In the execution of this tyrannical order, one of the soldiers in ransacking a village came upon a copy of the Holy Scriptures, when, in the face of the people, he tore it to pieces, and with much blasphemous language committed it to the flames. The whole nation was in a tumult, and pouring down to Cæsarea, and throwing themselves at the feet of the Procurator, implored him to avenge the insult offered to the God of Israel. Cumanus was staggered at their state of excitement, and fearing an instantaneous rebellion, called his council together, and, fortunately for the nation, determined on sacrificing one life for the general safety. The soldier was put under arrest, and hurried to execution.²⁵

The next event possesses unusual interest, as it led to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius, and the appointment of Felix in the room of Cumanus.

Samaria lay between Galilee and Judea, and at the principal feasts the Galilean worshippers, on their road to Jerusalem,²⁶ were wont to pass through the hostile country, and were, of course, on their route exposed to all kinds of insult, and, not unfrequently, were waylaid and assassinated. It will be remembered that a village of the Samaritans would not receive our blessed Saviour, "because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem,"²⁷ and that Jesus in consequence turned to the

²⁴ Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 3; Bell. ii. 12, 1.

²⁵ Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 4; Bell. ii. 12, 2.

²⁶ From Galilee to Jerusalem through Samaria was only a three days' journey: *τρισι γὰρ ἡμέραις*

ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας ἔνεστιν οὕτως εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλῦσαι. Jos. Vit. lii.

²⁷ Luke ix. 53

east, along the borders of Samaria,²⁸ and crossing the Jordan, descended the left bank till he reached the confines of Judea. At the time of which we are speaking, under the administration of Cumanus (A.D. 51), some Galileans were going up to the feast of Tabernacles, through Samaria, and had reached the village of Ginæa, when a skirmish ensued, and several of the Galileans were slain. The Jews rushed open-mouthed to Cumanus and demanded the instant punishment of the offenders. The Samaritans, however, were no less active on their side, and, anticipating an appeal to the Procurator, had secured impunity at his hands by an adequate bribe. The complaint of the Jews was slighted, and it was evident that a false weight had been furtively placed in the balance.

The tumultuous assemblage no sooner received the intimation that the Procurator was deaf to their cries, than they resolved on taking reprisals into their own hands, and the rising passions of the people were fomented by many high-spirited but short-sighted patriots, who sought an opportunity of trying the fortune of war against the Roman power. The wiser part of the community saw how hopeless would be the struggle, and exerted their utmost to withstand the force of the rising tide; but Ananias, the High Priest, and his son, Ananus, then captain of the Temple, were injudicious enough to lend their secret countenance to the movement, and they shortly afterwards paid the penalty of their imprudence. The congregated multitudes of Jerusalem, without leaders, and following only a blind fury, now streamed down into Samaria, and there united themselves to a numerous band of robbers, under the command of Eleazar, a bandit, who had for the last eighteen years been the terror of the neighbourhood.²⁹ The blended mass began devastating the villages of Samaria, burning all before them, and sparing neither age nor sex in their promiscuous slaughter.

Cumanus regarded this (and not without some reason) as an open revolt against the Imperial Government, and with all haste marched from Cæsarea with four legions and the Augustan horse to the relief of the Samaritans. He soon came up with the disorderly host, and gave them battle, when the discipline of the regular troops prevailed, and many of the insurgents were slain and more were taken prisoners. Cumanus forwarded a dispatch to Rome (and doubtless with much exaggeration) that the whole province was in a state of revolt, but that for the present he had achieved a victory.

Claudius, an excitable and timid character, was, upon the receipt of the intelligence, at the very beginning of A.D. 52,³⁰ thrown into a panic, and apprehensive that the many thousands of Jews who were domiciled in his capital might, from sympathy with their countrymen, be led to some act of treason, issued an edict that all of the

²⁸ Luke (xvii. 11) writes: διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, which must mean διὰ μεσοπόριον, through the borders of Samaria and Galilee or the parts lying between them. See an article on this subject contributed by the author

in early life to the 'Christian Remembrancer,' and signed B. B. P.

²⁹ See Fasti Sacri, p. 247, No. 1491.

³⁰ See Fasti Sacri, p. 295, No. 1774.

Jewish race should depart from Rome.³¹ It was in consequence of this proclamation that Aquila and Priscilla, who were of the proscribed class, set sail for Corinth, where, as we have seen, they encountered the Apostle Paul.

In the meantime the magnates of Jerusalem were appalled at the threatening aspect of the horizon. Romans and Jews had met on the field of battle, and unless every effort were strained a general war would ensue, which must terminate in the destruction of their country. With this dread before their eyes they hastened, regardless of their own safety, to the scene of action, and in sackcloth and ashes, implored their misguided countrymen not to pursue the gratification of their revenge for the death of a few Galileans, at the imminent risk of laying their holy city, and still holier Temple, in the dust. This earnest expostulation prevailed, the more readily, perhaps, from the insurgents having already sustained a check, and most of the disorganized multitude returned to their own homes. The ringleaders, however, and such as had compromised themselves too deeply to hope for mercy, retired with the banditti to the fastnesses in the mountains, and from that time the adjoining country was constantly overrun by their ravages.

The violence of the storm had passed, but the serenity of the heavens was not to be restored in a moment. Quadratus, the Prefect of Syria, and to whom the Procurator of Judea was amenable, had, on the first intelligence of the revolt, moved with his forces from Antioch, and was already arrived at Tyre, on the high road to Judea. The leading Samaritans now presented themselves before him, and charged the Jews with treason against the Emperor, in having levied war against the friendly state of Samaria. The Jews, on the other hand, retorted the murder of the Galileans, and the corruption of the Roman Procurator. Their cause was ably advocated by Jonathan, the son of Annas, a powerful speaker, who had formerly been High Priest, and was in the utmost credit both from his political abilities and private virtues. Quadratus adjourned the hearing until he should reach the neighbourhood of the conflict. He then marched to Cæsarea, where he crucified the prisoners who had been taken by Cumanus.

At the opening of the next year (A.D. 52) he pursued the high road to Jerusalem, as far as Lydda, where the trial was resumed. Being satisfied upon a full and apparently an impartial investigation, that Ananias, the High Priest, and his son, Ananus, the captain of the Temple, were implicated, he placed them both under arrest. Eighteen Jews of the inferior sort were beheaded. Cumanus was convicted of having taken a bribe, and Celer, his tribune, was found equally guilty. Quadratus resolved, therefore, on sending Ananias and Ananus, and Cumanus and Celer (the two first in fetters) to Rome, to be dealt with at the Emperor's pleasure. He at the same time

³¹ The expulsion of the disaffected from Rome or from Italy was a common practice. See Dion xii. 52, xiii. 25; Suet. Tib. 36, Claud. 25, 28, Vitell. 14. ΣΧΖΖvii. 9, lvi. 23, lvii. 21; Tac. Ann. ii. 85, iv. 15,

dispatched thither some of the most influential men amongst the Jews, including Jonathan, their advocate, and also the chiefs of the Samaritans, to settle their disputes with each other at the Imperial tribunal. He then proceeded himself to Jerusalem, but finding the people in perfect repose, and engaged in celebrating the feast of the Passover, he returned to Antioch.³²

We must now transfer the scene to Rome, where the controversy between the contending parties was to be finally decided. The Emperor Claudius was a man little adapted to the exercise of any judicial functions. He was still in the vigour of age, being in his sixty-second year, but was dull of intellect, and from his very infancy had been the butt of the court. He was entirely governed by his wife for the time being (and he had married four in succession), and by his favourite freedmen. Of the latter no one was more prominent or influential than Pallas. He and his brother Felix had been imported as slaves, perhaps from Arcadia,³³ and had been purchased by Antonia, the mother of Claudius. Pallas was evidently gifted by nature with an excellent understanding, and soon became the most useful and confidential of Antonia's domestics, and was employed by her upon all matters of unusual importance.³⁴ He and his brother were afterwards rewarded for their services by manumission, and on the death of Antonia, in A.D. 37, they attached themselves to Claudius, and of course they did not desert him on his elevation to the Imperial purple. Pallas was now set over the accounts, or was comptroller of the household, an office not very different from our First Lord of the Treasury; and Felix (who had adopted the prænomen of Antonius,³⁵ in honour of his late mistress, and recently the name of Claudius,³⁶ out of compliment to the Emperor) was advanced in the army; but to avoid giving unnecessary offence to the Roman pride, he was made colonel, not of a legion, but of one of the cohorts of auxiliary foot, and afterwards, by way of promotion, of a troop of auxiliary horse.³⁷ Pallas and Felix were at this time (the beginning of A.D. 52) basking in the full sunshine of royal favour. On the death of Messalina, the late wife of the Emperor, in A.D. 48, Claudius had announced his intention of marrying

³² Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 5. As some have attempted to impugn the truth of the gospels by pointing out apparent discrepancies in minute particulars between the *different* Evangelists, it may be useful to see how the *same* historian, Josephus, who professes the greatest exactness, and is considered, and justly, a high authority, is occasionally at variance even with himself. In his two accounts of the outbreak in Samaria (and this may be taken as a sample) there are the following diversities within the compass of two short chapters.

<i>Antiquities.</i>	<i>Wars.</i>
The village where the outbreak began is called <i>Ginæa</i> .	It is called <i>Gema</i> .
It is said to be on the confines of Samaria and the Great Plain.	It is said to be in the Great Plain.

Antiquities.

Many Galileans are killed; Cumanus refuses to interfere from having received a bribe.

Cumanus takes from Cæsarea a troop of horse and four legions.

He comes to Samaria, where he executes the prisoners.

At Lydda he puts to death four Jews.

³³ Tac. Ann. xii 53.

³⁴ Josephus calls him *ὁ πιστότατος τῶν δοῦλων*. Ant. xviii. 6, 6.

³⁵ See Tac. Hist. v. 9.

³⁶ See Suidas, Κλαύδιος.

³⁷ Suet. Claud. xxviii.

Wars.

One Galilean is killed; Cumanus refuses to interfere, from having more weighty business on hand.

Cumanus takes a troop of horse, and the legions not mentioned.

The same scene is laid at Cæsarea.

He puts to death eighteen Jews.

again, and, several Roman ladies contesting the honour, Pallas had fortunately advocated the pretensions of Agrippina, the successful candidate.³⁸

The most important personage in the civilised world at this time (A.D. 52) was Agrippina, and next to her was Pallas, and if Jonathan and the Jewish party could only wind themselves into the good graces of these two, their cause was won. They had opportunely the means of doing this by the instrumentality of young Agrippa, who now of the age of twenty-five, and recently invested with the petty kingdom of Chalcis, was still lingering about the Imperial Court, in the hope (which was shortly afterwards gratified) of attaining to some higher dignity. Agrippa, ever ready to assist his countrymen, introduced Jonathan to Pallas, and though history has not preserved the particulars, it is evident from what followed that a kind of compact was entered into between the Jewish advocate and the pampered freedman. Pallas was to use his influence with Agrippina and the Emperor in behalf of the Jews, and in return Jonathan, as the representative of his nation, was to petition the Emperor to confer on Felix, the brother of Pallas, the Procuratorship of Judea.

Cumanus and the Samaritans, on the other side, were equally active in endeavouring to bias the mind of the Emperor, through the instrumentality of his freedmen, and as Cumanus was a Roman and well connected, he had peculiar facilities for pushing his interests. The machinery, however, which he put in motion, was not, as we shall see, attended with success.

Claudius sat on such occasions in the Temple of Apollo, within the Palace, on the Palatine Hill, or in some neighbouring Temple, as of Hercules³⁹ or Mars. The stupidity of the man was proverbial, and yet he seems to have prided himself on his legal abilities—at least no Emperor was more laborious in this department of the Imperial duties.⁴⁰ In external appearance, indeed, as he sat on the tribunal he commanded the respect of the by-standers, for he was tall of stature and of portly person, with regular features and a profusion of hair, bleached by the hand of time. He had, however, a tremulous motion of the head, was rather hard of hearing,⁴¹ and when he opened his lips, though gifted with a tolerable command of words, he betrayed a thick and faltering speech, and the oracles that fell from him were not always prompted by the god of wisdom.⁴² He once gravely pronounced that he “gave it in favour of those who were in the right.”⁴³ At another time it is said that, as he was sitting on the tribunal near the Temple of Mars, the savoury fumes of a banquet just served up for the priests of the god of war were so irresistible an attraction to the Imperial appe-

³⁸ Tac. Ann. xii. 1.

³⁹ Ego eram qui tibi [Herculi] ante templum tuum jus dicebam totis diebus mense Julio et Augusto. Seneca, Ἀποκολ.

⁴⁰ Suet. Claud. xiv.; Senec. Ἀποκολ. He was said to sit all the year round without any holidays. Quis nunc iudex toto lites audiet anno?

Senec. Ἀποκολ. Even in the hot months of July and August. See preceding note.

⁴¹ Ut etiam Claudius audire posset. Senec. Ἀποκολ.

⁴² Suet. Claud. xxx.; Senec. Ἀποκολ.

⁴³ Suet. Claud. xv.

tite, that he hastily quitted the bench, and to the astonishment of the court which he left, and the company which he joined, took his seat at the repast.⁴⁴ He did not always, however, escape so easily, for the gentlemen of the long robe are reported to have taken strange liberties with him, sometimes keeping him at his post by holding the skirts of his vest, or even seizing him by the leg.⁴⁵ He was, no doubt, utterly devoid of pride, and never cared to maintain his dignity, but this must have been one of the jokes of the Bar. The Emperor, while on the bench, was assisted by a panel of *judices* or jurymen, ranged on either side of the tribunal, and who, at the conclusion of the case, delivered their written opinions; Claudius, however, paid but little attention either to the verdicts of the assessors or to the law itself, but regulated his sentence according to his own notions of right and wrong, softening the penalty where it appeared too severe, and straining it where it did not reach what he considered the standard.⁴⁶ This, of course, was only when his wife or his freedmen left him at large, without prescribing the judgment beforehand. His natural disposition was compassionate, and yet he often practised great cruelties. He was kind-hearted even to visiting his sick friends,⁴⁷ yet such was the hardening effect of the gladiatorial fights of which he was dotingly fond, that he took pleasure in human suffering, and was the delighted spectator of the execution of a criminal.⁴⁸ Such was Claudius, before whom the great cause of *The Jews v. The Samaritans* was now to be tried.

The day was fixed, and the Emperor took his seat on the tribunal, and the learned counsel on both sides opened the case for their clients, and all legal forms were duly observed. The picture of a Roman trial has been drawn by the pen of Philo: "The judge," he says, "takes his seat with the assessors. The litigants, with their counsel, stand one on one side and the other on the other. The indictment and the defence are heard by turns, for the time allowed by the hour glass. The judge deliberates with the assessors, and then delivers the verdict."⁴⁹ But what a solemn mockery was all this display of legal procedure! Claudius had entered the court with a foregone conclusion. Agrippina (who sometimes even sat by his side on the tribunal) had dictated the sentence to be pronounced. The Samaritans were cast, and three of the most influential condemned to death. Cumanus was found guilty of corruption, and was banished. Celer, the tribune, as a person of inferior note, was made the principal scapegoat, for he was delivered over to the Jews, to be carried to Jerusalem, and there dragged round the city and then beheaded.⁵⁰ Ananias and his son Ananus, as their party was triumphant, returned to Jerusalem, and the proud High Priest Ananias

⁴⁴ Suet. Claud. xxxiii.

⁴⁵ Suet. Claud. xv.

⁴⁶ Suet. Claud. xiv.

⁴⁷ Dion Cass. lx. 12.

⁴⁸ Suet. Claud. xxxiv.

⁴⁹ Δικαστοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἔργα ταῦτα ἦν, καθίσαι μετὰ συνέδρων ἀριστίδην ἐπιλεγομένων . . . ἐκατέρωθεν

στήναι τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μετὰ τῶν συναγορευόντων, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐν μέρει δὲ τῆς ἀπολογίας πρὸς μεμετρημένον ὕδωρ, ἀναστάντα βουλεύσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων, τί χρή φανερώς ἀποφύνασθαι γνώμη τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ. Phil. Leg. ad Caium, s. 44.

⁵⁰ Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 3; Bell. ii. 12, 7.

resumed again the exercise of his office, and became a greater potentate than he had been before.

Jonathan now, in accordance with the previous arrangement, petitioned the Emperor to confer on his nation the favour of sending a Procurator of their own choice, Felix, the brother of Pallas, a request which was graciously conceded!⁵¹ At the same time, if not earlier, Claudius recalled the edict for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome. It was not in force for any long period, and as the intelligence of the outbreak in Samaria had caused it to be issued, it is likely that when the fears of the Emperor were found to be groundless the prohibition was removed, or was no longer enforced. These proceedings before the Emperor at Rome occurred about the middle of A.D. 52.

Judea had now for many months, during the absence of Cumanus, been without a Procurator, and Felix (fig. 233) hastened to his province, not a little anxious, perhaps, to dazzle the eyes of the multitude by a display of his newly-acquired honours. Tacitus, in his usual pithy language, has summed up the prefecture of Felix in the compendious sentence, "He wielded the sceptre of a monarch with the soul of a slave."⁵² He was not a Roman by birth, and he had none of the Roman qualities; artful and perfidious, and stirred by revenge, even to the use of the assassin's knife, a votary of pleasure, and regardless of the feelings he wounded in the pursuit of it, ostentatious and extravagant, and feeding his wasteful indulgences by peculation and extortion.

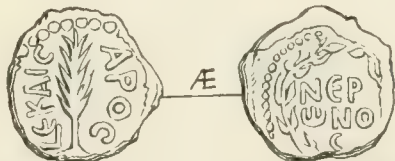


Fig. 233.—Coin of Felix. From F. W. Madden.

Obv.—A palm branch with the legend *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ Λ. Σ.* (of Caesar in year 5), i.e., in the 5th year of Nero, and therefore struck by Felix some time between 13th October, A.D. 58 and 13th October, A.D. 59.—*Rev.* The legend *ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ* (of Nero) within a wreath.

At the beginning of his career he put himself under some restraint, and even bid for popularity by promoting the public security. He was a soldier, and took the field with his forces against the numerous banditti that now infested the country. Eleazar, the arch-robber, who had headed the disorderly rabble of the Jews in the late Samaritan disturbance, for the present eluded his search, but great numbers of the predatory bands were captured or slain, and the peaceful inhabitants once more began to feel the protecting arm of the law. It was no idle compliment which Tertullus afterwards paid to him, "Seeing that by thee we enjoy profound peace, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence."⁵³

Felix had been about a year in office, when Agrippa the younger, who had continued at Rome, and was now about twenty-six, received from the Emperor,

⁵¹ See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 297, No. 1777.

⁵² *Antonius Felix per omnem sævitiam ac libi-*

dinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. Tac. Hist. v. 9.

⁵³ Acts xxiv. 2.

A.D. 53, an accession of dignity.⁵⁴ He was removed from the Kingdom of Chalcis, which he had held for four years, and was promoted to the Tetrarchy of Herod Philip, comprising Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Ituræa, with the addition of Abilene.⁵⁵ These yielded him an income of one hundred talents, or about £25,000 per annum,⁵⁶ a moderate sum for royalty, but not so contemptible if we take into account the high value of money at that day. Agrippa now took leave of the Emperor, and embarked for his kingdom. He fixed his ordinary residence at Cæsarea Philippi, the capital, but he had also a palace, the patrimony of his family, at Jerusalem, on the brow of Sion, opposite the Temple, and frequently made his abode there, particularly at the celebration of the principal festivals. It seems that Bernice also accompanied her brother Agrippa from Rome, and scandal, whether justly or not, still followed her into her own country. To put an end to these injurious reports, she made an offer of marriage to Polemo II. (fig. 234) king of an outlying part of Cilicia, provided he would submit to circumcision; and that potentate, attracted by her great wealth, was induced to comply. However, their union was



Fig. 234.—Coin of Polemo II. From Pellerin.

Obv. Head with legend, βασιλεὺς Πολεμῶνος (of King Polemo).—*Rev.* Head of Agrippina with legend ιε (or 15, i.e. in the 15th year of his reign). Polemo II. was made king of Pontus in A.D. 38 (see *Fasti Sacri*, p. 250, No. 1533), and in A.D. 41 received parts of Cilicia also. (See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 271, No. 1623.) The coin was struck in the 15th year of his reign, and therefore in A.D. 52 when Paul was at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla.

very short-lived, for Bernice soon eloped from him to pursue more agreeable amours, and Polemo, deserted by his wife, renounced the religion he had adopted for her sake.⁵⁷ Bernice, many years afterwards, won the heart of Titus, and became an inmate of his palace at Rome; and report said that the handsome Jewess was to be Empress, and no doubt Titus was much infatuated with her, but the jealousy of the Roman public was roused, and Titus was obliged to send her away *invitus invitam*, as much against his own will as hers.⁵⁸ This, however, occurred many years afterwards. About the time of which we are speaking (A.D. 53), Agrippa gave his two youngest sisters in marriage, viz., Mariamne to Archelaus, son of Helcias, and Drusilla to Azizus, King of Emesa, now Hems, a city of importance, a little to the north of Damascus.

Agrippa had occupied the throne of Trachonitis about a year and a half, when on the 13th of October, A.D. 54, his patron Claudius died, and it is said by poison

⁵⁴ *Fasti Sacri*, p. 299, No. 1788.

⁵⁵ *Jos. Ant.* xx. 7, 1; *Bell.* ii. 12, 8. *Fasti Sacri*, p. 299, No. 1788.

⁵⁶ *Jos. Ant.* xvii. 11, 4.

⁵⁷ *Jos. Ant.* xx. 7, 3.

⁵⁸ *Suet. Tit.* vii.; *Dion* lxvi. 15 and 18; *Tac. Hist.* ii. 2.

administered by the wife on whom he had doted. The youthful Nero now mounted with alacrity the throne of the Cæsars, and little did the world dream what a monster had been nurtured under the auspices of the moral philosopher Seneca.

Agrippa, who had so long resided at the Roman court, was familiarly acquainted with the young Emperor, and no doubt transmitted or carried personally his congratulations on the occasion, and this mark of attention was soon followed by a reward, not, perhaps, wholly unexpected, viz., the extension of Agrippa's dominions by the annexation of the four important cities of Abila and Julias in Peræa, and Tarichæa and Tiberias in Galilee (fig. 235).⁵⁹

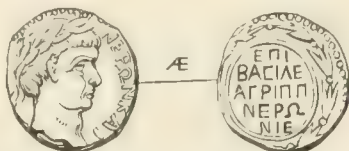


Fig. 235.—Coin of Herod Agrippa II. From F. W. Madden.

Obv. Head of Nero, laureated, with the legend ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ. (Nero Cæsar).—*Rev.* Within an olive crown is the legend *ἐπι βασιλε. Αγριππ. Νερωνιε* (under King Agrippa Neronias, i.e. Cæsarea Philippi, called Neronias in honour of the Emperor Nero). The coin, therefore, was probably struck in A.D. 55, when Agrippa II. received an accession of territory from that Emperor. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 305, No. 1823.

Agrippa and Felix had known each other at Rome, and in Judea their acquaintance was renewed. As Agrippa's sisters were not unfrequent visitors at their brother's palace, it was not long before Felix was introduced to these attractive ladies. The unprincipled Procurator became an ardent admirer of the beautiful Drusilla, the Queen of Emesa, and looked anxiously about him for the means of gratifying his passion. Simon the Magian was his ready instrument. Some sixteen years before, this impious wretch, a Cypriot⁶⁰ by birth, had settled in one of the cities of Samaria,

⁵⁹ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 4; Bell. ii. 13, 2; iii. 9, 7; Vit. 9.

⁶⁰ Κύπριον δὲ γένος. Ant. xx. 7, 2. Justin Martyr (Apol. i. 16) calls him *Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης λεγομένης Γιττῶν* (Apol. i. 34), and see Winer's Bibl. Real. 'Simon.' It is, however, conjectured that this ancient father has confounded *Γιττῶν* with Citium in Cyprus. This Simon, the father of heretics, was a phenomenon of the age in which he lived, and put forward pretensions which, if we had not witnessed an Agapemone in our own day, would have surpassed belief. He gave himself out as the Supreme Being, clothed with humanity for a time for certain mysterious purposes. He called himself the Almighty, the Christ, the Paraclete. Hieron. Opera iv. 14 in Matt. Tertull. adversus Hæres. c. 1; de anima, c. 34. At Tyre he met with a courtesan called Helena, and he carried her about with him and exhibited her as an Emanation, according to the Gnostic phantasies, from his own godship. Justin Mart. Apol. c. 34; Tertull. de Anima, c. 34; Irenæus, i. 20. His

familiarity with Felix the Procurator we have noticed in the text. Afterwards, in the reign of Claudius, he passed to Rome, where he continued to practise his sorceries until, according to the traditions of the Church, he was encountered by Peter, and came to an untimely end by the miraculous intervention of that Apostle. Euseb. H. E. ii. 14, 15; Acta Petri et Pauli. Justin Martyr goes so far as to say that Simon was worshipped as a divinity at Rome, and that he (Justin) himself had seen a statue erected to him in the island of the Tiber, with the inscription "SIMONI DEO SANCTO. ὃς ἀνδριὰς ἀνεγέγερται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξύ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ταύτην ΣΙΜΩΝΙ ΔΕΩΙ ΣΑΓΚΤΩΙ." Just. Apol. xxxiv. However, it is now commonly thought, and appears likely, that the good father in this has fallen into a mistake; for in recent times, on this very island of the Tiber, which anciently communicated with two bridges, a block of marble has been found, with the inscription "Semoni Sanco Deo"—viz. to the Sabine god of contracts, called Sancus, derived from

and bewitched them with his sorceries, and when Philip the Evangelist proclaimed the tidings of the Gospel in that quarter, Simon heard him, and, amazed at the mighty miracles wrought by his hand, attached himself closely to Philip, and received the rite of baptism. Peter afterwards came down and confirmed the disciples, and laying his hands upon them imparted many spiritual gifts, and Simon's offer of a bribe to the Apostle on this occasion, as if the power of communicating the Holy Spirit could be purchased like a magician's secret, is too well known to be here repeated. Simon, as a clever impostor, continued to push his fortunes, and was now (A.D. 54) the bosom friend of Felix, *par nobile fratrum!* The intelligent heathen were perfectly conscious that their whole mythology was a baseless fabric, and often when in the journey of life they encountered a Jew possessing the knowledge of the true God, they detained him by the way to amuse their understandings, though not to correct their lives, by the light of revelation. Thus Sergius Paulus, the Proconsul of Cyprus, retained about his court Barjesus, called Elymas, or the sorcerer, and now Felix, a man of good natural capacity, was entertaining at his palace Simon the Magian, an instrument the more useful to him, as the Jew, though versed not only in Mosaic, but even in Christian truth, had so seared his conscience, that he was ready at any moment to pander to the pleasures of his profligate master. Such was Simon, whom Felix set to work for the seduction of Drusilla. The artful Magian, by soothing flatteries, and the most unbounded promises, soon wrought upon the credulity of the youthful bride, and Drusilla eloped from a king, to throw herself into the arms of a slave.⁶¹ Azizus did not long survive his loss, but died the following year, perhaps of a broken heart.⁶²

Another act of baseness will brand the name of Felix with eternal infamy. He had been warring for many years, and not unsuccessfully, against the numerous bands of robbers by which the country was overrun; but Eleazar, who in the late disturbances under Cumanus, in Samaria, had taken the command of the Jewish marauders, had eluded the utmost vigilance of the Procurator, and still maintained himself in his fastnesses, to the great terror of the neighbourhood, and more particularly of the Romans and their partisans, to whom Eleazar was a deadly enemy. Felix, having failed to capture the bandit by open war or legitimate artifice, now had recourse to the most atrocious perfidy. He pretended to abandon the pursuit, and as if honouring the valour and skill which he could not subdue, invited Eleazar to become his guest, on the most solemn pledges for his personal safety. The frank-hearted robber confided on the word of a Roman Procurator, and

'sanciendo.' Justin had no knowledge of the Sabine divinities, and perhaps was not too well acquainted with the Latin language; and the inference certainly is that, with his mind full of Simon Magus and his successful sorceries at Rome, he at once jumped to the conclusion that

here was a statue to his honour. See further on the subject, Burton's *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, Van Dale de *Oraculis*, and Salmasius ad *Spartianum*.

⁶¹ Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 2.

⁶² Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 4.

accepted the proffered hospitality, but no sooner was Eleazar within the grasp of his enemy, than Felix put him in chains and sent him a captive to Rome.⁶³

Felix had now been about five years in office, and the firmer he felt himself in his seat, the more indifferent he became to the character of his administration; his exactions grew daily more exorbitant, and his peculations and sale of justice more flagrant. Jonathan, the ex-High Priest, who, as the representative of his nation, had petitioned the Emperor for the appointment of Felix, being stung to the quick by the reproaches of his fellow-countrymen for having subjected them to such a tyrant, ventured to approach Felix and urge upon him the adoption of more prudent measures. The admonition was of course slighted, and served only to irritate the Procurator against the unwelcome monitor. Felix pursued his wonted career, and the expostulation was renewed, when Felix, to rid himself of so troublesome an interruption to his vices and pleasures, resolved (A.D. 57) on the death of the ex-High Priest. He corrupted Doras, a friend of Jonathan, and by the promise of a large bribe, induced him to undertake the removal of the officious meddler out of his way. Doras upon this employed some of the bandits for the purpose, and at one of the annual festivals they entered Jerusalem in the garb of inoffensive worshippers, but secretly armed with poniards or *sicæ* (whence the name of *Sicarii*, afterwards so infamous), and mingling with the crowd, gathered round Jonathan, and at a convenient moment gave the fatal stab. The blow was so dexterously struck that it was impossible to say who was the ruffian. By the connivance of Felix no inquiry was instituted, and the crime passed unpunished; and from this time the *Sicarii* were a word of terror to all at Jerusalem, for in the streets of the city, and even in the Temple itself, numerous assassinations followed, some from hire, and some for the gratification of private pique.⁶⁴

The last event we shall mention, and which immediately preceded the arrival of Paul at Jerusalem, was the overthrow of the Egyptian false prophet. This man, though a native of Egypt, was probably a Jew, and had come to Jerusalem at the passover A.D. 58, and on announcing himself as commissioned by the Most High to restore the kingdom of Israel, had deluded four thousand of the meanest rabble to accompany him into the wilderness.⁶⁵ Still as he advanced the multitude was swelled from the adjoining villages, till he found himself at the head of thirty thousand followers. With this incongruous multitude he returned to Mount Olivet and proclaimed that now they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down before him, when he would make his triumphant entry into the holy city, expel the Romans, and re-establish the dominion of God's chosen people. All Jerusalem was in a state of alarm at the approaching onslaught, but Felix (who at least acted with spirit) sallied forth at the head of his disciplined troops, both horse and foot, with the assistance

⁶³ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 5.

⁶⁴ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 5; Bell. ii. 13, 3.

⁶⁵ Acts xxi. 38.

of the Jews themselves, who had no sympathy with the invader, and making a furious attack upon the disorderly mass, soon put them to the rout, slaying four hundred of them and capturing others. The Egyptian himself contrived to escape, and the whole city was prosecuting a diligent search after him, at the very time when Paul was beset in the Temple, and Lysias, seeing the fury of the people against their defenceless prisoner, might well fall into the mistake, "Art not thou that Egyptian?" Felix was still exulting in this success, when Tertullus so happily opened his accusation against Paul before the Procurator by the pleasing flattery, "Seeing that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence."⁶⁶

We would now gladly return to the history of the Apostle himself, but as the scene of his persecution will be laid at Jerusalem, we must still detain the reader a few minutes by a brief sketch of the principal localities,⁶⁷ with some particulars of the living personages at this interesting period.

The site of Jerusalem must, in its general outline, be familiar to all. The city, which was four miles round, stood on two twin hills, descending from the north in a parallel direction, and divided from each other by a depression or hollow, the western hill terminating in a mount or elevation of a quadrilateral form, and the eastern hill tapering down like a wedge, and ending in a point at the Pool of Siloam.

The most ancient part of Jerusalem was that which occupied the southern extremity of the *Western Hill*, and was anciently called *Jebus*, then the *Castle*, and afterwards the *High Town* or *Upper Market*. It was a parallelogram in shape, and was, so to speak, the aristocratic quarter, and contained the mansions of the great. It was fenced on all four sides by precipices, and was encompassed by a strong wall. Within the circuit, at the angle formed by the northern and western walls of this the *High Town*, stood the magnificent palace erected by *Herod the Great*, and afterwards called the *Prætorium*, the residence of the Roman Procurator.⁶⁸ It was a vast rectangular space, defended on the north and west by the city walls, and on the east and south by a wall of its own, crowned with towers at regular intervals. The most wonderful part of the whole was the cluster of three fortresses or towers in the wall at the north of the palace, namely, *Hippicus*, *Phasaelus* and *Mariamne*, all of them of immense strength and of the finest workmanship, and *Mariamne* so beautifully fitted up, that it rather resembled a separate and independent palace than a military station. As to the interior of the *Prætorium*, on the north side and next the wall connecting *Hippicus*, *Phasaelus*, and *Mariamne*, was the royal palace, consisting of two distinct wings, the *Cæsareum* and *Agrippeum*.⁶⁹ These were the

⁶⁶ κατορθωμάτων γινομένων τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας. Acts xxiv. 3.

⁶⁷ For a fuller description of ancient Jerusalem see the author's *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*.

⁶⁸ ἀλλή ὃ ἐστὶ πραιτώριον. Mark xv. 16. So Philo tells us expressly that Herod's palace, Ἡρώδου βασιλεία (Leg. ad Caium, § 38), was the

house of the Procurators—οἰκία τῶν ἐπιτρόπων (Leg. ad Caium, § 39), and by the Procurator here he means Pontius Pilate. It is therefore clear to demonstration that what is now called the House of Pilate has no just claim to that name, but occupies the site of Fort Antonia.

⁶⁹ Jos. Bell. i. 21, 1; v. 4, 4.



JERUSALEM FROM THE SOUTH.

From a Model in the Author's possession, presented to the late Queen Adelaide.

The principal and higher hill to the spectator's left, on the south, partly within and partly without the walls, is the ancient Jebus, called by Josephus the High Town, or the *first* hill. The wedge-like hill to the right, with the *Haram*, or square platform of the Mosque of Omar, above it, is the *second* hill of Josephus, called the Acra, or Low Town. The Temple was a square of 600 feet at the south-west corner of the Haram.

The hill to the left, or west of the Haram, and above the first hill, is the *third* hill of Josephus, formerly divided from the second hill by a deep ravine, but which was filled up by the Maccabees, and thenceforth the eastern part of the third hill (the part inclosed by the second wall) became part of the Acra, or Low Town, on the second hill.

The *fourth* hill of Josephus, or Bezetha, is that to the north of the Haram. The Holy Sepulchre is on the third hill, and at the time of the Crucifixion was *without* the city, for the second wall starting from about the middle of the north wall of the first hill, and running due north to the east side of the Holy Sepulchre, turned there to the east, and joined the north-west corner of the Haram, and the third wall, the present north wall of the city, was not then built.

The valley on the left running southward, and turning at the lower end to the east, is the Valley of Hinnom. The valley to the right, between the city and the Mount of Olives, is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, down which runs the brook Kedron; and above the bridge on the right is the Garden of Gethsemane, and below the bridge on the right is the *village* of Siloam. The pool of Siloam is near the foot of the second hill, on the west side of it, in the Tyropæon Valley, which beginning at the pool runs northward, along the east side of the first hill, and then turns to the west, along the north side of the first hill, to the castle of David, seen at the north-west corner of the first hill.

The tombs of David (so called) are the building on the first hill, to the south, and outside of the city wall.

private apartments, and in magnificence of architecture and costliness of furniture, exceeded the Temple itself. Round the other three sides of the quadrangle of the Prætorium were ranged the barracks of the soldiers, for the Prætorium was not only a palatial residence, but also an impregnable citadel, and here was quartered the numerous garrison by which Jerusalem was overawed. Round the interior of the quadrangle was a handsome colonnade, and to the south of the palace were the gardens laid out in plantations and walks, and fountains and running streams, from which some idea may be gathered of the extent of the whole precincts.⁷⁰ The entrance to the Prætorium was on the east toward the Temple,⁷¹ and in front of the Prætorium was the Gabbatha, or raised tessellated pavement, on which, when the Procurator sat in judgment, the tribunal was erected.⁷² The Prætorium cannot fail to possess an interest to every Christian, for here was enacted the trial of our Saviour before Pontius Pilate. It was at the gate of the Prætorium (translated the Judgment Hall) that the chief priests, and elders, and scribes, when they first brought Jesus in bonds to the Governor, stood clamouring for his death. They would not enter in, "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover,"⁷³ *i.e.*, keep the feast, which had begun at six o'clock the preceding evening, for they could not join in the celebration of the festival if guilty of pollution, by entering the house of a Gentile. It was the idle soldiery quartered in the barracks of the Prætorium who amused themselves by mocking Jesus when led within, by crowning him with thorns, and putting on him a purple robe, and bending the knee before him, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" It was on the tribunal called Gabbatha before the Prætorium that Pilate, when reluctantly prevailed upon to try Jesus, went through the forms of legal procedure, and having found, on examination, that he had done "nothing worthy of death," condemned him to die!

At the eastern extremity of the northern wall of the High Town or the upper market, was the Xyst, on reaching which the principal wall deflected to the south and ran round the High Town; but at the Xyst, where the principal wall made this elbow, a branch wall was carried across the ravine to the opposite eastern mount,⁷⁴ and after passing the Council Chamber (which lay to the south of the branch wall, on the site of the present Mehkimeh or Town Hall) joined the western cloister of the Temple.⁷⁵ It was in the Council Chamber that the senate of Jerusalem met, while in the Xyst were held the assemblies of the people.⁷⁶ The whole nation, indeed, were in subjection to the Romans, but when Judea was conquered, the

⁷⁰ Jos. Bell. v. 4, 4. The gardens are still used as such, and belong to the Armenian convent.

⁷¹ *ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μετέσει τοῦ περιβόλου* [viz. of the Temple] *πύλαι τέσσαρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεια τείνουσα.* Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁷² Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 8; John xix. 13; Plin. N. H.

xxxvi. 60, 64.

⁷³ John xviii. 28.

⁷⁴ Jos. Bell. vi. 6, 2; vi. 3, 2; ii. 16, 3.

⁷⁵ Jos. Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁷⁶ Jos. Bell. ii. 16, 3; iv. 3, 10.

victors shaped the constitution after the pattern of their own; and thus in imitation of the well-known "*Senatus Populusque Romanus*," the Jewish polity was made to consist of a Senate and the People.⁷⁷ However, the Jews were allowed to legislate in municipal matters only, and any attempt at the exercise of political power to the prejudice of their masters, would, of course, be immediately resented. To the west of the Xyst, on a commanding site within the High Town, stood the palace of Agrippa,⁷⁸ and near it was the house of Ananias.⁷⁹ They were both burnt at the commencement of the Jewish war.

The *Eastern Hill*, which, as we have said, was of a wedge-like shape, the point of the wedge tapering to the south, was of a lower level than the western hill, and the quarter of the city which stood upon it was called the *Low Town*, or (as it was afterwards known) the *Acra*, from the *Acra* or fortress built upon it by the Macedonians, but which had been long since demolished by the Maccabees. The southern part of the wedge was called *Ophel*, and the northern part, the Temple plateau, was *Mount Moriah*, on which Abraham had sacrificed, and on which the Temple was afterwards erected. This Temple plateau was an enclosure nearly rectangular, about 1500 feet long from north to south, and 900 feet from east to west, and at the south-west corner stood the Temple itself, a square of 600 feet.⁸⁰ To the west of the Temple

⁷⁷ Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 2.

⁷⁸ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11.

⁷⁹ Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 6.

⁸⁰ It has been much disputed what parts of this area (1500 ft. by 900 ft.) now called the Haram were covered by the Temple and Fort Antonia and the Acra, and how the remaining space was occupied. The following conclusions appear to be now established.

The outer temple was a square of 600 ft. at the south-west corner of the Haram. For the proofs of this the reader is referred to the author's '*Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*,' where the arguments are stated at length.

Fort Antonia stood, as is generally admitted, at the north-west corner of the Haram, and was connected with the Temple by two cloisters, parallel to each other, and running north and south, called the legs or limbs, one of them continuing the western cloister of the Temple northward to the fort, and the other starting, not far from it, from the northern cloister of the Temple, and also running north to the fort. Antonia, as thus incorporated with the Temple, was said to stand at the north-west corner of it, and the Temple, including Antonia, with the space between the two connecting cloisters, was double the original dimensions, i.e. double the square of 600 ft.

To the east of these connecting cloisters was an

inner raised platform 550 ft. from north to south by 450 ft. from east to west, on which now stands the Mosque of Omar; and of this platform (religiously avoided by the Jews, but regarded as a vantage ground by both Greeks and Romans) we shall speak more particularly presently.

The Temple and Antonia, and the cloisters running between them, occupied all the *western* side of the Haram, and the inner platform occupied the *centre*, and the remaining vacant space along the *eastern* side of the Haram was, in the time of Josephus, known as "the so-called Cedron ravine." When Josephus speaks of the great valley of Cedron, which was *without* the city, he simply styles it "the Cedron." Ant. viii. 1, 5; ix. 7, 3; Bell. v. 2, 3; 7, 3; 12, 2; but in describing the slip of ground *within* the city, between the Temple and Antonia on the west and the city wall on the east, he invariably refers to it as the "so-called Cedron ravine." Thus, in the siege by Titus, he tells us that, while Simon was in possession of the upper city, John held the Temple and the parts about it, both Ophla and "the so-called Cedron ravine." Bell. v. 6, 1; and see Bell. v. 4, 2; vi. 3, 2.

The raised platform in the centre of the Haram, as being the highest point of the whole area, has attracted to it much more importance than is due to it. The Temple stood at the south-west corner, and Antonia at the north-west

enclosure had been anciently a deep ravine, but in the time of the Maccabees it was filled up or nearly so, and a suburb, which had grown up to the west of the Temple and to the north of the High Town, was added to Acra on the eastern hill, and passed as part of it. This accretion to Acra was protected by a wall known as the second

corner, and the central platform was little esteemed by the Jews, and how this came to pass we proceed to explain.

The Haram, enclosed by prodigious walls on three sides, and shut in on the fourth by the broad fosse called the Pool of Bethesda, was the gigantic work of Solomon, and was called by him Millo, or the Embankment. It was the vast expense incurred by this undertaking that led to a rebellion of his subjects. 1 Kings xi. 27. The palace of Solomon, called Bethmillo, stood immediately south of Millo, and just below that part of Millo which was occupied by the Temple, viz. the square at the south-west corner. The rectangular terrace on which the palace was erected still exists. To the east of Bethmillo were the stables of Solomon, partly below Millo to the south, and partly in Millo itself at the south-east corner, where are now the substructions built by Justinian. Hence the city gate on the east was called the Horse-gate, and the adjacent prison was called the Hippodrome, or Race-course. Within Millo itself (now the Haram) the Temple, as we have said, was at the south-west corner, and the stables at the south-east corner; and the northern part—or at least a large portion of it—was laid out in gardens; for Solomon was almost as great a gardener as builder. The *king's* gardens were, as is well known, at the south of Siloam, and watered from that fountain. But the *home* garden—if we may so call it—in the Haram was quite distinct, and known as the garden of Uzza, a person of consequence in the time of David (2 Sam. v. 3; 1 Chron. xiii. 7), and at that time probably the proprietor. A garden in the Eastern countries implies the presence of water, and accordingly the Haram is found by recent exploration to be studded with underground tanks. The central portion of Millo—viz. the part north of the Temple, now the inner platform—was a high rock, and not cultivable as a garden; but no spot was more eligible for the excavation of a tomb. However, a dead body was so great a pollution that no Jew with any respect for the Temple would excavate a sepulchre in its immediate vicinity. But Manasseh and his successor Amon were godless princes, and Manasseh was buried in the garden of his own house

(i.e. the private garden of the palace, as distinct from the garden of the kings) in the garden of Uzza (2 Kings xxi. 18; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20); and afterwards his son Amon was also interred in the same garden of Uzza. 2 Kings xxi. 26. These interments are referred to by Ezekiel where he speaks of the indignation of Jehovah at the defilement of his holy Temple by the juxtaposition of “the carcasses of their kings in their *high places*.” Ezek. xliii. 7. As the south and east and west sides of the Temple were a rapid descent, these “high places” could only have been the elevated rock on the north of the Temple.

On the return from the captivity, the Jews became subject to the successors of Alexander, and Antiochus Epiphanes, who had no regard for Jewish prejudices, selected the central rock of the Haram as the most suitable site for a fortress to overawe the Temple, and erected upon it the tower so well known as the Acra, or citadel. This Acra commanded the lower city as the castle of David did the upper city, and so gave the name of Acra to the whole eastern hill, i.e., to the lower city.

In the time of the Maccabees the Acra was often besieged, and eventually taken by Simon. But what was to be done with it; as, defiled by burials, it could not be built upon, and, if left standing, it might again fall into the hands of an enemy? Simon therefore razed the fortress, and even the rock itself, leaving only so much of it as served to cover the sepulchres—the remnant of rock now known as the Sakhra. The spoil from cutting down the rock was cast into the valley on the west, so as to unite the Temple area with that part of the city on the western hill which was enclosed within the second wall, and which thenceforth was also counted as part of the Acra, or lower city.

The earlier Maccabees were high priests only, and were buried at Modin. Aristobulus during his short reign assumed the title of king, and was perhaps also buried at Modin. But Alexander, his successor, ruled long, and restored the splendour of the ancient kings, and on his death was not buried as a private person at Modin, but was interred with great splendour (Ant. xiii. 16, 1) in the royal mausoleum in the centre of the Haram; and the rock from this

wall, which, starting from about the middle of the north wall of the High Town, bent round the Pool of Hezekiah and then ran in a curvilinear form to the east until it joined Fort Antonia at the north-west corner of the Temple plateau. This Acra, or the Low Town, consisted of three distinct parts, viz., 1. Ophel to the south; 2. The Temple plateau, now the Haram, above it; and 3. The quarter to the west of the Temple enclosure comprised within the second wall.

To the north of the city as described above (viz. as comprising the High Town and the Low Town, with its accretion) lay a populous suburb reaching the whole way from the Palace of Herod on the west to the north-east corner of the Temple platform on the east, and which suburb Agrippa the elder had, in A.D. 43, attempted to encompass by a wall of prodigious strength, but was prohibited by the Romans. This part which (A.D. 58) was still unwalled was called Bezetha, or the new town.

The area of the Temple itself (of which we must speak more particularly) was a grand square at the south-west corner of the Temple plateau, with other smaller

time was known as "the Tombs of King Alexander." Bell. v. 7, 3.

Herod rebuilt the Temple; but as it was absolutely necessary to hold it in check by a strong garrison, he would gladly have restored the Acra, the fortress of the Macedonians, which overhung the Temple on the north. But the superstition of his countrymen would not suffer such a profanation, and he was therefore obliged to enlarge Fort Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram, and to connect it with the Temple by cloisters, along the roofs of which the soldiery could reach the Temple; and thus he had as complete mastery of the Temple as if Antonia had actually touched it.

When Jerusalem was besieged by Titus, the partisans of John, who were in possession of the Haram, assailed the enemy with their engines from Fort Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the Temple, and from the tombs of King Alexander (Bell. v. 7, 3); and it is evident from this that the tombs of King Alexander, like Antonia and the Temple, were an eminence or vantage ground. But throughout the whole Haram no other raised platform can be thought of than the Sakhra in the centre, which must, therefore, be the tombs of King Alexander. It must not escape notice that Josephus speaks of the *tombs* of King Alexander (*μνημείων*, Bell. v. 7, 3) in the plural number. When he refers to a single sepulchre, he invariably calls it *μνημείον* in the singular number, as the *μνημείον* of the high priest (Bell. v. 6, 2; v. 7, 3; v. 9, 2; v. 11, 4; vi. 2, 10,) but when he refers to family vaults he uses the plural *μνημεία*, as in the sepulchres of Helena, now called the Tombs

of the Kings. Bell. v. 3, 3; v. 4, 2. The tombs of King Alexander were, therefore, a series of vaults; and if the cave now shown under the Sakhra were the only vault, it would be an argument against the identity of the Sakhra with the tombs of King Alexander. But, in fact, on the north side of the present cave the wall, on being struck, sounds hollow; and it has long ago been assumed that there are other vaults beyond. The cave occupies only a small portion of the south-east corner of the rock; and as the Sakhra was apparently left to cover the excavations, we cannot doubt that the vaults below are co-extensive with the rock above.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Titus the Jews again rebelled in the time of Hadrian, and on the second capture of the city Hadrian erected over the Sakhra, as the highest point of the Haram, an open temple, *sub dio*, to Jupiter Capitolinus. As Christianity advanced heathenism fell into disrepute. But Diocletian was induced to persecute the Christians and resuscitate idolatry, and either he or his successor in the East, Maximin Daza, erected, over the image of Jupiter set up by Hadrian upon the Sakhra, the splendid temple to Jupiter Capitolinus now known as the Mosque of Omar (see two papers read by the author to the Society of Antiquaries, Archæol. vols. xli. and xliv.). This fabric, built either by Diocletian or Maximin, is the exact counterpart of the temple erected to Jupiter by Diocletian at Spalatro. Both are octagonal, and both have a cave under them for the convenience of the Temple apparatus.

squares rising out of it in successive terraces. The *first* and outer square was 600 feet on each side, or half a mile in circumference, and was surrounded by a wall of amazing strength, carried up from the base of the mountain, and constructed of stones of immense size, some of them forty cubits long. There were four gates on the western side, and one of them led over a bridge to the Xyst. On the south was a double gateway, now known as the Huldah Gate, consisting of two parallel subterranean arched passages, with a vestibule, being the ascent by which Solomon in all his glory went up from his palace below to the temple above, and the splendour of

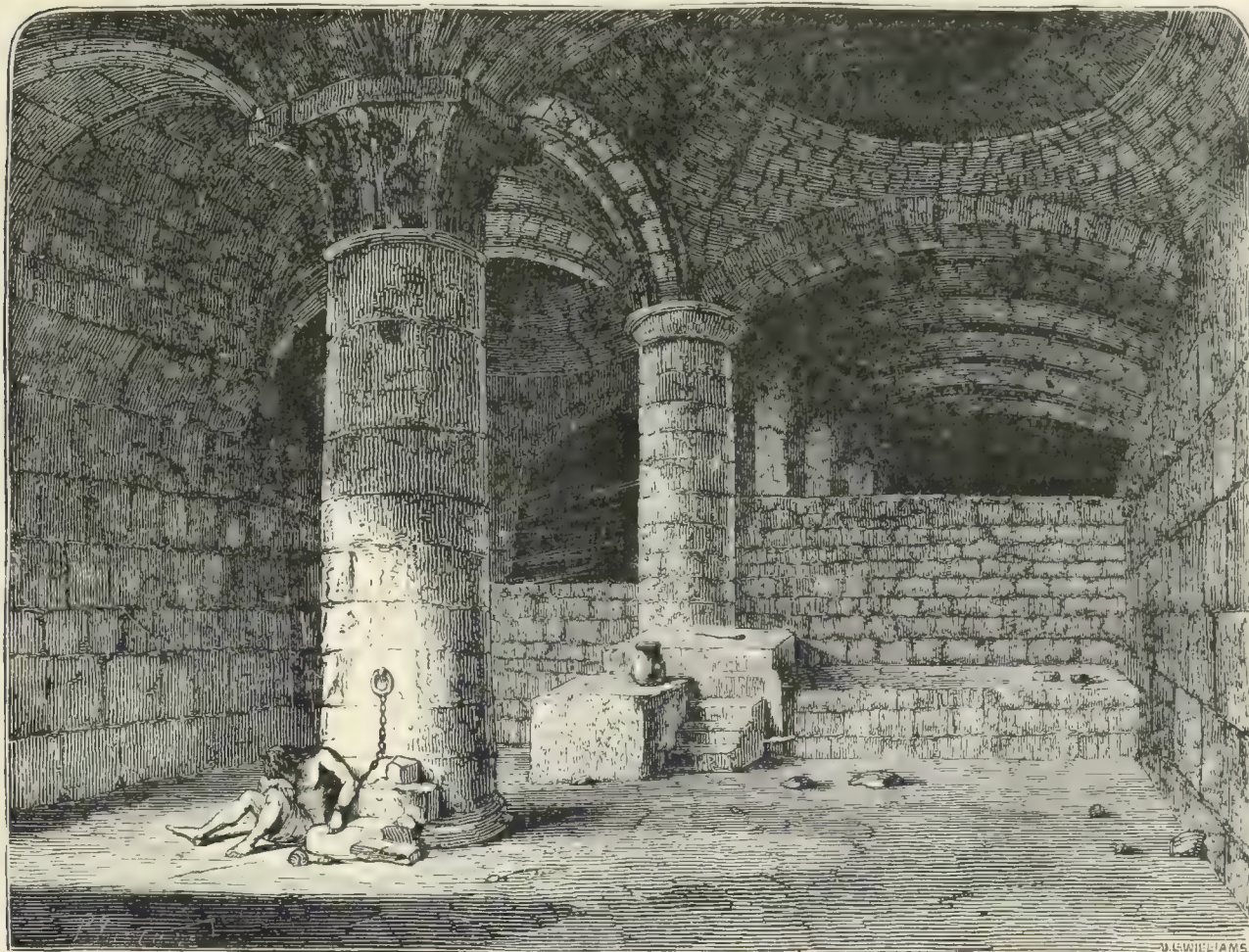


Fig. 236.—View of the Vestibule of the Southern Approach to the Temple, called the Huldah Gate.—From Cassell's Bible Dictionary

This was a double subterranean passage, commencing from the site on which anciently stood the Palace of Solomon, immediately south of the Temple. The ascent was gradual from the palace to one of the gates of the inner Temple in the court above. It was this ascent by which Solomon "went up into the house of the Lord," and which when the Queen of Sheba saw "there was no more spirit in her." 2 Chron. ix. 4. This is a genuine relic of the Jewish Temple.

which so astonished the Queen of Sheba, his guest (fig. 236). On the north, as also on the east, was only one gate, and that on the east was called the *Royal gate*, the eastern wall having been the work of King Solomon.⁸¹ As a stranger entered the outer square or court, a scene of the utmost grandeur opened to the view. Round the interior of

⁸¹ The reader must bear in mind that the *Royal gate*, which was to the east, was not in the *Royal cloister*, which was to the south; and that

the *Royal cloister* to the south was distinct from *Solomon's porch* or cloister, which was to the east.

the wall ran a magnificent colonnade, of the Corinthian order, having a double row of columns on the north and east and west sides, and on the south was the *Royal cloister* comprising four rows of columns, of which the innermost row was half built into the wall. Each pillar was a single stone of whitest marble, thirty-seven feet and a half high, and of such girth that three men, with extended arms, could but just clasp it. The flat roof of the porticoes was cedar. The beauty of the whole lay in the costliness of the materials, and the fineness of the workmanship, for neither sculpture nor painting was to be seen. The floor of the square was laid with tessellated pavement, of various hues. Such was the first court, called the court of the Gentiles, as not being confined to Jews only but open to the public. Here were the money changers surrounded by groups of pilgrims in various garbs, seeking to convert the coins of distant provinces into Jewish currency, that they might not desecrate the Corban or Sacred Treasure by casting in offerings defiled by the head of Cæsar, or other forbidden image. Here were the cattle dealers driving their bargains with the priest and Nazarite, or other worshippers, for supplying the beasts of sacrifice. The scene more resembled a busy market-place, than the Lord's sanctuary. Well might our Saviour make a scourge of cords and expel the profane worldlings with the rebuke, "Take these things hence—make not my father's house a house of merchandise,"⁸² and "a den of thieves."⁸³

The *second* or inner square of the Temple commenced with a stone fence, four feet and a half high, with small obelisks at regular distances, bearing inscriptions in Greek and Latin (see fig. 237) that no Gentile might enter under the penalty of death.⁸⁴

Passing within the stone fence you mounted a flight of fourteen steps, when you landed on a platform, which, so far as regards the western portion of it, was only fifteen feet wide, and you then ascended another flight of five steps into the third or inmost temple, which was encompassed by a wall thirty-seven feet and a half high on the interior. There were three gates up to the inmost or third temple on the north, and the same number on the south, but on the west, which was the back of the Temple, was no entrance, but the wall was continuous without an opening.⁸⁵ The eastern portion of the platform, being in front of the third or inmost Temple, was not confined to the breadth of fifteen feet, but enlarged itself into a quadrangular space, containing the Court of the Women, a name given it, not as exclusively devoted to the women, for it was the general place of resort of all worshippers, but because the women were allowed to approach thus far only, and might not ascend into the higher and holier parts of the Temple. The court of the women was enclosed by a wall of its own, and at the four corners, in the interior, were apartments appropriated to various purposes, but the only one we need refer to was that at the south-eastern angle, where the Nazarites performed their vows.⁸⁶ There were four gates into the court of the women, one on each of the

⁸² John ii. 16.

⁸³ Matt. xxi. 13.

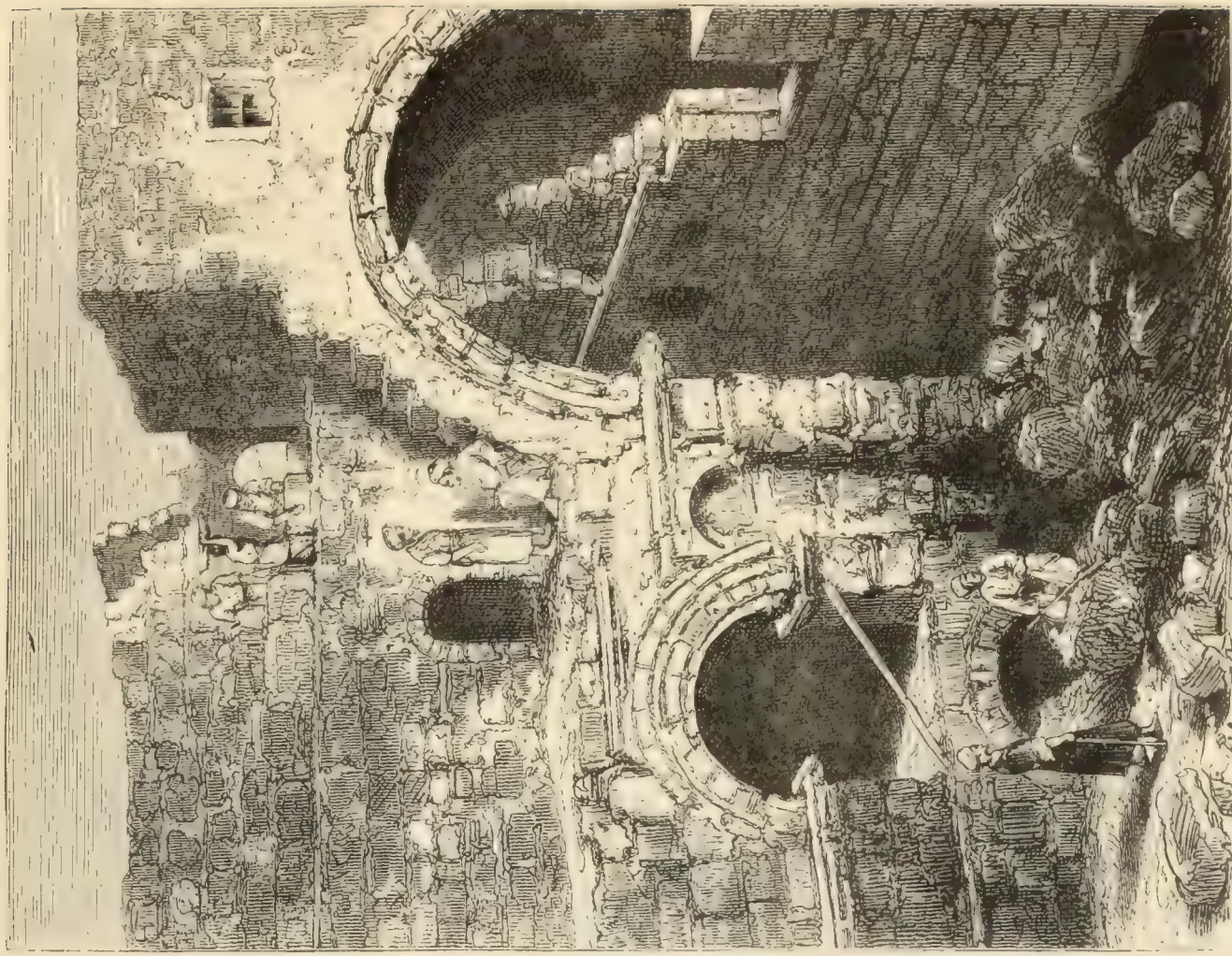
⁸⁴ Jos. Bell. v. 5, 2; vi. 2, 4; Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁸⁵ It was a blank perpendicular wall. Bell. v. 1, 5.

⁸⁶ Lightfoot, i. 1092.



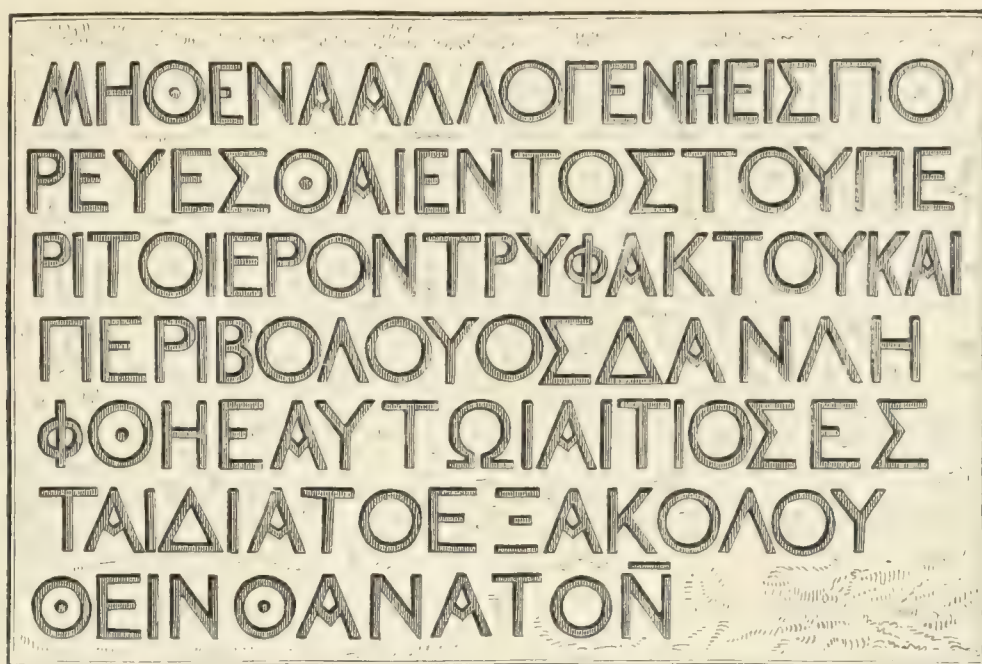
Head (recently discovered at Jerusalem) of the statue of the Emperor Hadrian, erected on the site of the Holy of Holies. *From Illustrated London News.* (See remarks in Addenda.)



Triumphal Arch, erected by the Emperor Hadrian, at Ælia Capitolina (Jerusalem), commonly called the Arch of Ecce Homo, from the legend that Pontius Pilate here exhibited our Lord from the window over the central arch to the assembled multitudes below, saying, "Behold the Man!" (See remarks in Addenda.)

four sides, and that on the east was the famous Corinthian or Brazen gate, being made of Corinthian brass. It was also called the Beautiful gate. The doors were sixty feet high, and when they were closed at night it required twenty men for the task.⁸⁷

On the west of the court of the women a flight of fifteen steps led up to the *third* and inmost temple. It has been stated that from the western portion of the platform



Facsimile of Greek inscription on one of the obelisks which stood round the Temple in the time of our Lord and his Apostles.

Fig 237.—The literal interpretation of the inscription is "No alien to pass within the balustrade round the Temple and the inclosure. Whoever shall be caught (so doing) must blame himself for the death that will ensue."

This stone is unquestionably one of the most remarkable discoveries made at Jerusalem; it presents to us the very letters which must have been often read by our Lord and his Apostles as day after day they frequented the Temple.

The inscription also brings out in the strongest light the extreme accuracy of the Jewish historian Josephus. He tells us that "on advancing to the second temple (ιερόν) a stone balustrade (δρύφακτος) was thrown round it four feet and a half high, and withal beautifully wrought, and in it stood pillars at equal distances proclaiming the law of Purity (some in Greek and some in Roman letters), that no alien (ἀλλόφυλον) might pass within the sanctuary." Bell. v. 5, 2. And again, "Such was the first inclosure (περίβολος), and not far from it, in the middle, was the second, ascended by a few steps and encompassed by a stone balustrade (δρυφάκτου) for a partition, which prohibited by inscription any alien (ἀλλοεθνῇ) from entering (εἰσιέναι) under penalty of death" (θανατικῆς ζημίας). Ant. xv. 11, 5.

Here, then, we have, in the stone and in Josephus, not only the leading feature that the intrusion of an alien would be visited by capital punishment; but we find the historian expressing himself in the very terms employed by the inscription. Thus in both we have the word δρύφακτος for the 'balustrade,' with the variation that on the pillar it is written τρυφάκτος, thereby confirming another statement of Josephus, that a Jew could never pronounce Greek correctly. Ant. xx. 12. So in both we have περίβολος for the inclosure, and for ἀλλογενῇ on the stone we have the corresponding expressions ἀλλοεθνῇ and ἀλλόφυλον in Josephus; and for εἰσπορεύεσθαι we have εἰσιέναι; and for θανάτος we have θανατικὴ ζημία.

The stone was detected by Mr. Ganneau, by the side of the Via Dolorosa, one corner projecting above ground. The appearance of letters attracted his attention, and his active mind, seizing the occasion, was rewarded by this singular discovery.

to the third and inmost temple, were only five steps, but though the court of the women was on the same level with the western portion of the platform, the number of steps from the court of the women up to the third or inmost temple was increased, for the common entrance to the temple being on the east, the steps to render the approach easier were made lower, and were consequently multiplied.⁸⁸ Round the interior of the wall of the third or inmost temple were various rooms, and the last on the south side, toward the east, was Gazith, in which, at one time, sat the Sanhedrim, the great judicial court of the Jews.⁸⁹ Round the front of these rooms ran a single

⁸⁷ Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3.

⁸⁸ Jos. Bell. v. 5, 3.

⁸⁹ Lightfoot, i. 2005. See plan 1049.

colonnade, the pillars of which were equal in size and beauty to those in the court below.

In the middle of the area enclosed by the wall of the third or inmost temple, and on a plateau ascended by twelve steps, stood the holy edifice itself, facing the east. In front it was 150 feet high, and with its two projecting wings was 150 feet wide, and the length extended backwards 165 feet. The width in the rear, as there were no wings, was only 90 feet. The open Vestibule, looking toward the east, was 75 feet long and 30 wide, and 135 high. The doorway (for there were no doors) was all plated with gold, with clustering vines and bunches of grapes of the same metal. At the end of the Vestibule hung the first veil, and behind the veil were the doors leading into the Sanctuary, or the Holy. The dimensions of the Sanctuary were 60 feet by 30, and 90 feet high. In this were kept the candlestick and the table of shew bread, and the altar of incense. At the end of the Sanctuary was the second veil, and behind the veil the Holy of Holies, into which the High Priest only might enter once a year upon the great day of Atonement.

Let us now, at the expense of some iteration, enter the Temple by the Royal gate on the east. We are now in the outer court, and right and left run the magnificent colonnades, or cloisters, called Solomon's Porch, under which our Saviour walked,⁹⁰ and where afterwards the Apostles were wont to address the people.⁹¹ Crossing the court we pass the stone fence and ascend to the second temple by a flight of steps leading to the Corinthian or Beautiful gate, at which, as the most frequented by all, and by which alone the more compassionate sex might enter,⁹² was laid the poor cripple who was healed by Peter, when he and John were advancing up the steps to the Court of the women, at the ninth hour, or three o'clock, one of the usual times of prayer. Crossing the court of the women (but which is the usual place of worship for all) we mount a flight of fifteen steps, leading up to the gate of the third temple. We enter, and a little further on ascend a flight of twelve steps. The altar is now before us, 75 feet square and 22 feet and a half high, with stairs up to it from the left, or south side; and beyond the altar is the Temple itself, first the Vestibule, then the Sanctuary, and then the Holy of Holies.

The surveillance of the Temple was entrusted to a body of police, of whom the chief was called the Captain of the Temple.⁹³ Thus at the time of the disorders under Cumanus, Ananus the son of Ananias was captain,⁹⁴ and at the commencement of the last Jewish war, Eleazar, another son of Ananias, held the office.⁹⁵ It was the duty of the police to preserve order and prevent the ingress of improper persons, and on the occasion of any *émeute* they cleared the Temple and closed the gates.

⁹⁰ John x. 23.

⁹¹ Acts v. 12.

⁹² Jos. Bell. v. 5, 2.

⁹³ δραμόντες δ' οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες, ἡγγείλαν τῷ στρατηγῷ. Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3. In Luke xxii. 4,

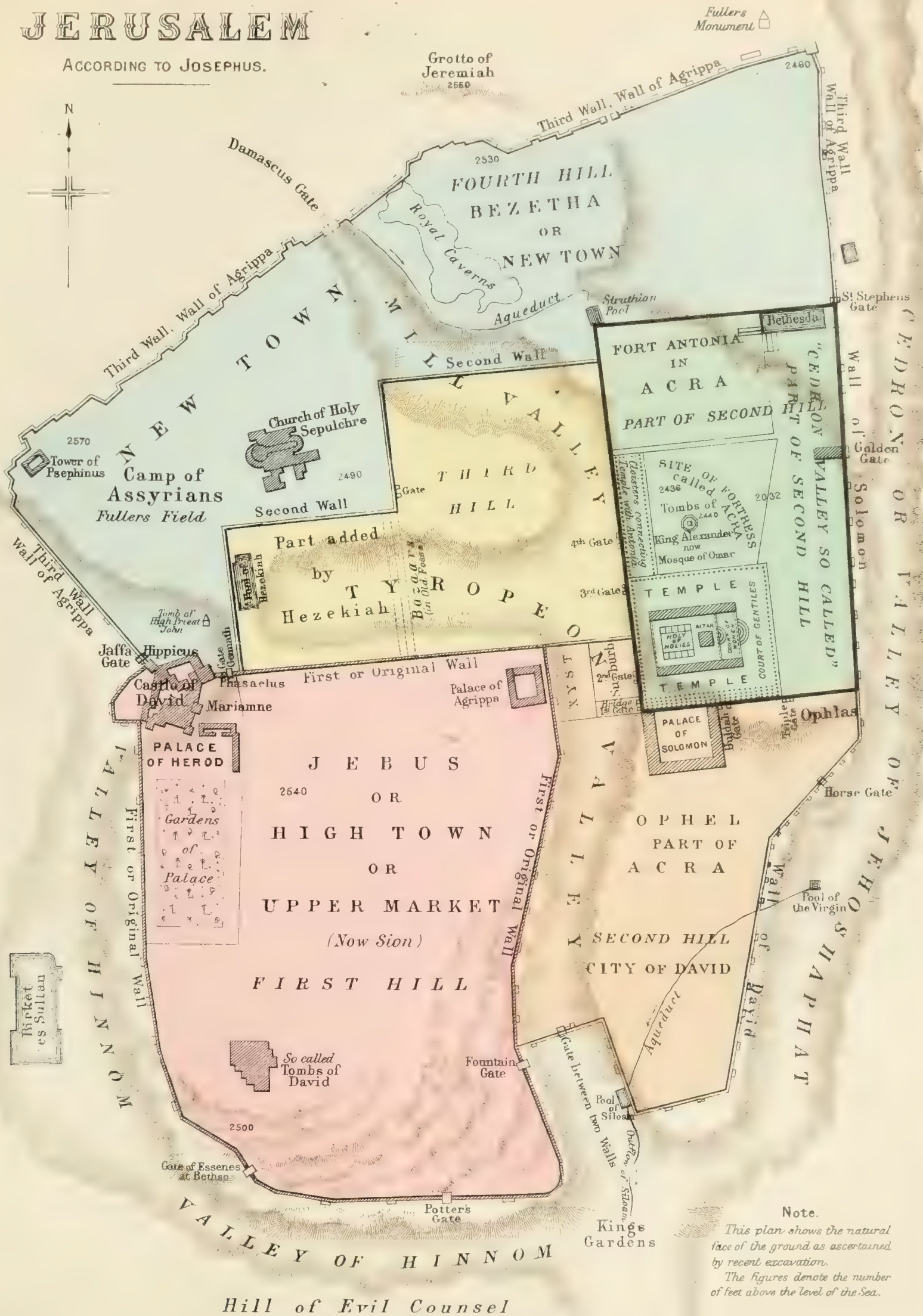
52, we have στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ mentioned in the plural number.

⁹⁴ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀνανον. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2.

⁹⁵ στρατηγῶν τότε. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 2.

PLAN OF JERUSALEM

ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS.



At the north-western corner of the Temple enclosure, now the Haram, measuring 1500 feet by 900 feet, was the Castle of Antonia. It stood on a circular mount 75 feet high, the sides of which had been artificially smoothed and faced with a coating of stone. The castle itself was square, 60 feet high, and at the four corners were four towers, of which the south-eastern, for the purpose of commanding a full view of the Temple and its worshippers, was carried to the height of 105 feet, being 30 feet beyond the other three, which were only 75 feet high. Antonia was connected with the western and northern cloisters of the outer temple by two colonnades, called the limbs or legs, one running from Antonia to the northern extremity of the western cloister of the Temple, and the other running to about the middle of the northern cloister of the Temple. Where the two colonnades abutted on Fort Antonia, stairs led down from the castle to the roof of the cloisters,⁹⁶ and, of course, other stairs from the cloisters into the outer court of the Temple. At the time of any feast a strong body of soldiers from Antonia stood always under arms upon the roof of the western cloister, to watch the proceedings below.

Now a few words as to the living actors upon the stage at Jerusalem at the period of Paul's arrival. Felix was resident sometimes in Herod's palace and sometimes in the Prætorium at Cæsarea, the Roman capital; at present he was at Cæsarea, and the chief officer in command at Jerusalem was Claudius Lysias. The latter was not a Roman by birth, but had acquired the citizenship by purchase. He, however, had many excellent qualities, and the blood that flowed in his veins would not have disgraced a Roman descent. He was probably, what was called, the Legate of the Procurator, that is, was his chief military officer, and exercised in his absence nearly as ample powers. He had jurisdiction to try minor offences, but in matters of high moment was bound to remit the case to the cognizance of the Procurator.⁹⁷ At the Feast of the Pentecost, which was now at hand, it was his duty to have a strong force in Antonia ready at an instant, while the rest of the troops lay at a convenient distance in the barracks of the Prætorium in the Upper City.

As for King Agrippa at this period, neither Josephus nor the Acts of the Apostles make any mention of him as present at Jerusalem, though the occurrences which took place would necessarily have called for his interference. He had for some time past been engaged at a distance from Jerusalem in attending, with an auxiliary force, upon the Roman army in their war against the Parthians.⁹⁸

The principal personages amongst the Jews may be arrayed under the two rival sects of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The most powerful amongst the former was undoubtedly Ananias, the High Priest, a man exemplifying the worst traits of the Pharisaical character. Artful and designing, ostentatious of piety amongst the

⁹⁶ Jos. Bell. v. 5, 8.

⁹⁷ Si quid erit quod majorem animadversionem exigat, rejicere Legatus apud Proconsulem debet;

neque enim animadvertendi, coercendi, vel atrociter verberandi jus habet. Dig. i. 16, 11.

⁹⁸ Fasti Sacri, p. 312, No. 1845.

common people, yet guilty of the vilest practices, possessed of unbounded wealth dishonestly acquired, and by constantly pandering to the base avarice of the Roman Procurator, Felix, contriving to screen his iniquity from the arm of the law.⁹⁹ The means employed by him for his aggrandisement are almost incredible for their enormity. He had in his pay a band of ruffians, who, when the harvest was ready, seized by force the tithes devoted to the use of the inferior priests, and if any resistance was made, the obstinacy of the tithe-payer was punished by blows. This impious example was soon copied by others in the priesthood, and the Jewish historian relates that many of God's holy ministers died of actual starvation, from their accustomed provision being thus violently intercepted.¹⁰⁰ Ananias meanwhile was living in the midst of luxury in his princely palace in the Upper City, and the cry of justice was raised in vain at the gates of the Prætorium. He had several sons, as Ananus who had been Captain of the Temple, and had been sent with him a prisoner to Rome; Eleazar, who was also subsequently Captain of the Temple, and was the active promoter of the fatal Jewish war;¹⁰¹ and John,¹⁰² and Simon,¹⁰³ who also took a distinguished part in the last conflict with the Romans.

Gamaliel, the celebrated Pharisee, at whose feet Paul had been educated, had died only six years before,¹⁰⁴ but the aged patriarch left two sons, with whom Paul must have been personally well acquainted, and who were also not a little famous in their day, Symeon,¹⁰⁵ or Simon,¹⁰⁶ who is reported to have succeeded his father as President of the Sanhedrim,¹⁰⁷ and Jesus, who afterwards attained to the high priesthood.¹⁰⁸

Amongst the *Pharisees* we may not omit the name of Josephus, the Priest, the Warrior, and the Historian, whose writings are so familiar to every reader, and to whom Christianity is so much indebted for the singular light he has thrown upon many passages in the New Testament, which would otherwise have been inexplicable. He was at this time (A.D. 58) in his twenty-first year,¹⁰⁹ and from his precocious talents was already much consulted by the learned doctors, and possessed of considerable authority.¹¹⁰ He had taken up his residence at Jerusalem the preceding year, and it is not improbable that Paul and Josephus, both of them Pharisees, may have met and conversed together in the religious circles of Jerusalem. Nay, Josephus, as an influential person amongst his countrymen, may have taken part in the subsequent legal proceedings against the Apostle. It is certain that Josephus, a curious observer of the times in which he lived, was well acquainted with the progress of Christianity. Indeed, the name of Christ must have been as familiar to Josephus as that of Martin Luther to an Italian half a century after the Reformation; yet on this subject his

⁹⁹ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 2, and 4.

¹⁰⁰ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 2.

¹⁰¹ Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 2.

¹⁰² Jos. Bell. ii. 20, 4.

¹⁰³ Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Biscoe on Acts, c. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 9.

¹⁰⁶ Jos. Vit. lx. This incidentally illustrates the circumstance of Peter being called in the New Testament indifferently Simon and Syncon.

¹⁰⁷ Biscoe on Acts, c. 5, s. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Jos. Bell. xx. 9, 4.

¹⁰⁹ See Fasti Sacri, p. 258, No. 1541.

¹¹⁰ Jos. Vit. ii.

silence, or at least reserve, is very remarkable. Not once in the Wars of the Jews has he made any allusion to Christianity; and perhaps, as this work was originally penned by him in Hebrew for the benefit of his own countrymen, to whom the name of Christ was an abomination, he had not the courage to hazard his popularity by lending any countenance to the new religion. In the Antiquities, which were written long afterwards for the world at large, he has only twice glanced at the Christian sect. One of the two passages refers to the death of James the Just, described as "the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ."¹¹¹ The other is a brief testimony to the miraculous powers of our blessed Saviour.¹¹² The genuineness of the first reference cannot be reasonably questioned, but the latter has been not uncommonly supposed to be an interpolation. It certainly wears an air of awkwardness, and interrupts the narrative. But we must also remember that the ancients did not make use of foot-notes, so that they often incorporated into the body of the work matter which, as somewhat foreign to the main subject, would now be found in a note. We may add that Josephus is known to have revised his writings from time to time, and in the latter part of his life, when more secure from danger, he may have introduced a paragraph which the fear of his enemies and a due regard to his own safety had previously excluded.

We turn next to the *Sadducees*, amongst whom the family of the highest consequence was undoubtedly that of Annas, who had been High Priest with Caiaphas, his son-in-law, at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. Annas himself had been consigned to the tomb of his fathers, and was buried without the city on the south-west;¹¹³ but he left five sons, who, it is very singular, were all of them, at one time or other, advanced to the Pontifical dignity.

The most distinguished of the illustrious brotherhood was Jonathan, whose well-merited rebuke of Felix had lately led to his own death by the dagger of the Sicarii. Theophilus, another son, was High Priest in A.D. 37, when Saul, afterwards Paul, applied to him for letters to Damascus against the Christians of that city. Eleazar and Matthias, two other sons of Annas, require no particular mention. The fifth and youngest scion of this noble stock was Ananus, a man formed by nature to exercise an ascendancy over all amongst whom his lot was cast. He, like his brother Jonathan, had great rhetorical power, and could bend the multitude to his will by the magic influence of the tongue. In moral qualities he was a strange contrast to the ostentatious and hypocritical Ananias. Descended of the proudest line, he affected no superiority, but was courteous and affable to all. Possessed of power that might have tempted to oppression, he was just and exact in all his dealings. Actuated by true patriotism, he ever sought the welfare of his country; but informed by his judgment that the Romans were irresistible, he did not, like Ananias, lend any encouragement to a collision where success was hopeless. It was no feeling of fear, for daring

¹¹¹ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.¹¹² Jos. Ant. xviii. 3, 3.¹¹³ Jos. Bell. v. 12, 2.

was the marked feature of his character. His only fault was one that pervaded the whole sect of the Sadducees—an implacable spirit of revenge against his enemies. The Christians were unhappily regarded in that light, and we shall see with what avidity Ananus, when High Priest, availed himself of a favourable opportunity to accomplish the death of James the Just. However, he no doubt verified the prophetic words of our Saviour, and thought “he was doing God service.”¹¹⁴ He was afterwards himself slain at the commencement of the Jewish war; and Josephus pays to his memory the high compliment, that had the life of Ananus been spared, the city had not been destroyed.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ John xvi. 2.

¹¹⁵ Jos. Bell. iv. 5, 2.

CHAPTER IV.

Paul is set upon by the Jews in the Temple—He is carried by Lysias into Antonia, and is then sent to Cæsarea—Paul is heard before Felix, and afterwards before Festus and Agrippa and Bernice.

Is this the Temple where Jehovah deigns
 On Judah's tribe to shed a light divine?
 Are these the courts that echo with the strains,
 Of prayer and praise? And in this holy shrine
 Can Belial's sons for darkest deeds combine?
 "Shall I not visit for these things, saith God?
 And shall I not uproot this cankered vine?
 Mercy no more shall stay the chastening rod—
 Henceforth shall Sion's mount by Gentile feet be trod."
 Anon.

WE now once more return to the great Apostle.

When we last parted from him, he had just arrived at Jerusalem on the 17th of May, A.D. 58, the day of Pentecost, accompanied, amongst other fellow-travellers, by Luke and Trophimus, the deputies to whom had been committed the collection from the Macedonian and Achaian churches. They took up their abode with Mnason, and Luke adds, that "the brethren received us gladly,"¹ as well they might from the labours and sufferings of Paul in the common cause, and for his earnest zeal in raising a contribution amongst the heathen converts for the relief of the poor Hebrews. "The day following" (the 18th of May), continues the sacred historian, "Paul, entered in with us (the deputies charged with the alms) unto James, and all the elders (or presbyters) were present."² James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, was permanently residing there, and was assisted in his duties by the presbytery or conclave of ordained ministers. The other Apostles had finally quitted the holy city, and were carrying the tidings of the Gospel to the four quarters of the globe.³

Paul now affectionately greeted his comrades in the Christian warfare, and the deputies delivered up officially the alms collected in the Macedonian and Achaian churches. Paul then proceeded to recount the trying scenes through which he had passed since their last interview, and would naturally in his narrative refer to his

¹ Acts xxi. 17.

² Acts xxi. 18.

³ See Euseb. Hist. v. 18; Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 5, 43.

hairbreadth escape at Ephesus, which had led him to take the vow of the Nazarite, which he was now come to Jerusalem to complete by the necessary offerings.⁴

To understand the address of James that followed, we must advert to the materials of which the Church of Jerusalem was composed. The Apostles and Presbyters, as men of enlightened minds, fully comprehended the nature of Paul's doctrines, and recognized them as fundamental principles of the Christian scheme. James, and Peter, and John, the chiefs of the Apostles, had long since given him the right hand of fellowship, and encouraged him in the prosecution of his Gentile mission. To many, however, amongst the laity of the Hebrew church, the Gospel of Paul was still a hard saying. Trained from earliest infancy to abhor the heathen, and to regard them as entirely out of the pale of God's favour, the Hebrew converts had naturally enough at first conceived Christianity to be the peculiar inheritance of the Jews. The miraculous conversion of Cornelius had removed that error, though Peter on his return to Jerusalem seems to have had no little difficulty in bringing conviction to their minds. Some busybodies amongst them had then contended that at least the Gentiles must observe the law of Moses, but the decree of the Council of Jerusalem had determined the controversy against them. However, old prejudices were not easily to be eradicated, and amongst the Hebrew laity was still the mischievous Judaizing party, who were continually disturbing the serenity of the church. On the Apostle's last visit, they had stirred up the brethren to demand the circumcision of Titus, who was a Greek, and they had since sent their emissaries abroad, as to Galatia and Corinth. Their animosity was principally directed against Paul, as the champion of Gentile freedom, and now that he was come to Jerusalem, James and the presbytery entertained a well-grounded fear that the Judaizers, as on the last occasion, would assail the Apostle's doctrines. The Gospel which he really taught was innocent enough in itself, viz., that *Gentile* converts (as the Apostles had decided) were not bound by the law of Moses, but that *Jewish* Christians *might*, and where the breach would give offence *must*, continue the customs of their fathers. Paul himself was a Jew, and carefully acted upon this principle. The Judaizers, however, to gain their ends, had propagated the false and malicious report that Paul had taught everywhere that *Jews* on becoming Christians must no longer practise circumcision, or pay any regard to their divine law-giver. This was the error that James and the presbyters, consulting for the credit and character, and even for the safety of the Apostle, aimed at eradicating, and a favourable opportunity which now presented itself for the purpose was not to be lost.

Paul as a Jew had taken the vow of the Nazarite (so common amongst his

⁴ Acts xxiv. 17; and compare xxi. 26. Bernice came to Jerusalem in like manner for the purpose of completing her vow. *ἐπεδήμει δὲ ἐν τοῖς*

Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχὴν ἐπιτελοῦσα τῷ θεῷ. Jos. Bell. ii. 15, 1.

countrymen), and was about to give it accomplishment by purifying himself seven days in the Temple, and there making the accustomed oblations.⁵ Amongst the Hebrew disciples at this time were four men who were also Nazarites. The period of their separation had expired, and they were waiting to shave their heads, the consummation of the vow, but had not the means of defraying the charges of the requisite sacrifices. There was not a more charitable act in the estimation of the Jews, or one more calculated to acquire popularity, than to assist the poor Nazarites by supplying the necessary funds. Josephus remarks it as an instance of singular piety in King Agrippa the elder, that when he returned to Jerusalem a crowned monarch, after many narrow escapes of his life, he ordered a great number of Nazarites to be shaved at his own cost.⁶

James and the presbyters therefore now recommended Paul to soothe the wounded feelings of the Hebrew converts, and to remove the unfounded prejudices which the Judaizers had excited against him by a similar exhibition of good will towards the Jewish church. Luke was present in the convocation, and has recorded with minuteness the advice that was given. "When they heard it," viz., the report of Paul's apostolical labours on his last circuit, "they glorified the Lord, and said unto him, 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousands' of Jews there are *which believe*, and they are *all zealous of the law*; and they have been advised concerning thee, that *thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses*, and sayest that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? the multitude⁸ must needs come together, for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee—we have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, and pay their charges, that they may shave their heads, and all may know that those things whereof they have been advised concerning thee are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. As touching the *Gentiles which believe*, we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication.'"⁹

Paul at once acquiesced in a proposal which strictly accorded with all his previous practice, and the following day (the 19th of May), Paul taking the four Nazarites with him, went up to the Temple, and entering by the Corinthian or Beautiful Gate

⁵ See post, p. 142.

⁶ διὸ καὶ Ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 1. This shows the frequency of the vow.

⁷ πόσαι μυριάδες—'how many *tens of thousands*.' The expression shows forcibly what great progress the Gospel had already made at Jerusalem.

⁸ τὸ πλῆθος. This may mean the multitude, in the sense of the whole body of the Hebrew

church, as in καὶ συναγαγόντες τὸ πλῆθος, Acts xv. 30 (and see xv. 12); προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν, Acts vi. 2; ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους, ib. 5; and see Luke xxiii. 1.

⁹ Acts xxi. 20 to 25. But even this decree was meant to be local and temporary only. See Vol. I. p. 304.

into the court of the women, where was the apartment appropriated for the Nazarites, announced to the priest that himself and his companions intended to observe the seven days' purification¹⁰ with the accustomed offerings, and then to shave the head.

It was part of the ceremonial that each Nazarite during the seven days should attend daily in the Temple after having first purified himself.¹¹ This Paul and the four Nazarites proceeded to do, and as Paul mixed in the throng that filled the court

¹⁰ See Numb. vi. 9; Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 3; xviii. 4, 3. Wieseler understands the seven days to be the Pentecost and the six days preceding, which he thinks were regarded as part of the Feast. But the Pentecost was a feast for one day only, as the name—'the fiftieth day'—implies, and is evident from the fact mentioned by Josephus, that on one occasion Hyrcanus rested on his march *two* days, from the accident that the Day of Pentecost was followed that year by a Sabbath—so that two sacred days fell together. Ant. xiii. 8, 4. The αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι, Acts xxi. 27, must refer to the τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ—the days of purification—in the preceding verse. Paul and his four colleagues had to purify themselves before making their offerings in discharge of the vow; and in the case of a Nazarite, the purification required by the Law was for seven days. Numb. vi. 19.

Again, Wieseler argues that the ἀγνισμός of Paul was merely the ordinary purification for the Feast of Pentecost; but if so, what had Paul's "purification" to do with that of the four Nazarites? and yet the injunction to him particularly was, ἀγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς, xxi. 24; so that Paul and the four Nazarites were to undergo a joint purification, and no doubt for a similar purpose—viz. the discharge of the vow.

Wieseler assumes further that διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ, Acts xxi. 26, shows that the days of purification were at an end. But if so, how could it be said in the next verse, ὥς δὲ ἔμελλον αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι, unless, as he is obliged to argue, the seven days had no relation to the days of purification mentioned just before? The meaning of the passage really is, that Paul, taking the four men with him, gave notice to the priests of the day on which the purification would end, and ordered the necessary sacrifices accordingly.

Wieseler urges that a period of seven days was not a usual one for a Nazarite's vow, and that Paul did not apparently take a vow at all after his arrival at Jerusalem. But this is fighting with a shadow, for it is not contended that the

vow was for seven days, or that Paul took any vow at Jerusalem. The seven days were not the days of the vow, but of the purification before discharging the vow by making the accustomed offerings—the 'sacrificia purificationis' (Origen, Rom. ii. 13). When Paul was arrested before Gallio at Corinth in A.D. 53, he made a vow for which he sheared (but not shaved) his head (see Vol. I. p. 294) at Cenchrea (Acts xviii. 18), and afterwards went up to Jerusalem to shave the head and offer the usual sacrifices; and though it is not expressly mentioned by Luke that Paul when pressed by the far greater danger at Ephesus, in A.D. 57 made any vow, yet from the frequency of the custom and the certainty of its observance by Paul, we may infer that such was the case. Nor is it impossible that he made a vow when he was waylaid by the Jews on his departure from Corinth, and escaped the ambush by changing his route. Acts xx. 3. In either case, he could only complete the vow by shaving the head and sacrificing at Jerusalem, as we have already seen in the case of Bernice, who having made a vow in a foreign country, came up to Jerusalem to perfect it. See ante, p. 140, note 4. It is no objection that Luke omits to mention the vow, for he equally omits mentioning that Paul was bringing to Jerusalem a collection for the poor Hebrews from Macedonia and Achaia, but he assumes both facts when he makes Paul say to Felix that he came to bring up *alms* and to make *offerings* (προσφορὰς), Acts xxiv. 17; and he certainly assumes the vow when James and the elders recommend Paul not, as Wieseler supposes, to take a vow, but to perfect his own vow, and at the same time to perfect the vows of others also by paying their charges. For the peculiar views of Wieseler upon this subject, see Chronol. Apost. 105, et seq.

¹¹ As to purification, before entering the Temple, see Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 12 and 14; v. 3, 1; v. 5, 6; Ant. xiv. 11, 5; xvii. 6, 4. The purification consisted chiefly of ablutions. See Jos. Vit. ii.

of the Gentiles and the court of the women, he was careful to shun all religious discussion. On his first conversion to the faith, he had attempted to herald Christianity in Jerusalem itself, but the Lord had forbidden him and sent him to the Gentiles; and on his present visit he tells us himself, that to avoid provocation he neither addressed the worshippers in the Temple, nor preached in any of their numerous synagogues, nor harangued in the public streets¹²—an admirable lesson to all such as fired by enthusiasm, or ambitious of martyrdom, cannot walk by the sober light of the Gospel, but must needs be active in courting persecution when it will not approach uninvited! The week of this attendance in the Temple was drawing towards a close, when the storm burst upon the Apostle's head from an unexpected quarter.

On the fifth day (being May the 23rd), Paul, as usual, was in the court of the women, when some Jews of Ephesus (where Paul had so triumphantly preached the Gospel) caught sight of the renegade who had so often foiled them in Asia, and laying violent hands on the Apostle, shouted to the people, "Men of Israel, help! *This* is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place; and further, hath brought Greeks also into the Temple, and hath polluted this holy place!"¹³ As to the charge of having brought Greeks into the Temple, they had merely seen him walking in the city with Trophimus, an Ephesian, and thence inferred, without the least foundation, that Paul had brought him into the Temple also. The contagion spread like wildfire amongst the dense crowd, and boiling with indignation at the man's supposed impiety, the living mass was immediately thrown into commotion.

Paul would have been killed on the spot, but the sanctity of the Temple did not allow of bloodshed within the sacred precincts.¹⁴ They, therefore, bound him hand and foot¹⁵ and dragged him down the steps from the court of the women into the outer court, and the police of the Temple shut the Beautiful Gate.¹⁶ The mob had no arms in their hands, or Paul would have been dispatched at once, but they began beating Paul to take his life. Fortunately, the few minutes delay which occurred in forcing him from the inner down into the outer court, was the means of averting his fate. The Roman guard on the western cloister were, as usual, under arms during the festival, and ready at a moment's call. At the very commencement of the uproar the signal was given, and down came Lysias, the captain,¹⁷ with his

¹² Acts xxiv. 12.

¹³ Acts xxi. 28. Any heathen that entered the Temple might be put to death. Jos. Bell. v. 5, 2; Philo, Leg. xxxi.

¹⁴ Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 12; vi. 2, 4.

¹⁵ This is not expressly mentioned by Luke, but is what would naturally be done, and the prophecy of Agabus that Paul should be thus bound by the Jews (Acts xxi. 11) seems to im-

ply it. See note, ante, p. 107.

¹⁶ Acts xxi. 30.

¹⁷ *χιλίαρχος τῆς σπείρης*. Acts xxi. 31. The word *χιλίαρχος* frequently occurs in Josephus, who thus gives the successive ranks in the Roman legion or *τάγμα*:—The lowest officer was the *δεκαδάρχης* or 'corporal,' who had a section of 10 men under him; the next above him was the *ἐκατοντάρχης*, the 'centurion,' or 'captain,' who

centurions and soldiers. At sight of the military the people fled, and Lysias coming up laid hold of Paul, so nearly the victim of the popular rage, and commanded him to be bound by two chains, one from each wrist to the wrists of two soldiers.¹⁸

What could be the meaning of all this tumult! Some shouted one thing, and some another. The Ephesian Jews, who had begun the uproar, very wisely kept out of sight. In such a scene of confusion, it was impossible to arrive at the truth; but Lysias concluded in his own mind that Paul must be the Egyptian impostor whom Felix had a little before defeated on Mount Olivet, and who had hitherto escaped detection. Lysias, therefore, gave orders that Paul should be carried into the Castle of Antonia. No sooner did the soldiers begin to retreat with their prisoner along the outer court to the stairs leading from the outer court to the roof of the cloister which communicated with the Castle of Antonia, than the people pressed after them with yells and execrations, "Away with him, away with him!"¹⁹ At

had a company of 100 men under him; and next above him was the *χιλίαρχος* (translated 'captain,' but answering to our 'colonel'), who commanded a battalion of 1000 men. This battalion was called in Latin 'cohors,' and in Greek *σπεῖρα*. A number of battalions (as, say, 10) formed the 'legion' or 'regiment'—*τάγμα*—commanded by the *ταξίαρχος*. Jos. Bell. iii. 5, 3; iv. 8, 1; vi. 4, 3. Biscoe indeed (c. 9, p. 216, note, ed. 1840) suggests that the legion was commanded by the six tribunes of the legions viz. two and two in turns. But this was not so with the army of Judea, as Josephus speaks distinctly of one only as in permanent command: *Σέξτου Κερεαλίου τὸ πέμπτον ἄγοντος τάγμα, κ.τ.λ.* Bell. vi. 4, 3. When two legions were brigaded together, the commander was called *στρατοπεδάρχης*, as *στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας δύο ταγμάτων*. Ib.

Beside the *legions* or *regulars* there were auxiliary *cohorts* or *σπεῖραι*, consisting each, like the Roman cohorts, of 1000 men; and in these the grades of rank, from the *δεκαδάρχης* or 'corporal' to the *χιλίαρχος* or 'colonel' were the same as in the legion, but the *χιλίαρχος* had no higher officer above him except the commander-in-chief. As Lysias forwarded his despatch to Felix himself, the Procurator, and not to any intervening officer, we should infer that the cohort commanded by Lysias was not a legionary cohort, but was one of the auxiliary cohorts.

From the numerous gradations of rank, both in the regular and the auxiliary troops, the centurion of Capernaum might well say that he was himself under authority, and had soldiers under

him. Matt. viii. 9.

¹⁸ *ἐκέλευσε δεθῆναι ἀλύσει δυοί.* Acts xxi. 33. Had Lysias known that Paul was a Roman he would have secured him by a single chain, but Lysias took him for the Egyptian impostor. But how, it may be asked, did the two chains happen to be at hand? Josephus, the contemporary of Paul, has forestalled the question by telling us that every Roman soldier carried with him, amongst other things, a chain and also a thong: *πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν, πρὸς δὲ ἱμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἄλυσιν* (the very word used in the Acts). Bell. iii. 5, 5. The two soldiers, therefore, would have two chains with them, and also thongs.

¹⁹ *Αἶρε αὐτόν.* Acts xxi. 36. The usual outcry of an infuriate mob, and the same as that used against our Lord himself. *Ἄρον, ἄρον, σταύρωσον αὐτόν.* John xix. 15. *Αἶρε τοῦτον.* Luke xxiii. 18. As to the stairs in question, we must remember that the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram, and Antonia at the north-west corner, and they were connected together by two parallel cloisters which ran from the north-west corner of the Temple, the most western of the two parallel cloisters being a continuation of the western cloister of the Temple. There were flights of stairs, first, from the castle to the roof of each of the connecting cloisters, and secondly, there were stairs from the cloisters of the Temple down to the outer court. It is obvious from the account that Paul stood on the stairs first approached, i.e. on the stairs leading from the outer court to the roof of the cloister of the Temple.

the foot of the stairs the pressure was so great, that the two soldiers to whom Paul was bound were obliged to take him in their arms and carry him up. Paul had thus ascended a good way, when he turned to Lysias, and addressing him in Greek, said, "May I speak unto thee?" Lysias, who heard his own language with surprise, said, "Art thou not that *Egyptian* which before these days made an uproar, and led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were assassins?"²⁰ Paul answered, "I am a man which am a *Jew of Tarsus*, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city;²¹ and, I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people."²² The noble Lysias at once acceded to the request, when Paul, standing on the steps, waved his hand²³ to the multitude below, and a deep silence being observed, he thus addressed them in the Hebrew tongue:—²⁴

"Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence which I make now unto you!" On recognizing the familiar sound of their native Hebrew, they were the more attentive, when he thus continued: "I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, of Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the strictness of the law of the fathers, and was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day; and I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prison both men and women; as also the High Priest doth bear me witness, and

²⁰ τῶν σικαρίων. Acts xxi. 38. The sicarii were the notable assassins of that day, and derived their name from the Latin 'sica' (from 'seco'). Σικάριοι ληστῶν γένος· σίκας δὲ τὰ ἐπικαμπῇ ξίφη Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, οἷς οἱ χρώμενοι λέγονται Σικάριοι. Suidas. See ante, p. 125.

²¹ τῆς Κιλικίας οὐκ ἀσήμεν πόλεως πολίτης. So, πόλεως οὐκ ἀσήμεν. Achill. Tat. lib. viii. "Ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἀσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις. Eurip. Ion, 8.

²² Acts xxi. 38, 39.

²³ κατέσεισε τῇ χειρί. Acts xxi. 40. Wordsworth cites Persius, iv. 7:

Fert animus calidæ fecisse silentia turbæ
Majestate manûs.

It was a motion of the hand to keep down the tumult, and opposed to the ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα, Acts xxvi. 1—outstretching the hand in the fervour of speaking.

²⁴ τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ. Acts xxi. 40. That is, in Syro-Chaldaic, the language of the native population. Josephus addressed his countrymen in the same language, Ἑβραϊζών. Bell. vi. 2, 1; v. 9, 2. The Aramaic spoken in Mesopotamia, and the Canaanitish of Palestine, and the Arabic, Phœnician, and Syriac were all cognate branches of the one great Semitic tongue. Amongst some of them there was so close an affinity that the peoples who used them were mutually intelligible. See Bell. iv. 1, 5.

Abraham, as a native of Mesopotamia, spoke Aramaic, but after his migration to Canaan he and his descendants gradually glided into the Canaanitish dialect, the speech of all about them. In the course of four hundred years from the migration to the Exodus, the language of the Israelites, the Canaanitish grafted on the Aramaic, assumed a character of its own, and so became distinct from the ordinary dialect of Canaan, and is now commonly known as Hebrew, the language in which the books of the Old Testament (with some exceptions) are composed. When the tribes were carried away captive into Babylon the pure Hebrew of the Old Testament became corrupt from an admixture of Chaldaic, and after the return of the Jews from Babylon the tongue spoken by them, though substantially the same as the old Hebrew, presented many points of difference, and is known amongst the learned as Syro-Chaldaic, but by the writers of the New Testament, as also by Josephus and the Maccabees, it is still called Hebrew. It was the tongue spoken by our Lord and his disciples, and by the general population of Judæa. One peculiarity of the Syro-Chaldaic was the use of the long termination *â*—as in Γολγοθᾶ, Ταλιθᾶ, Ἀββᾶς, Κηφᾶς. The letters or characters employed for writing before the captivity were the same as the Samaritan; but after the captivity

all the estate of the elders; from whom²⁵ also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, to be punished. And it came to pass, that as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me; and I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' And I answered, 'Who art thou, Lord?'²⁶ and he said unto me, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.' And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me.²⁷ And I said, 'What shall I do, Lord?' And the Lord said unto me, 'Arise, and go into Damascus, and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do.' And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus. And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law,²⁸ having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there, came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, 'Brother Saul, receive thy sight;' and the same hour I looked up upon him; and he said, 'The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on his name.'²⁹ And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, and while I was praying in the Temple,³⁰ I was in a trance; and saw him saying unto me, 'Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.' And I said, 'Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believe on thee. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting,³¹ and kept the raiment of them that slew him.' And he said unto me, 'Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles'—"³²

No sooner had he uttered the words, "I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles," than the mob were thrown into a new ferment, and rent the air with

the Jews dropped the old Hebrew alphabet, and substituted the square form of the Chaldees. See Winer's *Bibl. Realw.* "Sprache."

²⁵ *παρ' ὧν*. Acts xxi. 5. From Theophilus, who was then the high priest, and from the Presbytery generally.

²⁶ *Κύριε*. Some would render it Sir! But though Paul did not know the person of Jesus, he must have known that the speaker was more than human.

²⁷ See comment, Vol. I. p. 50.

²⁸ If Ananias, who strictly observed the law, could thus visit Paul, how could Paul himself be a transgressor of the law, of which he was now

accused? The Apostle therefore lays a stress on this circumstance as likely to justify him in the eyes of the Jews.

²⁹ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all read *αὐτοῦ*—'his'—instead of *τοῦ Κυρίου*—'of the Lord.'

³⁰ This again would convince the Jews that Paul, who thus prayed in the Temple, could not now have profaned it.

³¹ The words *τῇ ἀναίρεσει αὐτοῦ*—'to his death'—are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

³² Acts xxii. 3-21.

their cries, "Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live," and at the same time tore³³ their garments, and threw the dust into the air from ungovernable passion. Lysias, who as a Greek had not understood one word of Paul's address in Hebrew, could only conclude from the fury of the people that Paul, if not the Egyptian, must at least be some notable malefactor. He therefore ordered him to be conveyed into the castle, and according to the practice of the day for extracting the truth, commanded him to be put to the rack. The mildest form of this mode of examination was by scourging. A wooden post was erected in a slanting position, and the feet and hands of the prisoner were made fast to it with thongs. Lysias, not caring to see the torture applied, retired apart. Presently Paul was stripped and lashed to the post,³⁴ and the executioner was now ready to lay on, when Paul, though probably despairing of a successful appeal, asserted his privilege as a Roman citizen. "May a *Roman*," he said to the centurion, who superintended the torture, "and *before he is condemned*, be scourged by law?"³⁵

³³ ῥιπτούντων τὰ ἱμάτια—not literally tearing them, but tossing them about with violent gesticulations; as in Josephus: περιρρήγνυνταί τε τὴν στολήν. Ant. xviii. 3, 4. According to Meyer, they threw off their garments *as if* to stone Paul, and threw dust into the air *as if* they were casting stones at him—a mock stoning. F. Martin, in his Notes on the Four Gospels and Acts, observes: "Sir J. Chardin says that when complaint is made to a governor, the Orientals get as many friends as they can together before his house, with piercing cries, tearing their garments and throwing up dust. Conf. 2 Sam. xvi. 13, and Capt. Light's Nubia in Walpole's Turkey, 407, ed. 1817. The authorised version renders it as a preparation for stoning (see vii. 58); but thus it is difficult to explain the 'dust,' unless this was a usual practice of ferocity, impatient till the regular signal was made for stoning. Ἐπὶ δὼν καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπερρίπτουν is said of a displeased audience, Lucian, de Saltat. lxxxiii.

Et date jactatis undique signa togis.

Ovid, Amor. iii. 2, 74."

³⁴ ὥς δὲ προέτεινεν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱμάσιν. Acts xxii. 25. The Eng. ver. is, "as they bound him *with* thongs;" and ἱμάς, in the only places where it is used in the New Testament, signifies a ligature; as, ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων, Mark i. 7, Luke iii. 16, John i. 27. But here the expression is not simply ἱμάσιν, but τοῖς ἱμάσιν, and the more correct interpretation would seem to be, "as they stretched him out on the whipping-post *for the thongs*—i.e. in order to apply the lash. Thus ἱμάντα τις φερέτω, Demosth. f. leg. p. 402, cited by Kuinoel;

ῥάβδοις καὶ ἱμάσιν μαστιγοῦται. Athenæus, iv. 38, (p. 153, Tauchnitz).

³⁵ The law of P. Valerius Poplicola, called the lex Valeria (A.U.C. 254), enacted, ne quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocationem verberare aut necare vellet. Val. Max. iv. 1, 1. See Dionys. v. 19; Plut. Val. Public. c. 11; Liv. ii. 8. This was confirmed under heavy penalties by the law of M. Porcius Læca called the lex Porcia (A.U.C. 506), which, gravi pœnâ, si quis verberasset necassetque civem Romanum, sanxit. Liv. x. 9. An edict of Augustus prohibited the application of torture generally, except under special circumstances. Quæstiones neque semper in omni causâ et personâ desiderari debere arbitrator; et cum capitalia et atrociora maleficia non aliter explorari et investigari possunt, quam per servorum quæstiones, efficacissimas eas esse ad requirendam veritatem existimo et habendas censeo. Digest xlviii. 18, 8. In criminibus erudendis quæstio adhiberi solet, sed quando vel quatenus id faciendum sit videamus; et non esse a tormentis incipiendum et divus Augustus constituit, neque adeo fidem quæstioni adhibendam. Dig. xlviii. 18, 1. See Jos. Ant. ii. 14, 9. In the case of a Roman it was not even allowable to put him in fetters or to manacle him; and to submit him to the rack was an enormous offence. Facinus est vincere civem Romanum; scelus verberare; prope parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere? Cic. in Verr. act. II. v. 66, 170. The safe custody of a Roman citizen *before trial* might be provided for in two ways: 1. He might have apartments assigned to him in the magistrate's own house, or be liberated on

The officer was alarmed, and hastening to Lysias for further orders, said, "Take heed what thou doest, for this man is a Roman!" Lysias, who having himself purchased his freedom at a high price, was the more alive to the value of the right, immediately came to Paul and said, "Tell me, art thou a Roman?" Paul replied in the affirmative; but Lysias, who had just before seen his prisoner in humble garb, and besmeared, perhaps, with blood and dust from the murderous attack upon him in the Temple, was half disposed to be incredulous. "With a great sum," said Lysias, "obtained I this freedom!"³⁶ "But I," said Paul, "was free born."³⁷ It was high treason in any one to feign himself a Roman citizen,³⁸ and Lysias at length convinced that Paul really possessed the right asserted by him, ordered him to be released from the rack, and was not a little apprehensive that he might himself some day rue the consequences of his indiscreet haste.³⁹ Paul was now treated with becoming respect, but was still secured by a chain from the right hand to a soldier's left.⁴⁰ Thus closed this eventful day, and Paul, harassed by the trying scenes through which he had passed, and with a conscience void of offence, slept soundly in the castle by the side of his military keeper.

The morning dawned, and how was Lysias to dispose of his prisoner? As yet he was ignorant even of the nature of the crime charged against him. The mob had shouted some one thing and some another, and Paul, as a Roman, could not be examined by the rack. As the offence, whatever its nature, was evidently an infraction or supposed infraction of Jewish law, Lysias determined on summoning the Jewish Sanhedrim (for which, as the delegate of the Procurator, he had full authority,⁴¹) that in their presence and with their assistance the cause of the uproar might

bail, which was called 'libera custodia;' or 2. He might be held by a chain from his right hand to a soldier's left, which was called 'militaris custodia.' See the notes of Kuinoel upon this subject, Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 29; and Wieseler, Apostg. 380, et seq. Paul on his first arrest had been secured by two chains, but on his being recognised as a Roman, he was saved from the torture and from manacles, and was secured by one chain only from the wrist of the right hand to the wrist of a soldier's left. The *militaris custodia* during his imprisonment is implied in the fact that he was consigned to a centurion. Acts xxiv. 23. The custody of Paul very much resembled that of Agrippa in the time of Tiberius. Agrippa had comparative liberty, but was bound by a single chain to a soldier—*σιδηρᾷ ἀλύσει*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 10.

³⁶ That the citizenship of Rome was commonly sold about this time, see Dion Cass. ix. 17. Lysias, from his name, was no doubt a Greek, and on obtaining by purchase the free-

dom of Rome, took the name of Claudius.

³⁷ See Vol. I. p. 2.

³⁸ Suet. Claud. xxv.

³⁹ *ἐφοβήθη, ἐπιγνοὺς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι, καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτὸν δεδεκώς*. Acts xxii. 29. Some think that Lysias was alarmed because he had bound Paul at all. But if this were so, Lysias would have immediately released Paul from his bonds, which he did not do, for he only took them off temporarily the next day on bringing him before the council, and then bound him again. Acts xxiii. 18. The fear of Lysias, therefore, was not for having bound Paul for safe custody, but for having bound him with two chains instead of one; and more particularly for having afterwards lashed him to the post, as a preliminary to the torture.

⁴⁰ For he is still called *δέσμιος*. Acts xxiii. 18

⁴¹ This is evident from the language of Luke, for Lysias commanded (*ἐκέλευσεν*) the Sanhedrim to meet. Acts xxii. 30.

be solemnly investigated. The Sanhedrim was the judicial body of seventy-two (commonly called the seventy), consisting first of twenty-four Chief Priests, being the heads of the twenty-four courses, and of twenty-four Elders, the representatives of the Jewish laity, and lastly of twenty-four Scribes or Doctors, the advisers of the assembly on questions of law. The Sanhedrim had originally sat in Gazith, an apartment in the inner temple, but as the Roman Emperors had granted the boon that whatever heathen passed the sacred limits might be instantly put to death, it was afterwards found unsafe to permit deliberations where the Romans themselves could not exercise a surveillance. According to tradition, the Sanhedrim ceased to hold their sessions in the Temple about twenty-eight years before the period of which we are speaking.⁴² They then moved down to the council-room, just without the Temple, and adjoining the western cloister on the site of the present Mehkimeh or Town Hall.⁴³

Hither, on the 24th of May, the Chief Priests and Elders and Scribes were convoked. The arrogant Ananias, the High Priest, took upon himself to occupy the chair, though the Presidency of the council, if we may believe the Jewish accounts, was at this time properly vested in Rabbi Symeon, the son of the famous Gamaliel. As Ananias figures so conspicuously in the scene that followed, we cannot help pausing for a moment to relate the tragical end of this hypocritical Pharisee. At the commencement of the Jewish war, he and his party, being overpowered by the opposite faction, retreated to the Upper City. The enemy followed, and the palace of Ananias was burnt over his head. He fled into the Prætorium, the palace of Herod, to which siege was laid, and in a few days it was stormed. Ananias concealed himself in an aqueduct in the pleasure-grounds of the Prætorium, *where the Sicarii or assassins soon discovered him, and dragging him forth from his lurking place, dispatched him with their poniards.*⁴⁴

But to return. Ananias, now High Priest and in the height of his power, claimed, rightly or not, to preside over the deliberations of the Sanhedrim. On one side of him were ranged the Pharisees, and on the other side the Sadducees—the two rival sects. Amongst the former none were more eminent than the two sons of Gamaliel, Symeon and Jesus, who probably inherited and still cherished the generous sentiments of their father, who, when the Apostles had been brought before the Sanhedrim twenty-four years before (A.D. 34), had the courage to advise—"Refrain from these men, and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."⁴⁵ On the side of the Sadducees were the sons of Annas, that Annas who, with Caiaphas, his son-in-law, and their bloodthirsty followers, had just a

⁴² Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. See Biscoe. Had the Sanhedrim still sat in Gazith, Lysias and his soldiers could not have been present.

⁴³ Jos. Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁴⁴ Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 9.

⁴⁵ Acts v. 38, 39.

quarter of a century before, delivered our blessed Saviour into the hands of the Romans to be crucified. The family had not degenerated from the same implacable spirit, for Theophilus, who at that time was High Priest, had fostered the persecution against Stephen, and Ananus a few years after the present period caused the martyrdom of James the Just. There was this distinction between the Pharisees and Sadducees, that the former hated Christianity as an innovation upon the traditional religion, but were generally content with scourging and excommunication; while the Sadducees gave free rein to their passions, and sought the utter extirpation of their enemies, even by shedding their blood.

The Sanhedrim being assembled, Lysias released Paul for the time from his chain, and brought him down free, but under an escort, to the council chamber. What must have been Paul's feelings as he entered the hall—the very hall where, more than twenty years before, he had helped to consign the martyr Stephen to his fate! What, too, must have been the feelings of the aggressors as they looked upon that wonderful man, formerly a zealot for the law of Moses and a member of their body, now the ringleader of the Nazarenes, whose name was familiar as a household word, not only in Judea, but throughout the civilised world! At the upper end of the hall sat the haughty Ananias, in the white vest of the High Priesthood.⁴⁶ Paul and Ananias, as of the same sect, must have been well acquainted, and the penetration of the Apostle must long since have detected the pride and avarice and injustice that lurked under the thin veil of sanctity. There were the two sons of Gamaliel, who, in early years, had been fellow-students with Paul at the feet of the great Rabbi, and if they were men, they must have felt the chord of affection vibrate at their hearts, towards a youthful associate who, at least, had made the noblest sacrifice in the supposed path of duty. There, too, was the aged Caiaphas, the ex-High Priest, who had procured the crucifixion of the Saviour, and there was Theophilus, another ex-High Priest, from whose hands Paul, yet unconverted, and running his mad career against the Christian heresy, had received his commission to persecute at Damascus as he had done at Jerusalem. How was the scene changed since their last interview!

Paul was placed at the bar, and casting around him a steadfast look, said, “Men and brethren!”⁴⁷ I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day”—The haughty Ananias at once lost his temper at the prisoner calling the council his brethren and claiming a good conscience, and exclaimed to the officers of the court, “Smite him on the mouth!” Paul too could feel as a man, and he retorted in those prophetic words soon to be accomplished by the assassin's poniard: “*God shall smite thee thou whited wall*,”⁴⁸ for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me

⁴⁶ A high priest, even after the termination of his office, still retained the title of high priest, and wore the white robe. Thus Ananias the ex-high priest speaks of himself as *περικείμενος τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐσθῆτα*, καὶ τὸ τιμώτατον καλούμε-

νος τῶν σεβασμίων ὀνομάτων. Bell. iv. 3, 10.

⁴⁷ Paul was or had been himself a member of the Sanhedrim, and had a right to address them in these terms.

⁴⁸ The words ‘thou whited wall’ may be an

to be smitten contrary to the law?" Ananias was abashed, but his fawning parasites came to the rescue, and said, "Revilest thou God's High Priest?" Paul had heard the reckless order, "Smite him on the mouth!" but it came from the upper end of the hall, and in the confusion of a crowded assembly, he had not distinguished the speaker's features, but whoever it was, the injunction proceeded from one sitting as a judge. On being informed that the words had fallen from no less a person than the High Priest himself, Paul at once apologized for this trespass against public decorum. "I wist not, brethren," he said, "that it was the *High Priest*, for it is written, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.'"⁴⁹

Lysias now cut the matter short by demanding of what the prisoner was accused. Upon this Paul was charged, not as Lysias had anticipated, with any crime at all, but with holding and propagating certain religious doctrines, which were considered subversive of the law of Moses.⁵⁰ The Apostle confessed his creed to be that Jesus of

allusion to the white pontifical vest of Ananias. A white robe was the badge of honour amongst the Jews, as a purple one was amongst the Romans. Thus, when Herod Antipas mocked our Saviour, he put on him ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν—a white robe, Luke xxiii. 11; but the Roman soldiers of the prætorium put on him a purple robe. Matt. xxv. 11, 27; Mark xv. 17; John xix. 1.

⁴⁹ Ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς. Acts xxiii. 5. In the LXX., Exod. xxii. 28: Ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς. Kuinoel (Acts xxiii. 4, 5) suggests the following various interpretations of the text. 1. "I could not have supposed from his conduct that he was the high priest;" and that this was said ironically. 2. That Paul was really ignorant who at this time was high priest. 3. That Paul had been carried away by a hasty temper, and apologised: "I did not sufficiently reflect that he was the high priest." 4. That the office of high priest was vacant, and that Paul therefore denied the high priesthood of Ananias. 5. That Paul had heard the words, but had not distinguished the speaker.

The three first interpretations are very improbable. With respect to the two last, those who adopt the *fourth* would render the words thus, "I wist not, brethren, that *there was a high priest*," and they insist that Ananias had been removed by Cumanus at the time of the Jewish émeute in A.D. 52 (see Fasti Sacri, p. 296, No. 1775), and that no successor had been appointed, or else that Jonathan had been appointed in his place and had since been assassinated, so that there was now a vacancy of the office. See Fasti Sacri, p. 308, No. 1834.

But the *fifth* interpretation is the more natural

one, viz., "I wist not, brethren, that it was the high priest," in the sense of the actual high priest. The bystanders do not say "revilest thou *a* high priest, or *one* of the high priests," but "*the high priest of God*" (τὸν Ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Acts xxiii. 4); words so emphatic that they can scarcely be taken to mean a mere titular high priest (that is, one who had been removed from the high priesthood, but still retained the title coupled with his name, as "High priest Ananias,") but must refer to the actual high priest, and the answer of Paul confirms this, for, admitting his fault, he adds, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people," &c. This explanation assumes that Ananias had not been deposed in A.D. 52, but was still high priest, and that such was the fact appears from Josephus, for he reckons the high priests from the reign of Herod to the fall of Jerusalem, at twenty-eight, and if Ananias continued high priest from A.D. 47, when he was first appointed, to A.D. 59, when Ishmael was appointed (Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 8), this would be the exact number. See Fasti Sacri, p. 348, No. 2060.

But if Ananias was high priest, how, it will be said, could Paul have been ignorant of the fact? Paul knew well enough that Ananias was high priest, but in a crowded assembly he had only *heard* the words "Smite him on the mouth," and had not *seen* who was the speaker. Paul had ever since his conversion been suffering from the "thorn in the flesh," an impaired eyesight amounting occasionally almost to blindness. See further on the subject of the interpretation of the passage in question, Fasti Sacri, p. 315, No. 1862.

⁵⁰ Acts xxiii. 29.

Nazareth, whom the Sadducees had crucified, had risen from the dead, and was now alive, and he again recounted the particulars of his own miraculous conversion, how on his way to Damascus he had seen Jesus of Nazareth, and had been called to the apostolate by a voice from heaven, but he denied that such tenets contravened the Mosaic dispensation, for did not the Pharisees, who were amongst his judges, believe themselves in a resurrection? "I," exclaimed the Apostle, "am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee."⁵¹ Of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question."⁵² A violent altercation now ensued between the rival sects, the Pharisees maintaining the possible truth of Paul's story, while the infidel Sadducees, holding neither angel nor devil nor a life to come, treated the whole as a base fabrication. The learned doctors, the interpreters of the law (of which number once had been Paul himself), were appealed to, and the scribes on the side of the Pharisees, so far as their voices could be heard in such a scene of confusion, declared their sentiments: "We find no evil in this man, but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God." The Sadducees were more furious than ever, and regarded their old enemies, the Pharisees, as standing betwixt them and their victim.

A conflict was evidently at hand, and Lysias, who, as a man, felt an interest about Paul, and as a magistrate was bound to protect him from violence, was afraid lest he should be torn to pieces. He therefore ordered down a strong detachment from Fort Antonia, and snatched him from the midst of the disputants, leaving the Pharisees and Sadducees to settle their unintelligible differences amongst themselves, by logical argument or manual violence, as might be most agreeable. Paul was once more chained to his warder, and so ended that day.

Paul passed the night in the castle, and during his slumbers the Lord stood by him and said, "Be of good cheer, Paul, for as thou hast testified of me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome."⁵³ There was nothing at present to indicate a voyage to the great capital, and yet the events that actually occurred led at no distant period to the accomplishment of the vision.

The following day (May the 25th), the Jewish zealots resolved on a short method of removing Paul out of their path. Above forty of them banded themselves together, and bound themselves under a curse, "that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul."⁵⁴ Such villany may appear almost incredible, and yet it was in accordance with the spirit of the people. From their obstinate adherence to the law of Moses, they were not unfrequently engaged in the foulest crimes, under the cloak of doing God service. Their own historian records, that under Herod the Great, a similar vow was taken by ten men for assassinating the king, whom they regarded as an apostate,⁵⁵ and certainly no improved morality prevailed under the Prefecture of the iniquitous and unprincipled Felix. The conspirators having determined upon

⁵¹ That is, 'I hold, as my father held before me, the doctrine of the Pharisees, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead.'

⁵² Acts xxiii. 6.

⁵³ Acts xxiii. 11.

⁵⁴ Acts xxiii. 12.

⁵⁵ Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 3.

the end, now deliberated on the best means of executing their purpose. With this view they communicated their designs to some of the chief priests and elders,⁵⁶ but not it seems to the scribes, who, as the interpreters of the law, had probably a greater regard for the observance of its obligations, and might also favour Paul as trained up to be one of their own body, and once, if not still, a member of the Sanhedrim in that capacity. They had the hardihood thus to unfold their designs. "We have bound ourselves," they said to the chief priests and elders, "under a great curse, that we will taste nothing until we have slain Paul. Now therefore ye with the council signify to the chief captain (Lysias) that he bring him down unto you to-morrow, as though ye would inquire something more perfectly concerning him, and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him."⁵⁷ It proclaims loudly the utter demoralization of the Jewish people, when even the chief priests and elders, who should have been examples to others, not only connived at, but viewed complacently, and even lent their ready aid to the perpetration of so dreadful a crime. The ambush had certainly succeeded, but for the watchfulness and courage of an affectionate relative.

A nephew of Paul, his sister's son (whose name, from the danger perhaps of publishing it, has not transpired), was at this time a resident at Jerusalem, and well acquainted with the different parties, their feelings and aims. The young man was well connected, and moved in high life, and a plot which embraced so large a number could not remain long concealed from an intelligent observer. There was no time to be lost, and regardless of personal risk he hastened to Fort Antonia. The generous Lysias had given orders for the free admission of Paul's friends, and the young man had no difficulty in obtaining an interview with his uncle. He communicated what he had heard, and Paul, who was never, like an enthusiast, a martyr for martyrdom's sake, called to him one of the centurions, and said, "Bring this young man unto the chief captain, for he hath a certain thing to tell him."⁵⁸ The centurion immediately conducted the youth to Lysias, and thus introduced him, "Paul, the prisoner, called me unto him, and prayed me to bring this man unto thee, who hath something to say unto thee."⁵⁹ Lysias, who seems to have been gentle and accessible to all, took him kindly by the hand, and went with him aside privately, and asked him, "What is it that thou hast to tell me?" And he said, "The Jews have agreed to desire that thou wouldest bring down Paul to-morrow into the Council, as though they would enquire somewhat of him more perfectly. But do not thou yield unto them; for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men, which have bound themselves with an oath, that they will neither eat nor drink till they have killed him, and now are they ready, looking for a promise from thee."⁶⁰

It may well be imagined with what emotions of virtuous indignation Lysias

⁵⁶ Acts xxiii. 14.⁵⁷ Acts xxiii. 14, 15.⁵⁸ Acts xxiii. 17.⁵⁹ Acts xxiii. 18.⁶⁰ Acts xxiii. 19-21.

heard the disclosure, and dismissing the young man with a strict charge to tell no one, he called two⁶¹ of the centurions, and bade them have in readiness to start for Cæsarea by the third hour, or nine at night, 200 foot or legionaries, 70 heavy cavalry, and 200 lancers, or light cavalry,⁶² and horses⁶³ to carry Paul and his warder.⁶⁴ While this was in preparation, Lysias penned a dispatch to Felix, the Procurator, couched in the following terms: "CLAUDIUS LYSIAS⁶⁵ UNTO THE MOST EXCELLENT GOVERNOR FELIX GREETING. This man was taken of the Jews, and was about to be killed by them, when I came with the soldiery and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman. And wishing to know the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him down before their Sanhedrim, when I found him to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds. And an ambush by the Jews against the man being disclosed to me as impending, I straightway sent him to thee, and have given commandment to his accusers also to say before thee what they have against him. FAREWELL."⁶⁶

As we are about to take leave of the worthy Lysias, we cannot forbear pausing for a moment to point out the admirable manner in which he discharged the duties of commandant of the garrison at Jerusalem. At the first uproar in the Temple he was immediately on the spot, and so saved the life of an innocent man from the rage of an infuriate populace. He may be thought to have acted harshly in proposing to employ the rack, but it was the common practice of the times, and he adopted the mildest form, and was no sooner informed that Paul was a Roman, than he instantly desisted, and from that moment treated him with becoming respect. He allowed him to plead before the Sanhedrim without his bonds, and showed great spirit in snatching

⁶¹ Why two? Because one of them was to conduct Paul all the way to Cæsarea, and the other, with two hundred legionaries, was to secure a safe convoy as far as Antipatris, and then, when all danger would cease, was to march his men back. Acts xxiii. 31. Accordingly, on Paul's arrival at Cæsarea, only *one* centurion is spoken of: διαταξάμενός τε τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον. Acts xxiv. 23. See Blunt's Coincidences.

⁶² See a similar escort by night. Jos. Vit. xxiv. As to the δεξιολάβους, it does not appear what they were; but, as opposed to στρατιῶται, they may have been mounted, and, as opposed to ἵππεῖς or heavy horse, they may have been light horse. Meyer conjectures them to have been spearmen or slingers. Meyer, Apostg. 404. Others interpret δεξιολάβους to be the body-guard of a prisoner, as taking the right side, from the prisoner's right hand being chained to the guard's left. See Kuinoel, Acts xxiii. 22. The only other passage in which the word δεξιολάβους occurs is one cited by Wordsworth

(on Acts xxiii. 33) from the treatise of Constantine. Porphy. on the quartering of troops, where he says that the *τουρμάρχης* has under him *στρατιώτας τοξοφόρους πεντακοσίους, καὶ πελταστὰς τριακοσίους, καὶ δεξιολάβους ἑκατόν*. Const. Porphy. Themet. i. 1. This passage also tends to show that the δεξιολάβοι were some kind of light troops.

⁶³ κτήνη means only 'jumenta,' and may refer either to horses or mules or asses.

⁶⁴ ἵνα ἐπιβιβάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον διασώσωσι. How could Paul require κτήνη in the plural? Either the name of Paul is intended to comprise his keeper, so that two horses would be necessarily wanted, or, as it was a long journey, two horses were provided for Paul himself by way of relay.

⁶⁵ Lysias was probably his Greek name, and Claudius the name assumed by him as a Roman when he purchased his Roman citizenship.

⁶⁶ Acts xxiii. 26-30. The last word, Ἐρῶσο, was the common termination of a Greek letter. See Achill. Tat. v.; Jos. Vit. 44, 65; &c.

his prisoner from the bar, when the judges were more like rioters themselves than men summoned together to investigate the truth with a calm temper. On receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, Lysias's conduct was most judicious—what before had been a sudden ebullition of popular violence, had now, by the accession of the High Priests and Elders, assumed a serious aspect, and Lysias, very wisely, at the same time provided for Paul's safety and relieved himself from all further responsibility, by remitting a case of moment (which, as delegate, he was bound to do⁶⁷) to the higher tribunal of the Procurator. But, in the name of Christianity, we have chiefly to thank Lysias for the favourable light in which he represented Paul's case by his letter. Had he sought to conciliate the Jews at the expense of veracity, he would have sent Paul as a malefactor to Felix. Instead of that he informs him that Paul was not in custody as a convict, but had been rescued from a mob; that he had been since examined before the Sanhedrim, but was accused of no crime or misdemeanour, but merely as holding heterodox opinions; and lastly, that Paul was a Roman, and as such entitled to full protection from the representative of the Roman Emperor. Much of the kind treatment that Paul afterwards experienced may have been owing to this considerate report. Claudius Lysias, as already remarked, was a Roman by purchase, but had he traced his lineage from the illustrious line of the Claudii, he could not have inherited more generous or noble qualities.

At the third hour, or nine o'clock, under the shades of night, the escort were ready at the gates of Fort Antonia with horses for Paul and the soldier to whom he was linked. Lysias delivered the letter, and Paul mounted, and the cavalcade set forward on the road to Cæsarea. The Roman capital lay at the distance of sixty-eight miles,⁶⁸ or, according to Josephus, seventy-five miles.⁶⁹ They travelled all night, and passing through Lydda, they the next day (the 26th of May) reached Antipatris, a pleasant city⁷⁰ twenty-six miles from Cæsarea. Here the foot soldiers,⁷¹ no danger being now apprehended, retraced their steps, under the command of one of the two centurions, to Jerusalem. The horsemen, *i. e.*, both the heavy and light horse, under the command

⁶⁷ Si quid erit, quod majorem animadversionem exigat, rejicere legatus apud proconsulem debet, neque enim animadvertendi, coërcendi, vel atrociter verberandi jus habet. Dig. i. 16, 11.

⁶⁸ In the Itiner. Hieros. the distances are as follows:

	Millia passuum
Jerusalem to Nicopolis	xxii
Nicopolis to Lydda	x
Lydda to Antipatris	x
Antipatris to Bethar	x
Bethar to Cæsarea	xvi
	—
	lxviii

⁶⁹ Ant. xiii. 11, 2; Bell. i. 3, 5.

⁷⁰ Jos. Ant. xvi. 5, 2. It was originally called

Cepharsaba, or Saba Town. Herod, when he enlarged and beautified it, called it Antipatris. It has now resumed its ancient name, and is called Kefr-Sâba. Robinson's Palestine, p. 138, ed. 1856.

⁷¹ The escort consisted of—1. *στρατιῶται*, or legionaries; 2. *ἰππεῖς*, or heavy horse; 3. *δεξιολάβοι*, or light horse. Acts xxiii. 23. The *στρατιῶται*, having gone as far as Antipatris, returned, and the *ἰππεῖς* proceeded to Cæsarea. Acts xxiii. 31 and 32. But were the *δεξιολάβοι* included under the *στρατιῶται* who returned, or under the *ἰππεῖς* who went on? Probably the latter, as the *δεξιολάβοι* were a mounted force, and light-armed. See note ante, p. 154.

of the other centurion, pressed on with Paul to Cæsarea. On arriving they proceeded to the palace of Herod, or the Prætorium, the residence of Felix, the Governor, and there delivered the dispatch and presented their prisoner. Felix broke the seal, and having read the letter, asked Paul of what province he was, and being informed of Cilicia, which had, not long before, been under the Proprætorship of Cossutianus Capito,⁷² a great favourite at Nero's court, and a friend of Felix, but who had just been convicted of maladministration, the Procurator gave his attention; and said, "I will hear thee⁷³ when thine accusers are also come;" and committing him to the custody of the centurion,⁷⁴ directed that he should be kept in the guard-room of the Prætorium.⁷⁵

Lysias meanwhile had communicated to the Sanhedrim that the case was remitted to the Procurator, and that they must make their accusation before Felix at Cæsarea. The wise precautionary measures of Lysias were, no doubt, a bitter disappointment to the persecuting faction; however, Paul had been removed, and to Cæsarea they must follow him. Ananias, with revenge rankling at his heart for the affront he had received in the presence of the Sanhedrim, set out from the Roman capital, accompanied by the elders. The arrogant High Priest was no spokesman, or at least not in any other language than his native Hebrew; and he, therefore, took with him an eminent advocate at Jerusalem, called Tertullus, who could speak Greek with fluency and was well acquainted with the forms of Roman procedure. The name of this man is Roman, being the diminutive of Tertius,⁷⁶ and it has hence been inferred that Tertullus was a Roman, and that the proceedings before Felix were conducted in Latin. This, however, is not very probable.⁷⁷ Certainly, in ancient times the Romans had attempted to enforce the use of Latin in all law courts,⁷⁸ and interpreters were employed,⁷⁹ but the experiment failed; and under the Emperors trials were permitted in Greek, even in Rome itself, as well in the senate as in the forum,⁸⁰

⁷² Tac. Ann. xiii. 33.

⁷³ διακούσομαί σου. Acts xxiii. 35. The strict meaning is, 'I will hear thee out,' or 'give thee a full hearing.'

⁷⁴ τῷ ἐκατοντάρχῃ—not a centurion, as in Eng. ver. See note ante, p. 154.

⁷⁵ The Prætorium was originally the tent of the Roman commander-in-chief, and hence the palace of the emperor, the military head of the empire, was so called. By force of imitation, and to increase their dignity, the provincial governors applied the name of Prætorium to their head-quarters; more particularly where they occupied the palace of some previous king. Thus, the palace of Herod at Jerusalem, where the procurator lived, was called the Prætorium (Mark xv. 16), and the palace of Herod at Cæsarea was known by the same name. Paul, therefore,

was kept as a prisoner in the Palace of Herod at Cæsarea, or at least in one of the guard-rooms attached to it.

⁷⁶ We meet with Tertullus in Plin. Ep. v. 15, as also with Tertulla in Suet. Jul. 50, Octav. 69; Plin. N. H. vii. 50. Tertullus is the diminutive of Tertius, as Lucullus of Lucius, Catullus of Catus, Marcellus of Marcus, Tibullus of Tiberius. It has been suggested, but without any sufficient ground, that this Tertullus may have been the Cornutus Tertullus who was the colleague of Pliny the Younger in the consulship, A.D. 100.

⁷⁷ See on this question, Kuinoel, xxiv. 1.

⁷⁸ Val. Max. ii. 2.

⁷⁹ Cic. Ep. Fam. xiii. 54.

⁸⁰ πολλὰς μὲν δίκας ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ [viz. Greek] καὶ ἐκεῖ [in senatu] λεγομένας ἀκούων,

and it is unlikely that greater strictness should have been observed in a distant province. The name Tertullus proves little, as the Greeks, and even the Jews, very commonly adopted Roman names. Besides, Tertullus in the course of his address, speaks of "our law,"⁸¹ which identifies him as a member of the Jewish community.

One part of Ananias's proceedings may be regarded with suspicion. He did not think it necessary to secure the presence of the most material witnesses. The Ephesian Jews, who had begun the uproar in the Temple, and should have been forthcoming, were studiously kept out of the way.

On the fifth day after Paul's arrival, or May the 30th, (an interval of twelve clear days having elapsed since the Pentecost), Ananias and his party being ready with their indictment, took their station in the Procurator's Court, or Judgment Hall, of the Prætorium. Felix entered, and having occupied his tribunal on the Gabbatha or raised platform, commanded the prisoner to be brought, and Paul was conducted into court.

Tertullus now rose and opened the case, and certainly managed it with admirable dexterity. He began by complimenting Felix, not in coarse panegyric, but by delicate allusion to the only meritorious actions the Procurator had ever performed, viz., the clearance of the country from freebooters, and the suppression of seditious fanatics. Of course the recent overthrow of the Egyptian impostor on Mount Olivet was in every one's thoughts, and the least hint would be sufficient. He then rested his charge upon three counts; first, That Paul was a turbulent fellow; secondly, That he was the ringleader of a heresy called the Nazarenes; and, lastly, That he had attempted the profanation of the Temple. In case these matters should not be satisfactorily proved, Tertullus hinted that the presence of Lysias only was required, who would satisfy the Governor of the truth of the whole story. But Tertullus shall speak for himself—

"Seeing," he began, "that by thee we enjoy profound peace, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness. Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I pray thee that thou wouldest hear us of thy clemency a few words. For we have found this man a *pestilent* fellow, and a *mover of sedition* among all the Jews throughout the world: and a *ringleader* of the sect of the *Nazarenes*: who hath also gone about to *profane the temple*.^{81a} Whom we took [and would have judged according to our law, but the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him away out of our hands, commanding his accusers to

πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπερωτῶν. Dion Cass. lvii.

15. See ix. 8, 16, 17; Suet. Tib. 71; Nero, 7.

⁸¹ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον. Acts xxiv. 6.

^{81a} If any one violated the sanctity of the

Temple, though he were a Roman, he incurred the penalty of death. οὐχ ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερβάντας ὑμῖν ἀναρεῖν ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ ἐὰν Ῥωμαῖός τις ᾖ; Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 4.

come unto thee;]⁸² by examining of whom (Lysias)⁸³ thyself mayest take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him.”⁸⁴

In this statement, as the reader will not fail to observe, the orator was not over-scrupulous as to truth. To describe the murderous attack upon Paul in the Temple as the apprehension of a man with a view to a legal trial, was as gross a fabrication as could well be invented; however, the Jews that stood by vouched for the accuracy of all that was said.⁸⁵ Felix listened with attentive silence, and when the accusation was concluded, beckoned haughtily to Paul for his defence. The case upon the opening was so futile, that Felix ought to have dismissed the complaint at once, and should, like Gallio, have driven the Jews from the judgment seat; but the nobleness of soul that distinguished the brother of Seneca, was not to be found in the dastardly bosom of the Emperor's freedman.

The Apostle now, in a plain unvarnished tale, replied to the several charges against him. 1. That as to turbulence, he had always conducted himself quietly, and that in particular since he had been at Jerusalem he had not opened his mouth in public, either in the Temple, or in the synagogue, or in the streets of the city. 2. That as to the count of heresy, he believed in the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, but such a faith was not contrary to law, for the doctrine of the resurrection was held by the Pharisees themselves, of whose sect was Ananias, the present prosecutor. 3. That as to the profanation of the Temple, no offence of the kind was particularised,

⁸² The part in brackets is omitted in many MSS., and the omission has been adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf, and is thought probable by Griesbach, but is retained by Alford.

⁸³ *παρ' οὗ, κ.τ.λ.* It has been much disputed whether the *οὗ* refers to Lysias or to Paul. The natural inference is that it refers to Lysias, and then the drift of the Jews is that knowing their inability to prove their charges, they aimed at adjourning the trial *sine die*, under pretence that Lysias ought to be examined (*ἀνακρίνας*—see the like use of the word by the same writer, Luke xxiii. 14; and by Josephus, Vit. 57). In this case they would take care by their influence, as they did, that Lysias should never appear. It may be thought an objection to this view, that Felix it is said would by the examination in question “take knowledge of all these things,” whereas Lysias, though he might depose to some of the transactions mentioned, could know nothing of the criminal charges themselves. On the other hand it strongly supports this interpretation that Felix replies, “*When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will determine between you.*” Acts xxiv. 22. This looks as if he had assented to the proposition of Tertullus,

that Lysias was a necessary witness.

The other aspect is that *παρ' οὗ* refers to *αὐτοῦ* just before—i.e. to Paul: *κελεύσας τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ· παρ' οὗ, κ.τ.λ.*,—and if the part in brackets be omitted (see preceding note) the *οὗ* would necessarily refer to Paul. On this hypothesis the design was that as the Jews could not verify their unjust allegations, they suggested that Paul should be put to the rack (*ἀνακρίνας*), hoping that, as was often the case, the prisoner would rather admit the alleged facts than suffer the excruciation of further torture; and at all events they would have the satisfaction of seeing their enemy subjected to dreadful torments. But Paul was a Roman citizen, and so exempted from torture, and he had been expressly described as a Roman in the letter of Lysias to Felix; and it can scarcely be supposed that Paul's Jewish adversaries were ignorant of so notable a matter as that of his Roman citizenship.

The first of these two views has been adopted in the text as the more probable.

⁸⁴ Acts xxiv. 3–8.

⁸⁵ Acts xxiv. 9.

and if any had been committed, the Jews of Ephesus should have been produced to prove it. The Apostle's argument, however, though containing some home truths, was conciliatory towards Felix and respectful towards his accusers.⁸⁶ He expressed himself thus:

"Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been for many years⁸⁷ a judge⁸⁸ unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself, because that thou mayest understand that there are yet but twelve days since I went up to Jerusalem to worship.⁸⁹ And they neither found me in the Temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues nor in the city, nor can they prove the

⁸⁶ The following is a table of the chronology from Paul's arrival at Jerusalem to his trial before Felix:—

A.D. 58.

May 17. Arrived at Jerusalem. Pentecost begins at 6 P.M.

„ 18. Presbytery held: *τῇ ἐπιούσῃ*. Acts xxi. 18.

„ 19. Paul goes to the Temple with the four Nazarites: *τῇ ἐχομένῃ*. Acts xxi. 26. This was probably before 6 P.M.; so that the second of the seven days began at 6 P.M. of May the 19th.

„ 23. At the close of the fifth, or at the beginning (at 6 P.M.) of the sixth day of the Nazarites' week, Paul is apprehended in the Temple: *ὡς ἔμελλον αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι*. Acts xxi. 27.

„ 24. Before the Sanhedrim: *τῇ ἐπαύριον*. Acts xxii. 30.

„ 25. The conspiracy against Paul's life: *γενομένης ἡμέρας*. Acts xii. 9. At nine at night, Paul is dispatched to Cæsarea: *ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός*. Acts xxiii. 24.

„ 26. Paul reaches Cæsarea: *τῇ ἐπαύριον*. Acts xxiii. 32.

„ 30. Ananias comes to Cæsarea: *μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας*. Acts xxiv. 1.

This would be on the fifth day, both inclusive. For this meaning of the word *μετὰ* see *Fasti Sacri*, lxvi.; p. 264, No. 1581; and p. 340, No. 1996. This fifth day or 30th of May was at an interval of twelve days complete from Paul's arrival at Jerusalem on the 17th of May. The words in Acts xxiv. 11, *οὐ πλείους εἰσὶ μοι ἡμέραι ἢ δεκαδύο, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων* must refer to the day of Pentecost, for Felix, however great his experience, could have no means of knowing when Paul actually arrived, but only on what

day was the feast.

⁸⁷ Viz. from A.D. 52 to A.D. 58, the time when the Apostle was speaking. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 297, No. 1777. The usual duration of a procuratorship was two or three years, but Felix, from his influence at Rome, had already been six years in office, and was not recalled until A.D. 60. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 319, No. 1893. According to Tacitus, Felix had even held rule in Palestine previously to A.D. 52, and jointly with Cumanus. *Ita divisio ut huic [Cumano] Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parerent*. Tac. Ann. xii. 54

⁸⁸ The governors of provinces exercised the judicial office personally.

⁸⁹ The Apostle states three reasons for having come to Jerusalem:—(1.) To keep the feast—*προσκυνήσων*, Acts xxiv. 11; (2.) To bring alms, Acts xxiv. 17; (3.) To make oblations—*προσφορὰς*, Acts xxiv. 17, the word before used to express the offerings of the Nazarites, Acts xxi. 26, from which, with other circumstances, it may be inferred that Paul had made a vow after the narrow escape at Ephesus, or on escaping the ambush of the Jews on his departure from Corinth. In the course of performing the ceremonies at Jerusalem (*ἐν οἷς*) the Jews found him purified as a Nazarite (*ἡγνισμένον*, Acts xxiv. 18) in the Temple. Paul could not mean that the feast had taken him to the Temple, for the Pentecost, which lasted only one day, had been celebrated some time before. It may appear singular that, if Paul had undertaken the vow, Luke should not have mentioned it, but the answer is, that Luke not unfrequently omits what is afterwards implied. Thus, in this very verse, Paul is introduced as saying—"I come to bring alms to my nation," and yet Luke had not previously alluded to the collection in Macedonia and Achaia, though we have the full particulars of it in the Epistles.

things whereof they now accuse me. But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call Heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and in the Prophets; and have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust; and herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men. Now, after many years, I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings, in the course of which certain Jews from Asia found me, purified,⁹⁰ in the Temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult, who ought to have been here before thee, and accuse, if they had aught against me; or else, let these same here say, if they found any evil doing in me, while I stood before the council, except for this one voice that I cried standing among them, 'Touching the resurrection of the dead, I am called in question by you this day.'"⁹¹

Both sides having been heard, Felix, in the absence of all evidence against the prisoner, should have pronounced an acquittal, and set him at liberty. Such would have been the Procurator's course, had he followed his own judgment, unbiassed by other considerations. He was well enough acquainted with the general features of Christianity, for Simon Magus (who professed himself a believer), was his familiar friend, and perhaps was present at this trial, and the innocence of Paul in respect of the crimes alleged against him, was too plain to leave a doubt on the dullest understanding; indeed, the charges of sedition and profanation of the Temple had been mere subterfuges to cover the gist of the accusation, which was the profession of Christianity, and the publication of it to the Gentiles, and that without the observance of the Law. However, the wily Felix had no desire to offend the most influential men amongst the Jews, for the sake of a humble commoner, however meritorious. He therefore escaped from his perplexity by adjourning the cause: "When Lysias the chief captain," said he, "shall come down,⁹² I will determine between you."⁹³ The Jews took care by their interest with Felix, that Lysias, whose honest testimony would have entirely exculpated the prisoner, should never make his appearance.

Paul meanwhile was detained in custody. The centurion, however, who had charge of him, was commanded not to place him in close confinement, but to give him as much liberty as was consistent with safety,⁹⁴ and not to interdict him from

⁹⁰ Great stress is to be laid on the statement that he was 'purified,' for even a Jew might not, under penalty of death, enter the Temple, unless he had first purified himself. Thus, Antiochus made a proclamation in favour of the Jews: μηδενὶ ἐξδὸν εἶναι ἀλλοφύλῳ εἰς τὸν περίβολον εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἀπηγορευμένον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰ μὴ οἷς ἂν ἀγνισθείσιν ἔστιν ἔθιμον κατὰ τὸν πατριον νόμον. Jos. Ant. xii. 3, 4.

⁹¹ Acts xxiv. 10-21.

⁹² Felix therefore lent himself to the views of the Jews, who being unable to prove their

charges, had suggested that Lysias was a necessary witness, in the hope of detaining him at Jerusalem. Acts xxiv. 8.

⁹³ Acts xxiv. 22. διαγνώσομαι—'I will give my final decision.' It does not follow that there was to be any further hearing of the parties, but Felix may have reserved his judgment until he had seen Lysias, and he resolved not to see him.

⁹⁴ ἔχειν τε ἄνεσιν. The word ἄνεσιν is similarly applied by Josephus to the military custody of Agrippa: μετὰ ἀνέσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν δίαυταν. Jos.

seeing his friends, or receiving their attentions. Meanwhile the forty Jews who had bound themselves by a curse not to eat or drink till they had slain Paul, must by breaking their vow have brought the curse upon their own heads.⁹⁵

Felix shortly after this left Cæsarea himself, and when he returned, was accompanied by his wife Drusilla⁹⁶—the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa, the late King of Judea, and the sister of Agrippa, the present King of Trachonitis. She had married Azizus, King of Emesa, but, as we have seen, had been prevailed upon by the artifices of Simon Magus to elope from her husband, and become the wife of the dissolute Felix. The Procurator had not long arrived, when he expressed a desire to hear Paul again. The Apostle's earnest and eloquent defence had left apparently a strong impression upon the mind of Felix, who was at least shrewd enough to appreciate talent. He had also for many years been acquainted with the leading features of Christianity through subordinate channels, and now he had the opportunity of hearing it advocated by one of its ablest champions. There may besides have been, on the part of Drusilla, a natural curiosity to see the man whose name from her infancy had been so rife amongst her countrymen. Felix, at all events, sent for his prisoner, not, it seems, into the judgment hall, but into the private apartments of the palace, and desired from him an exposition of the Christian faith.

A storm of conflicting feelings must have swept across the Apostle's breast at the scene before him. There sat Felix, old enough in years but older by his vices, a monarch without and arrayed in purple, a slave within and actuated by the vilest and basest motives. At his side was Drusilla, the fairest of the daughters of Israel, and now in the height of her charms, at the age of twenty, the scion of a royal line and yet living the spouse of a fortunate freedman. The oppressive exactions of the Procurator, his private debauchery, his utter disregard of the laws, his cold-hearted unfeeling abduction of another's wife, were thoughts that forced themselves upon the Apostle's mind as he discoursed upon Christianity, and, unawed by the exalted station of his auditors, he expatiated freely upon Justice and Continence and the Judgment to come—"Felix trembled."⁹⁷ "The truths struck home, and the despot, lost in the reverie of the moment, saw himself in the gulf of perdition; he could bear no more,

Ant. xviii. 6, 10. Like Paul, Agrippa, bound by a chain to a soldier, was allowed to see his friends, &c. Ib. One reason for the permission given to Paul to receive visitors, was no doubt to enable him to use his influence with his friends for raising the sum which Felix was looking for as a bribe.

⁹⁵ See Stier's *Reden der Apost.* p. 267.

⁹⁶ Felix married successively three royal personages or princesses: *trium reginarum maritum*. Suet. Claud. 28. These were:—(1.) Drusilla, the daughter of Juba, king of Mauri-

tania, by Selene, the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Tac. Hist. v. 9, 7. (2.) Drusilla referred to in the text, the daughter of Agrippa I. and sister of Agrippa the younger. (3.) A princess not mentioned in history. See Kuinoel, *Acts* xxiii. 24.

⁹⁷ Acts xxiv. 25. It is well known that in the indictment against Warren Hastings the great Edmund Burke, in one of his finest apostrophes, and intending to cite this passage, exclaimed, "Judge *Festus* trembled."

and commanded Paul from his presence, exclaiming, "Go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient season I will call for thee."⁹⁸

It might be supposed that Felix, abashed by this rebuke, would never have sought to repeat the interview. Not so. The sermon of the preacher had passed across the conscience of the hardened sinner, as the keel of the vessel over the waste of waters, without leaving a track behind. Paul was of gentle birth, and by education a scholar, and perhaps the Procurator found in Paul's society a means of beguiling the weary hours. But there was another and more unworthy motive that actuated Felix in sending, from time to time, for his prisoner, and conversing with him on easy terms. He knew that Paul's kinsmen were moving in an elevated sphere, and that the Apostle was revered and beloved by the sect of the Nazarenes, and that he had brought with him at the Pentecost a treasure of large amount, which his influence had collected in Macedonia and Achaia, and that he had many followers of sufficient means in Cæsarea itself. He wished him, therefore, to understand that freedom was not hopeless, provided it were purchased with a suitable recompense.⁹⁹ Such an offer was of course a flagrant violation of the Roman law, but Felix would pay little regard to such considerations.¹⁰⁰ Paul, however, who was suffering duress for crimes he had never committed, was little likely to make himself a criminal by corrupting the fountains of justice to procure his liberation. He paid the penalty of a pure conscience by wearing his chain.

Paul had a hollow friend in Felix within the Prætorium, but he experienced no lack of faithful service from without. Luke and Aristarchus were in attendance upon the Apostle at the time of his embarkation for Rome, and they had probably been so from his arrival at Jerusalem. The affection also of his other attached followers must have burnt with a brighter flame in the night of persecution. Philip, the Evangelist, and his family were resident at Cæsarea, and Cornelius, the Centurion, was perhaps, as a soldier, quartered in the barracks. Paul writes to the Hebrews, according to the authorized translation, "Ye had compassion of me in my bonds," (*τοῖς δέσμοις μου*),¹⁰¹ and if so it would prove the zeal of the Hebrew converts generally on his behalf; but the reading, though commonly received, cannot be supported, for the persecution alluded to in this passage is laid at the very commencement of the Gospel (*φωτισθέντες*), viz. in the time of Stephen, and the text should be corrected, upon the authority of the best MS., "Ye had compassion upon *those in bonds*" (*τοῖς δεσμοῖς*).¹⁰² We may rest assured, however, whether the circumstance be expressly mentioned or

⁹⁸ Acts xxiv. 25.

⁹⁹ Albinus, who was another Felix, acted in a similar way. The only prisoners were those who had nothing to pay. *μόνος ὁ μὴ δούς τοῖς δεσμοῦ-τηρίοις ὡς πονηρὸς ἐγκατελείπετο*. Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 1.

¹⁰⁰ The Julian law on this subject enacted: Ne quis . . . ob hominem in vincula publica

conjiciendum, vinciendum, vincirive jubendum, exve vinculis dimittendum, neve quis ob hominem condemnandum, absolvendumve . . . aliquid acceperit. Dig. xlviii. 11, 7.

¹⁰¹ Heb. x. 34.

¹⁰² This is the reading adopted by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

not, that the Hebrew Christians (though some of the humbler sort may have had their minds poisoned against him by the malice of the Judaizers) were not wanting in fervent charity towards one who had suffered so much for the cross of Christ, and who had so recently exhibited his good will towards themselves by bringing them relief from foreign churches.

As the early Christians were liable at any moment to be dragged to prison or mulcted in heavy fines, the warmth of their zeal in rendering aid to one in distress was the admiration of the heathen themselves. Lucian, the scoffing Atheist, who lived shortly after the Apostolic era, has sketched a ludicrous picture of Christian commiseration for a brother in bonds. Peregrinus, a literary mountebank of the day, and called also Proteus, had, amongst other metamorphoses, professed himself a Christian. He was soon idolized by the sect, and became a prophet and high priest among them. "For this reason," says Lucian, "he was taken up and cast into prison." (And the place of his confinement was certainly in Syria, perhaps in Cæsarea itself.) "But when," continues Lucian, "he was in bonds, the Christians taking the matter to heart moved heaven and earth, first endeavouring to rescue him, and when that was found impracticable they did him all sorts of kind offices, and that not in a careless manner, but with the greatest assiduity, for even betimes in the morning there would be waiting about at the prison little old women and widows and orphans; and the chief men amongst them, by bribing the gaolers, would get into the prison and there pass the night with him. There was then a good supper brought in, and their religious discourses began, and the most excellent Peregrinus (for he was still so called) was pronounced by them to be another Socrates. Even from the cities in Asia some Christians came to him, by an order from the body, to relieve, encourage, and comfort him; for it is incredible what expedition they use when any of their friends are known to be in trouble, for in a word they spare nothing."¹⁰³ One might almost imagine that Lucian was drawing this caricature from the very case of Paul himself.

It has been thought singular, that during his residence at Cæsarea the Apostle should not have addressed a single Epistle to any of the numerous churches planted by him. But why, it may be asked, *should* he have written a letter? There was no post for the transmission of correspondence, and Paul usually maintained a communication with his converts by employing trusty messengers. Thus Timothy, Titus, Luke, Sylvanus, Tychicus, Trophimus, Mark, Clement, Artemas, Erastus, Epaphroditus, Crescens, Erastus, Gaius, Aristarchus, Crescens, Secundus, Sopater, and numerous others, were continually passing to and fro between the Apostle and his churches, and it was only on some extraordinary occasion that Paul, to whom penmanship was an effort and dictation often inconvenient, forwarded by his envoy a written dispatch. During the thirty years of his ministry there emanated from him but fourteen

¹⁰³ Lucian, Pereg. xii.

Epistles, and for the first fifteen years he did not compose one. However, it is more probable that the Jews, who had influence enough with Felix to keep Paul a prisoner for two years, had prevailed upon the mercenary Prefect not to allow him the use of pen and ink, on the ground that he would thus spread the heresy and sedition with which they charged him. No such restriction was afterwards imposed upon him at Rome, but there he was living in a private lodging hired by himself, and the Jewish party had not the like facilities for petty oppression.

While Paul is lying bound in the Prætorium at Cæsarea, let us sketch an outline of Cæsarea itself¹⁰⁴ (fig. 238). It was originally a Greek fishing town, known as Straton's Tower, but as there was no harbour of refuge between Dora and Joppa, and the westerly winds beat against the coast with tremendous violence, Herod the Great conceived the magnificent design of forming a grand artificial port (fig. 239), and erecting about it a capital city. For this purpose he threw out a semicircular mole, from south to north,¹⁰⁵ enclosing a space as large as the Piræus at Athens.¹⁰⁶ The entrance



Fig. 238.—View of Cæsarea-on-sea from the south. From a photograph of the Palestine Exploration.

The projecting promontory on the spectator's left is the rocky eminence on which stood the Temple of Roma and Augustus. Fragments of columns are strewn about it on all sides.

for vessels was on the north.¹⁰⁷ The stones cast into the sea, which was 60 feet deep, were 50 feet long. When the mole at length rose above the waters, it was 200 feet broad. A margin of 100 feet on the west acted as a breakwater to meet the violence of the waves, and the inner or eastern margin, being also 100 feet wide, was laid out as a walk, with moorings for the vessels, and bristled with towers, one of which was

¹⁰⁴ For Josephus's description of Cæsarea, see Bell. i. 21, 5; Ant. xv. 9, 6.

¹⁰⁵ περιέγραψε τὸν κύκλον τοῦ λιμένος. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 6.

¹⁰⁶ μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Ib. In the

Wars, ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . μείζονα μὲν τοῦ Πειραιέως λιμένα κατεσκεύασεν. Bell. i. 21, 5.

¹⁰⁷ ὁ δὲ εἴσπλους καὶ τὸ στόμα πεποιήται πρὸς βορρᾶν. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 6. ὁ δὲ εἴσπλους βόρειος. Bell. i. 21, 7.

of imposing appearance, and called Drusion, after Drusus, one of the imperial family of Rome. The port itself was named Sebastus, the Greek for Augustus, in honour of the Emperor. The town was built of handsome stone, with streets running down to



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Fig. 239.—A brass medal struck in the time of Nero, representing on the obverse the Port of Ostia. From the British Museum.

This medal gives a good idea of a Roman port in the apostolic age, and serves very much to illustrate that of Cæsarea.

The legend at the foot is "S Por. Ost. C.," i.e., *Portus Ostiensis Senatus consulto* (Port of Ostia. By decree of the senate).

On the right is a semicircular pier or jetty carried on open arches, admitting but breaking the force of the sea, and at the end of the pier is a strong post to support the chain, which, in case of danger, was drawn across the mouth of the port.

On the left in the lower part are the warehouses for storing merchandise, and above them, at the end of the pier, is a temple shewing in the interior the image of the god. In front of it is an altar with the figure of a man offering sacrifice, just as at Cæsarea there was a temple to Rome and Augustus.

Within the port at the mouth is the colossal statue of the emperor supported on open piers, which reminds us of the Port of Cenchrea, in the middle of which stood the statue of Neptune (see Vol. I. pp. 299, 300).

At the foot of the medal is the recumbent figure of Portumnus, the god of Ports, or perhaps the river god Tiber, at the embouchure of which river the Port of Ostia was constructed.

In the area of the medal are represented the various vessels and boats of the day. On the left is seen entering the port a vessel under full sail, with the strengthening cords crossing each other at right angles distinctly marked. On the right a trireme enters at full speed, with nine oars on the one side, and the rudder at the stern. Below are several vessels lying at anchor with their sails reefed, and lower still is a jolly boat. It will not escape notice that all the vessels as they were then rigged have only one mast and one great sail.

the port, and others crossing at right angles, and the subterraneous constructions for sewage were as wonderful as the works above. As you entered the port, the most conspicuous object facing you, and on a commanding eminence, was a splendid Temple, the Sebasteum, dedicated to Sebastus, or Augustus, in compliment to whom the city itself was named Cæsarea. Within the temple was a colossal statue of Augustus, equalling that of Jupiter at Olympia, and another of the Goddess of Rome, equalling that of Juno at Argos.¹⁰⁸ It was to this temple that the famous shields, the dedication

¹⁰⁸ Jos. Bell. i. 21, 7. The site of the Temple was at the western extremity of the rocky peninsula on which are now the shattered remains of the Crusaders' tower. This is evidenced by the following facts: 1. The temple stood on an eminence—*ἐπὶ γηλόφου*, Jos. Bell. i. 21, 7; *κολωνός τις*, Ant. xv. 9, 6; in loco edito ubi olim ab Herode in honorem Augusti Cæsaris miro opere dicitur fabricatum templum. William of Tyre, x. 15, p. 784. And such is the character of this peninsula, which rises to a considerable height above the sea level and the land adjacent. 2. Josephus describes the whole city as of excellent materials and workmanship (*καλῆς τε ὕλης καὶ κατασκευῆς*, Ant. xv. 9, 6); but tells us that round the port itself all the houses were of

polished stone, and in the middle of the port was the temple: *περίκεινται δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα λειοτάτου λίθου κατασκευῇ συνεχεῖς οἰκῆσεις, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἐφ' οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος*. Ib. It is not clear whether Josephus means the middle of the coast-line enclosed by the port or the middle of the basin of the port itself; but either view could agree with the peninsula, which is nearly in the middle of the coast-line, and also runs cut into what must have been nearly the middle of the basin itself. 3. The mouth of the port was on the north, and the temple was right in the face of persons sailing in. *τοῦ στόματος ἄντικρυς ναὸς Καίσαρος ἐπὶ γηλόφου*. Bell. i. 21, 7. *ἄποπτος τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν*. Ant. xv. 9, 6. A temple at the end of the peninsula would exactly

of which at Jerusalem threw the nation into such a ferment in the time of Pontius Pilate, were by command of Tiberius removed.¹⁰⁹ There was also the amphitheatre in which Agrippa the Elder was celebrating the games when he was smitten by the hand of God,¹¹⁰ and a theatre and stadium, and market-place, and a gorgeous palace,¹¹¹ in which Herod the Great during his latter days had resided, but which was now the Prætorium, and occupied by the freedman, Felix, and in the guard-room of which was confined the Apostle Paul. The city and port were completed by Herod after twelve years of incessant labour, in B.C. 10,¹¹² and to commemorate the event Herod

answer this description. 4. The temple would, as a matter of course, be surrounded by a colonnade; and a great part of the Crusaders' edifice now standing on the site is made of broken columns which no doubt belonged to the temple of Augustus. In the first volume of Traill's Josephus, p. 237, the reader will find a representation of the Crusaders' work, and will see what a number of broken columns are interspersed in the masonry. At the foot of the northern mole are also some broken columns (see the view in Bartlett's Jerusalem, p. 7), but they could not mark the site of the Temple, for they are not on an eminence. Either they formed part of a colonnade leading to the northern mole or (which is more probable) have been washed up from the Temple on the peninsula, for they lie exactly on the spot where the prevailing south-west wind (against which the harbour itself was constructed) would carry them from the peninsula.

¹⁰⁹ Philo, Leg. ad Caium, c. 38.

¹¹⁰ Josephus (Ant. xix. 8, 2) calls the scene of Agrippa's seizure *θέατρον*, but as it was the time of a festival (*έορτή*, ib.), on the second day of the celebration of the games (*θεωριών*, ib.), the amphitheatre is probably meant. The amphitheatre was on the south of the city behind the port (*πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ, τοῦ λιμένος ὀπισθεν ἀμφιθέατρον*, Ant. xv. 9, 6), and may be placed where in the accompanying chart is read "probable site of theatre." Indeed, recent exploration has established, that what on the plan is called a theatre was in fact an amphitheatre. See note ¹¹², post.

¹¹¹ The site of the Palace possesses an interest as being the Prætorium in which St. Paul for two years was kept a prisoner. It probably stood on the commanding eminence near the middle of the city to the north-east of the port, where was afterwards erected the fortress of the Crusaders. (See chart.) The Palace of Herod at Jerusalem was the strongest fortification,

now called the Castle of David, and the same policy would induce him to select the most impregnable post for his palace at Cæsarea, and that it was placed on high ground is implied by Josephus's statement that Agrippa shed tears on looking down on the spectators below. *ἐν ὑψηλῷ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς, κ.τ.λ.* Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 2.

¹¹² See Fasti Sacri, p. 103, No. 805. It was at Cæsarea that Flavius Vespasianus was first proclaimed Emperor; he therefore became its patron and made it a colony, with immunity from the poll-tax, and called it Flavia after his own name. *Stratonis Turris, eadem Cæsarea, ab rege Herode condita, nunc colonia Prima Flavia a Vespasiano imperatore deducta.* Plin. N. H. v. 14. And Titus gave it immunity from the land tax. Digest. lib. l. tit. 15, c. 8, s. 7. However it soon resumed its more ancient nomenclature, and long flourished as Cæsarea. It early attained the dignity of an episcopate of the Christian church, and Eusebius, the celebrated historian, who was born there, was one of its bishops. It was taken by the Crusaders, and was fortified by them, but their walls were very confined, and far within the circuit of the magnificent city built by Herod. Even at that day the port had been utterly ruined; for William of Tyre writes: *Est autem locus (Cæsarea) . . . portu carens, quamvis de Herode legatur, quod multis sumptibus et curâ diligentiore (invidebatur tamen) elaboraverit, ut tutam ibi aliquam navibus præberet stationem.* William of Tyre, x. 15, p. 784. At the present day the site is still known as Kaisaryeh, but not a creature resides within many miles of the place. For a general description of the ruins, see Pococke, Buckingham's Palestine, Clarke's Travels, D'Arvieux, &c.

The veracity of Josephus has been often impugned for stating that the port of Cæsarea was equal in size to the Piræus at Athens. But Josephus is correct. The supposition of the small dimensions of the port rested on the as-

instituted certain quinquennial games called the Cæsarean in honour of Augustus. When Judea became a Roman province, Cæsarea was the Roman, as Jerusalem was the Jewish capital of the country.¹¹³

sumption that it comprised only the bay or inlet on one side or other of the little rocky peninsula on which the Crusaders' tower stands. But until the survey of the coast by the Admiralty

the greatest ignorance prevailed both as to land and sea. By looking at the accompanying chart (fig. 240) we can form a tolerably accurate notion of the port. It will be observed that the course

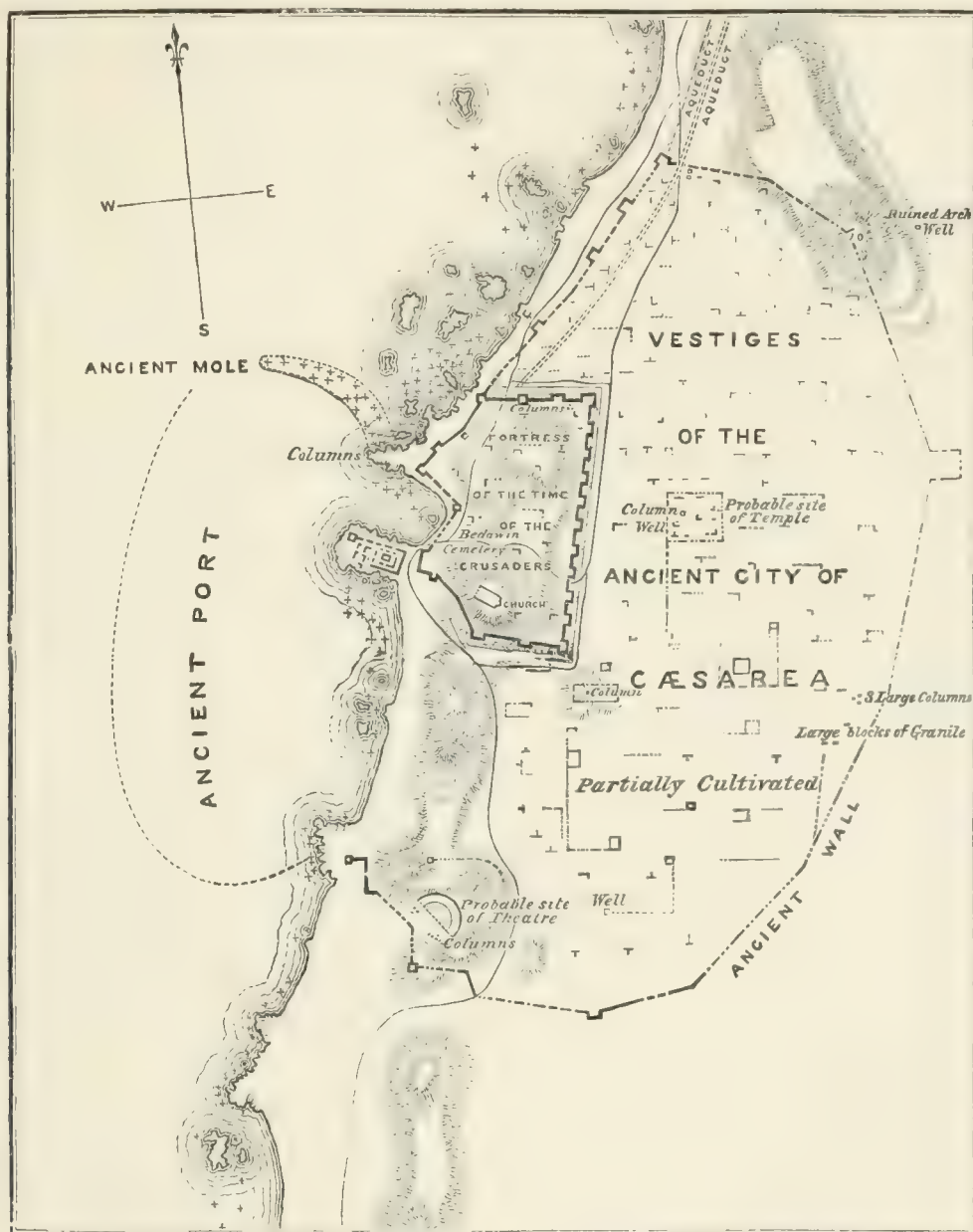


Fig. 240.—Plan of ruins of Cæsarea-on-sea. Grounded on the Admiralty Chart.

of one of the moles has been traced for a considerable distance to a depth of twenty fathoms water, and from its curving round to the south this was evidently the northern limb. The extent

and direction of it make it probable that the southern mole commenced a good way to the south and bent round to the north in the track of the dotted line drawn on the chart, and if so,

¹¹³ Discessere Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Cæsaream. Illa Syriæ, hæc Judææ caput est. Tac. Hist. ii. 79.

At the very time of Paul's peaceful incarceration within the walls of the Prætorium at Cæsarea, a furious storm was raging without.¹¹⁴ The population consisted of Jews and Greeks, between whom a constant feud had for some time past been carried on. The Jews asserted their right to precedence, on the ground that Herod, their countryman, had erected the city. The Greeks advanced equal pretensions, because long before Herod the site had been occupied by Straton, a Greek, after whom it was called Straton's Tower. The Jews had somewhat the preponderance in numbers, and were decidedly the more wealthy. The Greeks, on the other hand, were supported by the Roman cohorts quartered at Cæsarea, composed of native Greeks and Samaritans, both of them the sworn enemies of the Hebrew race. From time to time open insults had been exchanged, and, as high words led to blows, frequent skirmishes ensued. The magistrates had occasionally made an example of the ringleaders by whipping and imprisonment, but nothing could extinguish the deadly animosity between the rival parties, and Cæsarea became the arena of a systematic warfare. Towards the close of Paul's confinement, and just before the recall of Felix, the contest attained its climax. The Jews and Greeks met in the market-

it enclosed a space just about equal to that of the Piræus. That in fact the southern mole was such as we have suggested may be further evinced by the following considerations:—

1. The walls of Herod's city are laid down on the chart, and it will be seen that the northern wall terminates exactly at the foot of the northern mole. The inference is that the southern wall would in like manner terminate at the foot of the southern mole, and if we follow the southern wall we find it carried to the point from which we assume the southern mole to have started, and there the wall of the city ends. Unless the southern wall joined on to the southern mole, the interval between the terminus of the south wall and the terminus of the north wall of the city would have been utterly defenceless toward the sea, which is inconceivable. But evidently the moles themselves, which were 200 feet wide, and sustained a solid wall with high towers, were the ramparts of the city on this side.

2. Josephus, in describing the port, assigns to it one remarkable feature which has hitherto escaped notice, viz. that the general basin, which equalled the dimensions of the Piræus, had within it two (if not more) subordinate bays or inlets for the convenience of loading and unloading (*ἐνδον ἔχοντι δευτέρους ὑφόρμους*, Ant. xv. 9, 6; *ἐν δὲ τοῖς μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθεῖς ὄρμους ἑτέρους*, Bell. i. 25); and in the port as we have drawn it, this is exactly the case; for the little rocky peninsula which supports the Crusaders' tower does

actually divide the basin into two smaller havens, and possibly the projecting rocks seen more to the south may be the remains of a pier which formed a further division.

3. Josephus tells us that Herod erected an amphitheatre at Cæsarea, and gives us two marks by which to discover the site; viz. that it stood on the *south* part of the city—*πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ*, Ant. xv. 9, 6; and commanded a *good view of the sea*—*κείμενον ἐπιτηδείως ἀποπτεῦν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν*. Ib. On the accompanying chart the southern wall is traced, and close to it is placed the probable site of the theatre excavated on the hillside, and looking down upon the sea without any obstacle to interrupt the view. Now assuming the identity of the theatre referred to by Josephus with that which still exists, we can at once prove that the port reached as far south as this; for Josephus adds that the amphitheatre was in the rear of the port: *τοῦ λιμένος ὀπισθεν ἀμφιθέατρον*. Ant. xv. 9, 6. But even without assuming the identity, we can arrive at much the same result, for as the amphitheatre was in the south part of the city, and was also at the rear of the port, it follows that the port reached as far down as the south part of the city, and if it descended as far as the southern wall, or nearly so, it would embrace as large a circuit as the Piræus, which is all we have to show.

¹¹⁴ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 7; Bell. ii. 13, 7. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 318, No. 1879.

place; stones and missiles flew, and a furious engagement began. The Jews were winning the day, when intelligence was carried to Felix in the Prætorium, and marching down with a strong force, he ordered the Jews to their homes. They hesitated to obey, when Felix fell upon them in the most merciless manner, slaughtered a vast number, and made more prisoners; not only so, but the houses of the most opulent Jews were delivered up to the soldiery to be plundered. The Jews may have been quarrelsome; but were not the Greeks equally so? How could Felix justify the carnage of the Jews only, and still more, what defence could be offered for the spoliation of their property? Paul had many friends then residing at Cæsarea on his account, and as he listened to the roar of the tempest without, he must have felt the utmost anxiety for the safety of his dear companions. However, the tranquil tenor of their lives had provoked no hatred amongst the Gentiles, and the poverty of their dwellings was a sufficient protection against mere rapacity. The cold-blooded and heartless conduct of the Procurator on this dreadful day, drew upon him more than ever the execrations of a nation upon whose liberties he had trampled now for a period of eight years.

Paul had been two years a prisoner ¹¹⁵ [A.D. 60], when a dispatch arrived from Rome that Felix was superseded. His Procuratorship had been of unusual duration, for the policy of the Roman Emperors did not commonly permit a Prefect to remain long enough in office to gain a dangerous ascendancy. The Jews now rejoiced at the prospect of escaping from a tyrant, and Felix was alarmed lest he should be called to account at Rome for his iniquitous administration. His brother Pallas, notwithstanding the death of Agrippina, the mother of Nero, the Emperor, had still considerable influence at the imperial court, and Felix could not have had much real ground for apprehension. He, however, at the eleventh hour made some attempts at conciliating the Jews, and one favour, which cost him nothing, and would be most acceptable to them, he freely bestowed—he left Paul a prisoner. But, a long series of oppression was not to escape its punishment in this summary way, and when Felix sailed for Rome, accompanied by his bosom friend Simon Magus, the Jews, at the same time, sent a deputation to accuse him before the Emperor. The interest of Pallas, however, was too powerful; and Felix, notwithstanding the long catalogue of his crimes, from the assassination of the ex-High Priest Jonathan, to the unjust detention of the Apostle Paul, could never be brought to condign punishment, though Felix was under the necessity of disgorging much of his ill-gotten

¹¹⁵ Διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης ἔλαβε διάδοχον ὁ Φῆλιξ Πόρκιον Φῆστον. Acts xxiv. 27. We have an analogous case of protracted imprisonment by the prefect of a province in Lampon at Alexandria, when Flaccus was governor. Λάμπων μὲν ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα δίκην σχών,

καὶ ἐπὶ διετίαν τριβομένου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπειρηκώς. Ὑπερθέσεις γὰρ καὶ ἀναβολὰς ὁ δικαστὴς ἐσκήπτειτο, βουλόμενος καὶ ἂν ἀποφύγῃ τὸ ἐγκλημα, τὸν γοῦν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄδηλον φόβον πρὸς μήκιστον χρόνον ἐπικρεμάσας αὐτῷ, ζωὴν ὀδυνηροτέραν θανάτου παρασχέιν. Philo in Flaccum, xvi.

wealth, and Pallas was obliged to exert all his energies at court to screen him from the storm.¹¹⁶

The successor to Felix was Portius Festus,¹¹⁷ a name which carries a Roman sound, and yet he, too, was probably one of the Emperor's freedmen.¹¹⁸ The new Procurator had a straightforward honesty about him, which forms a strong contrast to the mean rascality of his predecessor. He certainly did not do all the justice which he might have done; but allowing somewhat for a natural desire to ingratiate himself with the most influential men of the nation subject to his government, his conduct, on the whole, was exemplary, and his firmness on many trying occasions cannot fail to elicit our highest admiration.

The Procurator landed at Cæsarea, the Roman capital, when he took possession of the Prætorium, and was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies. At the expiration of three days he paid the Jews the compliment of going up to Jerusalem. His first interview was, of course, with the High Priest.

Agrippa had by this time superseded Ananias in the High Priesthood, and appointed Ishmael, the son of Fabei.¹¹⁹ We have no particulars of Ishmael's history, but he evidently entertained an acrimonious spirit against the Christian sect, for no sooner had Festus arrived at Jerusalem than Ishmael, and some of the most powerful of his countrymen, represented to the Procurator that a malefactor by the name of Paul had been left in bonds by Felix, and requested, as a personal favour, that he would issue an order for his execution. The answer of Festus was such as became an imperial Prefect, and worthy of being written in letters of gold. "IT IS NOT THE MANNER OF THE ROMANS TO DELIVER ANY MAN TO DIE BEFORE THE ACCUSED HAS HAD HIS ACCUSERS FACE TO FACE AND HAS HAD OPPORTUNITY TO ANSWER FOR HIMSELF CONCERNING THE CRIME LAID AGAINST HIM."¹²⁰

The Jews were foiled, and they now petitioned that if legal forms must be complied with, the prisoner might be sent for to Jerusalem, and be put upon his trial

¹¹⁶ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 9.

¹¹⁷ Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 1. This was two full years after the first imprisonment of Paul. *διετίας πληρωθείσης*. Acts xxiv. 27. As Paul was put in bonds at the end of May A.D. 58, Festus probably arrived about midsummer (24th June), A.D. 60, and this harmonises with the Roman law, by which all prefects of provinces were obliged to leave Rome by the 15th of April, and the voyage from Rome to Syria would occupy two or three months. *Felix* was certainly appointed in A.D. 52, and it is equally clear that *Albinus* arrived in the province as successor to Festus in A.D. 62. The portion, therefore, of this interval of ten years not occupied by *Festus* will represent the procuratorship of *Felix*. The

events in the time of Festus were few, and would not require so much as two years. Festus died at the close of A.D. 51 (see *Fasti Sacri*, p. 325, No. 1915), and as prefects left Rome for their provinces on the 15th of April, the arrival of Festus in Judea as successor to Felix may be placed about midsummer, A.D. 60. Thus, the procuratorship of Felix lasted from A.D. 52 to A.D. 60, a period of eight years, a tenure of office unusually long. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 319, No. 1893.

¹¹⁸ Festus was not an uncommon name for a freedman. See *Herodian*, iv. 8.

¹¹⁹ Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 8. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 318, No. 1880.

¹²⁰ Acts xxv. 16.

without delay. Their secret object in this was to wreak their vengeance upon Paul, by employing the Sicarii to assassinate him on the road. Whether Festus, from their over-anxiety upon the subject, suspected a sinister motive, or whether, like Lysias, he had received express intelligence of the conspiracy, he answered with proper spirit, that Paul was a prisoner at Cæsarea, and that he himself was going thither directly. "Let the chief among you,¹²¹ therefore," said he, "go down with me and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him."¹²²

At the expiration of ten days Festus returned to Cæsarea, and at the same time the Jews sent a deputation thither to prosecute the indictment against Paul. Festus, agreeably to his promise, appointed the very next day for the trial; and on the morrow, having taken his seat on the tribunal in the judgment hall, with the assessors (answering to our jurymen) at his side, commanded the prisoner to be brought into court.

The Jews now, as they had done before Felix, charged Paul with Heresy in being a Nazarene, with profanation of the Temple, and with violation of the laws of Cæsar by turbulence and sedition. The Apostle again replied, "Neither against the Law of the Jews, neither against the Temple, nor yet against Cæsar have I offended anything at all."¹²³ He admitted his belief in the resurrection of Jesus, but insisted that he had not thereby transgressed any law.¹²⁴ No evidence was adduced in support of the accusation, and the charges of profanation of the Temple, and breach of the peace, were manifestly frivolous.¹²⁵ Festus, therefore, was disposed to pronounce an acquittal; but no sooner had he intimated the inclination of his opinion, than the Jews were in an uproar,¹²⁶ and insisted that the strength of their case lay in the count of Heresy, and that he ought to be tried before the High Priest and the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem; and they cited, perhaps, the edict of Julius Cæsar, "That if at any time thereafter there should arise any question touching the Jewish law, the matter should be tried before Hyrcanus and his heirs," that is, before the High Priest for the time being, and the Sanhedrim.¹²⁷ Festus's own account, and which is highly probable, is that the charge brought against Paul was of a perfectly different character from what he had anticipated,—that Paul was accused, not of treason or any

¹²¹ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν δυνατοί. In the Authorized translation the words are, "let them which among you *are able*;" and the word δυνατοὶ can be used in this sense. See James iii. 2; Rom. xiv. 4; 2 Cor. ix. 8; Heb. xi. 19; and the passage from Numerius, cited *infra* on 2 Tim. iii. 8. But οἱ δυνατοὶ is generally used by Josephus in the sense which we have given to it in the text. Thus: Ἰουδαίων οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ παρῆν. Bell. ii. 16, 2. καὶ τῶν Σαμαρέων οἱ δύναντοι. Bell. ii. 12, 5. οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Bell. ii. 14, 4. οἱ δυνατοί. Bell. ii. 14, 1, &c.

¹²² Acts xxv. 5.

¹²³ Acts xxv. 8.

¹²⁴ Acts xxv. 19.

¹²⁵ Acts xxv. 25.

¹²⁶ Acts xxviii. 19.

¹²⁷ ἂν δὲ μεταξὺ γένηται τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, viz. Ὑρκανῶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 2. The Sanhedrim, however, had no power of trying *capital* causes, or at least their verdict could not be carried into effect without the sanction of the Procurator. See Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.

crime, but only of an offence against "their own superstition," and that "because he doubted of such manner of questions he had asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters."¹²⁸ In the same spirit, Gallio on the judgment-seat at Corinth had said, "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters."¹²⁹ Festus, then, was puzzled by the nature of the charge; but he was no doubt also desirous, if he could with decency, of gratifying the Jews; and he therefore proposed, though at the expense of some personal trouble to himself, that Paul should be tried upon the count of Heresy before the Sanhedrim, but that Festus himself should preside. By these means impartiality would be secured, and the sentence when passed would be final, as the joint act of the council and the Procurator. "Wilt thou,"¹³⁰ said Festus, turning to the prisoner, "go up to Jerusalem and there be judged of these things before me?"¹³¹ It was neither fair nor legal that the accuser should name the tribunal before which the prisoner should be tried.¹³² Not only this, but Paul saw his evident destruction in such a course; for in the first place, he might be waylaid and murdered on the road (for which, indeed, a plot had already been formed); and in the next place, if he lived to stand before the Sanhedrim, there was no doubt that, notwithstanding the wish of Festus to do justice in general, he would be overpowered by the Jewish council, and a conviction be recorded. Festus had already shown his leaning in favour of the Jews, and the voice of the populace at the capital would be brought to bear against Festus as before against Pontius Pilate.

There was only one mode by which he could escape the toils that beset him. As a Roman citizen, though a Jew, he had been put upon his trial before the Roman Tribunal, the proper jurisdiction, and nothing had been proved against him. Festus had proposed to remit the case to the Jewish Sanhedrim. But the Jews, while they had the privilege of trying offences against their own peculiar law in their own courts, could not thus proceed against a Roman citizen, and Paul, though a Jew, was a Roman. He, therefore, exercised the privilege accorded to him, and appealed to the Emperor.¹³³ "I stand," said Paul, "at Cæsar's judgment seat,"¹³⁴ where I ought

¹²⁸ Acts xxv. 20.

¹²⁹ Acts xviii. 14.

¹³⁰ *θέλεις*. For as Paul was a Roman, and the case had been taken up by the Roman governor, it could not lawfully, without the prisoner's consent, be remitted to the Jewish judicature. Meyer, *Apostg.* 423.

¹³¹ Acts xxv. 9.

¹³² *Observandum est, ne is iudex detur, quem altera pars nominatim petat (id enim iniqui exempli esse divus Hadrianus rescripsit) nisi hoc specialiter a principe ad verecundiam petiti iudicis respiciente permittetur.* Dig. v. 1, 47.

¹³³ Porcia lex libertatem civium lictori eripuit.

C. Gracchus legem tulit, ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu populi judicaretur. Cic. pro Rab. iv. So we read in Pliny's famous letter: *Fuerunt alii similis amentix, quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in urbem remittendos.* x. 97. Persons of consular dignity, one for each province, were annually appointed by the emperors, to hear such appeals. *Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavit urbano; at provincialium consularibus viris quos singulos cujusque provincix negotiis præposuisset.* Suet. Octav. 33. And see Dion liii. 33.

¹³⁴ Judea was one of the emperor's provinces,

to be judged. To the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest; for if I be an offender, or have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die;¹³⁵ but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them. I APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR" (fig. 241).¹³⁶

A Roman citizen had a right of appeal; but to allow it in all cases without distinction, would only retard the administration of justice, and would often lead to great public inconvenience. It was, therefore, put under certain restrictions, and the judge exercised a discretion whether, under the particular circumstances, the claim ought to be conceded.¹³⁷ Festus now deliberated with his council¹³⁸ upon the propriety of admitting the appeal, and as there could be no valid reason for refusing it, they decided in the affirmative, and Festus declared the result: "Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar shalt thou go." There is something of petulance

and governed by a procurator, and the maxim was, quæ acta gestaque sunt a procuratore Cæsaris, sic ab eo comprobantur, atque si a Cæsare ipso gesta sunt. Ulpian, Digest i. 19, 1. With regard to the senate's or people's provinces, the tribunal was different, for Nero at the commencement of his reign issued an edict that consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicæ provinciæ assisterent. Tac. Ann. xiii. 4.

¹³⁵ εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικῶ, καὶ ἄξιον θανάτου πέπραχά τι, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. Acts xxv. 11. How like to this are the words of Josephus: θανεῖν μὲν, εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. Vit. xxix. In reading the autobiography of Josephus, one is almost tempted to suppose that Josephus was not only acquainted with Christianity in general, but had even perused the Acts of the Apostles. His dream, Vit. s. 42, strongly reminds us of the vision, Acts xvi. 9; and his discovery of the plot against his life, Vit. s. 41, of the disclosure to Paul, Acts xxiii. 16; and the escape of Josephus from the assembly at Tiberias is parallel to the similar escape of Paul from the council at Jerusalem, Acts xxiii. 6; and the shipwreck of Josephus in a vessel with six hundred persons on board, κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν, Vit. s. 3, on his way to Rome, when he was "a night and a day in the deep," closely resembles the account of the similar calamity of Paul's shipwreck in the Acts.

¹³⁶ Acts xxv. 10, 11. A written appeal was quite unnecessary, as even a verbal appeal would suffice. Sed si apud acta quis appellaverit, satis erit si dicat, Appello. Dig. xlix. 1, 2. Paul appealed at once and before sentence, but in certain cases at least an appeal would lie even within a short time after sentence. Biduum vel

triduum (according to the nature of the case) appellationis ex die sententiæ computandum erit. Dig. xlix. tit. 4.

¹³⁷ Si res dilationem non recipiat, non permittitur appellare. Dig. xlix. 5, 7. Constitutiones quæ de recipiendis, necnon, appellationibus loquuntur, ut nihil novi fiat, locum non habent in eorum personâ quos damnatos statim puniri publici interest, ut sunt insignes latrones, vel seditionum concitatores, vel duces factionum. Dig. xlix. 1, 16. It was also required, at least in civil causes, that the appellant should deposit a certain sum to abide the result. Ut qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatum provocavissent, ejusdem pecuniæ facerent cum iis qui imperatorem appellavere. Tac. Ann. xiv. 28. That Festus had a discretion is evident from the deliberation, Acts xxv. 12, and from his deciding to allow the appeal (ἐκρίνα). Acts xxv. 25. See on the subject of appeals, Cod. Lib. vii. tit. 62.

¹³⁸ συλλαλήσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου. Acts xxv. 12. With his council or board of advice—his amici curiæ. The prefects of provinces were attended by counsellors or παρέδρου, chosen by themselves. τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ αἰρεῖται, &c. Dion, liii. 14. These were sometimes called their 'friends' (φίλων), sometimes 'captains' (ἡγεμόνων), sometimes 'assessors,' as in Philo, Leg. s. 33, μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο, and sometimes 'the council.' Illud negare possis, aut nunc negabis, te, consilio tuo demisso, viris primariis, qui in consilio C. Sacerdotis fuerant, tibi que esse solebant, remotis, de re judicata judicasse? Cic. in Verr. act ii. lib. ii. c. 32, s. 81; Suet. Tib. 33; and see Lardner, Cred. b. i. c. 2, s. 16; Kuinoel, Acts xxv. 12.

in the answer of Festus, and, perhaps, as an honest man, and intending to act honestly himself, he felt the appeal of his prisoner to a higher tribunal as something like a personal affront.

Paul was now remitted to safe custody, but by the Roman law was not to be treated as guilty pending the appeal, the infliction of any punishment being strictly prohibited until the final sentence of the Emperor.¹³⁹



Fig. 241.—Coin of Porcius Læca. From British Museum.

Obv. Head of Pallas with the legend P. Læca Roma, and X denoting a denarius of ten asses. Porcius Læca was the author of the Porcian law, by which the right of appeal from a magistrate to the people was conceded, and severe penalties were inflicted on the breach of it. On the overthrow of the Republic to make way for the Empire, the appeal was made to the emperor as representing the people. See ante, p. 147.

Rev. In the centre is the magistrate who had pronounced sentence, and on the right is the lictor with the fasces preparing to carry out the sentence. On the left is the Roman citizen found guilty, with the hands clasped under the toga, in the attitude of a suppliant, with the legend below *Provoco* (I appeal). See Pighius, vol. ii. p. 256.

The Apostle had for many years desired to visit the great capital of the world, and the vision in Fort Antonia two years before had warned him that as he had testified at Jerusalem, so he should at Rome. The anxious wish of Paul was now to be gratified, and the prophetic announcement was to receive its accomplishment. The Procurator waited only for a favourable opportunity of forwarding his prisoner.

During this brief interval Paul was called upon to plead the cause of Christianity in the presence of a most august assembly.

At the period of Festus's arrival, King Agrippa, who had now attained his thirty-third year, and his sister Bernice, who was thirty-two, were residing together at Cæsarea Philippi, the capital of Agrippa's kingdom, and as the Herodian family never missed an occasion of paying court to a Roman of rank, the news no sooner reached Agrippa and his sister that Festus had landed at Cæsarea, than they set out with all the state they could command to visit the Procurator and offer their congratulations.¹⁴⁰ Festus received them very graciously, and mutual hospitalities soon established an intimacy. In the course of conversation, Festus alluded to a subject which he rightly conceived would not be uninteresting to his guests. "There is a certain man," said Festus, "left in bonds by Felix, about whom, when I was at

¹³⁹ The maxim was, *Integer status esse videtur, provocatione interpositâ*. Dig. xlix. tit. 7, sect. 3.

¹⁴⁰ So Agrippa and Bernice made, A.D. 64, a similar visit of ceremony to Gessius Florus, the newly-appointed Procurator of Judea. αὐτοὶ γὰρ [Agrippa and Bernice] εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο,

ὑπαντῆσαι βουλόμενοι Γεσσίῳ. Jos. Vit. s. 11. So when Tiberius Alexander was appointed (A.D. 66) Prefect of Egypt, Agrippa proceeded from Judea to Egypt to congratulate him on the event. Jos. Bell. ii. 15, 1.

Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. To whom I answered, 'It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die before the accused has had his accusers face to face, and has had an opportunity to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him.' Therefore, when they were come hither, without any delay, on the morrow I sat on the judgment-seat, and commanded the man to be brought forth, against whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed,¹⁴¹ but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive; and because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters. But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cæsar."¹⁴²

Agrippa and Bernice¹⁴³ listened with profound attention, though no doubt already acquainted with the leading features of the case, and expressed a desire to know the full particulars. "I would also," said Agrippa, "hear the man myself."¹⁴⁴ Festus gladly acceded to the request, not only to afford gratification to his friends, but as he had been not a little perplexed about the question of Heresy, he might hope to derive some assistance from Agrippa in penning a proper dispatch to the Emperor. "To-morrow," said he, "thou shalt hear him."¹⁴⁵

Accordingly, the following day Agrippa and Bernice arrived at the Prætorium or palace with great pomp, and were ushered into the judgment-hall. Festus took his seat on the tribunal, and to do the more honour to his royal guests he commanded the attendance of the principal officers of the troops quartered at Cæsarea, and of the most influential of the civil magistrates. The 5th, 10th, and 15th Legions or regiments of the line, besides five cohorts or auxiliary corps, with accompanying squadrons of cavalry, were usually stationed at Cæsarea,¹⁴⁶ and the gleaming armour and gay attire of the great captains of the Roman army of Judea with the furred gowns and flowing robes of the municipal authorities must have presented a most imposing spectacle, and well calculated to stimulate the energies of the Christian advocate. Festus now gave the order for the prisoner to be produced, and Paul, wearing his fetter,¹⁴⁷ was ushered into court. The Procurator now opened the day's proceedings with the following address:—

"King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us! Ye see this man,

¹⁴¹ From Paul's long imprisonment, and the utter detestation of him by the Jews, Festus may well have assumed that he had been guilty of some heinous crime. Meyer, *Apostg.* 426.

¹⁴² Acts xxv. 14–21.

¹⁴³ Particularly perhaps Bernice, who four years before had married Polemo, king of part of Cilicia, Paul's native country, but soon

after deserted him. *Jos. Ant.* xx. 7, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Acts xxv. 22.

¹⁴⁵ *Ib.*

¹⁴⁶ See *Jos. Bell.* iii. 4, 2; *Ant.* xix. 9, 2; *Tac. Hist.* v. 1, 10; ii. 6, 76.

¹⁴⁷ That prisoners sometimes pleaded in their chains, see *Tac. Ann.* iv. 28.

about whom all the multitude of the Jews have pressed upon me, both at Jerusalem and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer. But having found that he hath committed nothing worthy of death, and he himself having appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him; of whom I have no certain thing to write unto my Lord.¹⁴⁸ Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, O King Agrippa, that, after examination had, I may have somewhat to write; for it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him.”¹⁴⁹ Upon this, Agrippa, turning to Paul, said, “Thou art permitted to speak for thyself.” Paul, then stretching forth his hand,¹⁵⁰ and addressing himself¹⁵¹ to King Agrippa, thus opened his defence.

“I think myself happy, King Agrippa, that I am to answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused by the Jews, especially as thou art expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews; wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.

“My manner of life from my youth, which was from the first¹⁵² among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews who have known me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.¹⁵³ And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers; unto which promise our twelve tribes,¹⁵⁴ fervently serving God day and night, hope to come; for which hope’s sake, King Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews.

“Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead? I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth; which thing I also did in Jerusalem, and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests,

¹⁴⁸ τῷ κυρίῳ. Augustus disclaimed the title of ‘dominus.’ Suet. Oct. liii. So Tiberius. Suet. Tib. xxvii. But Caligula was greedy of it, and it seems to have been assumed by his successors till, in the reign of Domitian, it was assigned to the emperors by law. Suet. Domit. xiii. Kuinoel, Acts xxv. 26.

¹⁴⁹ Acts xxv. 24–27.

¹⁵⁰ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα. Acts xxvi. 1. Some suggest that it was the left hand, as his right was linked by a chain to a soldier. But there is no necessity for this, as, though the right wrist was fastened to a soldier’s left, it was by a chain of light workmanship, and of sufficient length to allow the wearer the free use of the hand. Had it been the left hand, Luke would have so stated it, as the right hand was the one usually extended by orators. Porrigit dextram, et ad instar oratorum conformat articulum, duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, cæteros eminentes porrigit, et infesto pollice leniter subri-

dens infit. Apul. Metamor. Met. ii. p. 54 (Delphin. ed. 1688).

¹⁵¹ Paul must have spoken in Greek. See ante, p. 156.

¹⁵² τὴν βίωσίν μου τὴν ἐκ νεότητος, τὴν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς γενομένην. Acts xxvi. 4. Paul therefore had come to Jerusalem when he was very young.

¹⁵³ That the Pharisees were the straitest sect is abundantly testified by Josephus. οἱ δοκοῦντες μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα. Bell. ii. 8, 14. καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόνιόν τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ’ ἐξακριβώσει μέγα φρονεῖν τοῦ πατρίου νόμου . . . Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται. Ant. xvii. 2, 4. Φαρισαῖοι σύνταγμά τι Ἰουδαίων δοκοῦν εὐσεβέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι. Bell. i. 5, 2, &c.

¹⁵⁴ The twelve tribes still existed, though two only, with a sprinkling from the other ten, returned from the Babylonish captivity. St. James also speaks of ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς. Epist. i. 1.

and when they were put to death¹⁵⁵ I gave my vote against them,¹⁵⁶ and I punished them oft in every synagogue,¹⁵⁷ and compelled them¹⁵⁸ to blaspheme, and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities.

“Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, at mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue,¹⁵⁹ ‘Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.’¹⁶⁰ And I said, ‘Who art thou, Lord?’ And he said, ‘I am Jesus whom thou persecutest—but rise and stand upon thy feet, for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.’

“Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision, but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea,¹⁶¹ and to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and

¹⁵⁵ The plural number is here used, but it does not appear from the Acts that any one but Stephen was put to death, and hence the phrase is thought to be rhetorical, the plural, as is common enough, being substituted for the singular. See Kuinoel, Acts xxvi. 10. But others may have been put to death, and the case of Stephen only may have been recorded, because he was a deacon, and so the most prominent character.

¹⁵⁶ *κατήνεγκα ψῆφον*. Acts xxvi. 10. If Paul had a vote, the death of Stephen must have been by judicial process, and Paul must have been a member of the Sanhedrim.

¹⁵⁷ As our Lord had foretold to his disciples. Matt. x. 17.

¹⁵⁸ *ἠνάγκαζον*, not *ἠνάγκασα*—‘I strove to compel them,’ without reference to the success of the attempt.

¹⁵⁹ This accounts for the following words, *Σαούλ, Σαούλ*, the Hebrew name, instead of the Greek *Σαῦλε, Σαῦλε*. Our Lord spake in the language which he had used on earth. By the ‘Hebrew’ is meant the Syro-Chaldaic, the current language of the day. From this allusion to the Hebrew tongue, Paul himself was now

evidently speaking Greek, which also may be inferred from Acts xxi. 40.

¹⁶⁰ See Vol. I., p. 51.

¹⁶¹ This passage has always been a puzzle to me. At *what time* did he preach “throughout all the coasts of Judea?”

1. Was it on his way from Damascus to Jerusalem? But if so, he would naturally have placed Judea before Jerusalem, and have said, “and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and at Jerusalem.”

2. Was it on his quitting Jerusalem at the close of his first visit in A.D. 39? But then how could it be said that “the brethren conducted him as far as Cæsarea, and sent him away to Tarsus?” Acts ix. 30.

3. Was it during the year spent by Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, when Barnabas fetched him from Tarsus to Antioch? But this is scarcely consistent with the statement that during this year they “assembled themselves with the church there and taught.” Acts xi. 26.

4. Was it in the course of his journey to and from Jerusalem in A.D. 44, when Paul and Barnabas took up the alms of the Antiochian church?

5. Was it in the course of the journey to and

do works meet for repentance. For these causes the Jews caught me in the Temple, and went about to kill me. Having therefore obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come—that¹⁶² Christ should suffer;¹⁶³ that being the first to rise from the dead, he should show light unto the people and to the Gentiles”—¹⁶⁴

Thus far Festus had listened with mute attention. He could not but admire the impressive address of one so eloquent and evidently so sincere. But the hearing of a voice from heaven, and the resurrection from the dead of one who had been crucified, appeared to him the baseless dream of a visionary, and unable to refrain himself longer he burst forth with the exclamation, “Paul, thou art beside thyself, much learning doth make thee mad!”¹⁶⁵ Paul replied calmly, “I am not mad, most noble Festus,¹⁶⁶ but speak forth the words of truth and soberness, for the king knoweth of these things; before whom also I speak freely, for I am persuaded that none of these things are hidden from him, for this thing was not done in a corner;”¹⁶⁷ and then, turning to Agrippa, he said, “King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.” Agrippa was deeply moved, and the confession fell unbidden from his lips, “A *little* thou persuadest me to be a Christian!”¹⁶⁸ Then

from Jerusalem in A.D. 48, when Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem to take the opinion of the council there?

But to the two last hypotheses, and also to the three preceding, there is the following common objection. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, states that, after his visit to Jerusalem on his return from Damascus in A.D. 39, he “came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, and was *unknown by face unto the churches of Judea*, which were in Christ.” Galat. i. 21. How long, then, did this absence and estrangement from the churches of Judea continue? The Apostle leads us in the Epistle to suppose that it was at least until his next visit to Jerusalem: “Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem” (Galat. ii. 1); and this visit was in A.D. 53. And if so, the churches of Judea could not have heard his preaching in A.D. 44 or A.D. 48.

6. Can the preaching of Paul throughout the coasts of Judea be referred to this visit of A.D. 53, when he sailed from Corinth to Jerusalem, and then went down to Antioch? The last objection will not apply to this theory; and although the silence of Luke upon the subject rather negatives the supposition, I am not aware of any positive argument against the hypothesis.

As the Apostle mentions the fact of his having preached throughout Judea in his address to King Agrippa in A.D. 60, at the close of his two years’ imprisonment at Cæsarea, it is not impossible that he may have referred to his furtherance of the Gospel throughout Judea during his incarceration; for though he could not personally make a circuit of the cities, he may well have employed his faithful attendants on missions for that purpose; and his asking, while at Rome, for the prayers of the Hebrews, that he might the sooner be restored to them, implies that his labours in Judea had endeared him to the Christian community. Heb. xiii. 18.

¹⁶² εἰ, ‘that,’ as a little before in Acts xxvi. 8.

¹⁶³ The Greek word is παθητός, ‘patibilis,’ the subject of suffering.

¹⁶⁴ Acts xxvi. 2–23.

¹⁶⁵ Festus evidently understood Paul, who was therefore speaking Greek. Festus, as a Roman, would understand Greek, but not Hebrew.

¹⁶⁶ Οὐ μαίνομαι, φησι, κράτιστε Φῆστε. So Philo: Οὐ μέμνηνα, ὧ οὗτος, οὐδὲ ἡλίθιος τίς εἰμι. In Flaccum, s. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Acts xxvi. 25, 26.

¹⁶⁸ ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις. Acts xxvi. 28. These words have been variously rendered.

Some suppose them spoken ironically: Think-

Paul, holding up his chain, uttered the solemn ejaculation, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both a *little* and a *mickle*¹⁶⁹ such as I am,—except these bonds!"¹⁷⁰ a masterstroke of true eloquence that the finest orators of Greece and Rome have never excelled! The effect was electrical, and Agrippa felt that if Paul proceeded he must not almost but altogether avow himself a Christian. He could not sever himself from his countrymen to whom the name of Christ was an abomination—he could not encounter the scorn of the Procurator, who had pronounced Paul a madman—and unable to cope with the Apostle's arguments, he deemed it the wisest course to withdraw from the controversy. He, therefore, rose from his seat, and at the signal Festus and Bernice and the other magnates rose also. They retired aside, and agreed unanimously, "This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds."¹⁷¹ Agrippa, though he could not bring himself to hazard the petty kingdom of Trachonitis for an everlasting crown, had at least the magnanimity to declare, "This man might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed unto Cæsar."¹⁷²

An appeal to Rome was necessarily accompanied with a statement of the case¹⁷³ under the hand of the judge, called the *Literæ dimissoriæ*, or *Libelli appellatorii* or

est thou *in so few words*, or *in so short a time*, to persuade me to be a Christian? See Meyer, Apostg. 438; Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 6. It must be admitted that *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* is not the same as *παρ' ὀλίγον*, and therefore does not signify literally 'almost.' But the English version may be thought to represent well enough the sense of the original. *Ἐν ὀλίγῳ* is strictly, '*in a little* thou persuadest me,' or 'you go a little way toward persuading me,' 'you somewhat persuade me.'

Another interpretation is this: *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, as the expression is used by the Apostle himself in another place, Ephes. iii. 3, may mean 'in short.' Thus Paul had been recounting the scene of his conversion, and was proceeding to argue in favour of Christianity generally by an appeal to prophecy, when he was interrupted by Festus's exclamation, "Paul, thou art beside thyself." Paul then turning to Agrippa, began to interrogate him: "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." Agrippa had been a patient hearer while Paul was defending himself or was arguing generally; but now that the Apostle made a personal appeal to Agrippa, and was about to urge the Christian faith upon his acceptance, the bigoted prince, at once repudiating the idea, exclaims, "In short, you are now for persuading *me*, the most zealous of Moses' followers, to be a Christian!" But this interpretation is not consistent with Paul's

reply, "I would to God that both a *little* (*ἐν ὀλίγῳ*) and a *mickle* (*ἐν πολλῷ*)," &c.; for evidently Paul does not here use the expression *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* in the sense of 'in short,' but in the sense of 'in a small degree,' as opposed to *ἐν πολλῷ* 'in a great degree.' At the same time, it is not impossible that Agrippa should have used the phrase in one sense, and Paul in another.

¹⁶⁹ *ἐν πολλῷ*. Acts xxvi. 29. Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford read *ἐν μεγάλῳ*.

¹⁷⁰ *τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων*. Acts xxvi. 29. The word *δεσμοὶ* implies bondage merely, and not necessarily more than one chain. Thus Paul at Rome was allowed to live in his own hired lodging, with his right hand linked to a soldier's left, and yet he speaks of 'his bonds'—*τῶν δεσμῶν*. Philipp. iv. 28.

¹⁷¹ Acts xxvi. 31.

¹⁷² Acts xxvi. 32.

¹⁷³ 'Libelli dimissorii' or 'apostoli.' Dig. xlix. tit. 6. Libelli qui dantur appellatorii ita sunt concipiendi ut habeant scriptum, et a quo dati sint, hoc est, qui appellet, et adversus quem, et a quâ sententiâ. Dig. xlix. 1, 4. In the case of Paul, Festus had not pronounced any final decision; but an appeal was allowed in special cases, ante sententiam. Appellari potest, si quæstionem in civili negotio habendam judex interlocutus sit, vel in criminali si contra leges hoc faciat. Dig. xlix. 5, 2.

apostoli. As Festus himself was ignorant of the Jewish law, and Agrippa, on the other hand, was perfectly familiar with it, one object which Festus had proposed in ordering the hearing of Paul in the presence of Agrippa was that he might know what to write; and now the opinion expressed by Agrippa in favour of Paul's entire innocence (though extra-judicial) had an important influence on Festus's statement to the Emperor; and the result was that the prisoner, though after a tedious detention in the imperial city, was at length set at liberty even by the greatest tyrant that the world had ever seen.



Fig. 241a.—Coin of Agrippa I. From F. W. Madden's *Jewish Numismatics*.

Obv. A portrait of Agrippa I. with the legend [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΥΣ ΑΓ[ΡΙΠΠΑΣ] (King Agrippa). *Rev.* His son (afterwards Agrippa II.) as a youth on horseback, with the legend ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of Agrippa the son of the king) L.B., that is, struck in the second year of the reign of Agrippa I., and therefore struck some time between 1 Nisan A.D. 37, and 1 Nisan A.D. 38. Agrippa I. at this time was about 38 years old, and his son a boy of about 11 years.

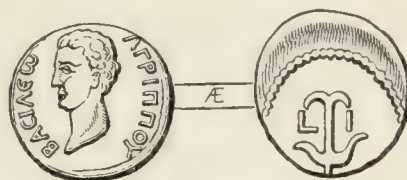


Fig. 241b.—A coin of Agrippa II. From F. W. Madden's *Jewish Numismatics*.

Obv. A portrait of Agrippa II., with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (of King Agrippa). *Rev.* An anchor.

CHAPTER V.

Paul is sent to Rome—His Shipwreck by the way.

And now, lashed on by destiny severe,
 With horror fraught the dreadful scene drew near.
 The ship hangs hovering on the verge of death;
 Hell yawns, rocks rise, and breakers roar beneath,
 Uplifted on the surge to heaven she flies,
 Her shattered top half-buried in the skies,
 Then, headlong plunging, thunders on the ground,
 Earth groans, air trembles, and the deeps resound.

Falconer.

THERE were other prisoners to be sent to Rome besides Paul, and it was not long before a convenient opportunity presented itself. A merchantman¹ of Adramyttium, a city of Mysia, opposite the isle of Lesbos (fig. 242), was making her homeward voyage from Egypt and touched at Cæsarea. The intention at this time was that Paul and his party



Fig. 242.—Coin of Adramyttium. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Antinous, who was deified in the reign of Hadrian, with the legend *Αντινοῦς Ἰαχῶς* (Antinous Bacchus), Antinous from his beauty being called the young Bacchus.
Rev. Figure of Ceres with the legend *Εγέσιος ἀνέθηκε* (Egesius dedicated). *Ἀδραμυττηνῶν* (of the Adramyttians).

should take their passage for Adramyttium, and then pursue the overland route to Italy by the great Via Egnatia from Neapolis through Philippi, Thessalonica, and the Macedonian towns to Dyrrhachium, the port for Brundisium.² This was the road by which, some years after, the martyr Ignatius was conveyed from Antioch to Rome under similar circumstances; and such a route would be particularly eligible

¹ πλοίοι. Acts xxvii. 2.

² This route is implied in μέλλοντες πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους. Acts xxvii. 2. Asia means

here Lydian Asia, which the vessel would have to pass on its way to Adramyttium, a city of Mysia, just north of Lydian Asia.

on the present occasion, as it was now late in the year and the seas would soon be closed.

Festus committed Paul and his fellow-travellers to the charge of Julius, a centurion (fig. 243) of the Augustan cohort³, a very humane officer, and kindly disposed



Fig. 243.—A Roman centurion.

This figure is the effigy of M. Favonius Pollio Facilis, a centurion of the twentieth legion, who was quartered at Camulodunum, now Colchester, and died there, and was buried in the Roman cemetery just without the Roman walls on the south of the road leading from Headgate to Lexden. In honour of his memory his two freedmen (for he was a person of some consequence) erected over his remains a sepulchral monument, on which was sculptured in basso-relievo a full-length portrait of the deceased. It was brought to light two or three years ago by Mr. George Joslin, who, in prosecuting his antiquarian researches, discovered it at the depth of about three feet from the surface, in two pieces. The above engraving is from a photograph which was kindly presented to the author by Mr. Joslin himself. We have here, therefore, a faithful likeness taken from life of a Roman centurion, such as might have been seen marching at the head of his cohort through the streets of Camulodunum eighteen hundred years ago, in the days of the apostle Paul.

The height of the canopy in which the figure stands, including the base, is 6 feet, and the width 2 ft. 4 in. The inscription at the foot when filled up is, M. Favonius M. F. Pollio Facilis centurio Legionis xx.: Verecundus et Novicius Liberti posuerunt. Hic situs est. That is, "Marcus Favonius (son of Marcus) Pollio Facilis, centurion of the 20th Legion. Erected by Verecundus and Novicius, the freedmen. Here he lies."

The accoutrements of the centurion consist of a breastplate with a girdle and greaves, and shoes or sandals, and attached to the left shoulder is the sagum, or military cloak. In the right hand he holds the vitis or vine-stick, the badge of a centurion, and with which he was privileged to chastise the soldiers and maintain discipline. The vitis was so peculiarly the mark of a centurion, that in inscriptions this rank was for brevity denoted by the initial letter V, but to distinguish it from the ordinary letter it was inclined sideways > as in the present instance. In the left hand he grasps a sword attached to a belt, which passes over the right shoulder. On the right side is seen a short sword or dagger, which remarkably illustrates the statement of Josephus that the Roman legionaries carried two swords, a long one on the right hand and a short one on the left. Bell. iii. 5, 5. A latere pugionem, Tac. Hist. iii. 68. This position of the sword is reversed in the monument, the case of a centurion being an exception to the general rule, from his holding the vitis in his right.

³ σπειρης Σεβαστης. Acts xxvii. 1. The word σπείρα signifies an auxiliary cohort as opposed

to a Roman legion. There were five cohorts usually stationed at Cæsarea. Jos. Bell. iii. 4, 2;

towards Paul. A company of Roman soldiers was added as a military escort, and (as Ignatius alone was guarded by ten, whom he calls his ten leopards,⁴) there could scarcely have been a smaller number, though precaution might have required more, for Paul, be it remembered, was not the only prisoner, but others also were forwarded to the capital of Italy at the same time.⁵ By the courtesy of the Procurator, Luke and Aristarchus,⁶ who had arrived with Paul at Jerusalem, and seem to have remained in constant attendance upon him during his imprisonment, were allowed to accompany him on his voyage, Luke as far as Rome itself, and Aristarchus as far as Thessalonica, his native city. The faithful Timothy was at Ephesus, and other attached followers may have been absent on errands to different Christian communities.

The vessel sailed from Port Sebastus in the month of August, A.D. 60,⁷ and as the

Ant. xix. 9, 2. The *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή* was probably one of the five cohorts, and was distinct from the *σπεῖρα Ἰταλική*, Acts xi. 1, and from the *Σηβαστηνοὶ* (the mounted troops of Sebaste or Samaria) mentioned by Josephus, Ant. xx. 6, 1; xix. 9, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 5. As, however, the *Sebasteni*, or people of Sebaste (the then name of Samaria), were numerous in the army—*ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐκείσε στρατευομένων Καισαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνοὺς*, Ant. xx. 8, 7;—and as there was a troop of *horse* called the *Sebastene* or *Augustan*—*ἱλὴν ἱππέων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν*, Bell. ii. 12, 5; Ant. xx. 6, 1; xix. 9, 2—it is not unlikely that there was a corresponding foot regiment or cohort called *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή*. There may even have been several *σπεῖραι Σεβασταὶ*, as levied from Sebaste or Samaria, of which this was one; for observe that the expression of Luke is, that Julius was a centurion, not *τῆς σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*—‘the Augustan band,’ but *σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*—‘an Augustan band.’

It has been supposed by others that the *σπεῖρα Σεβαστή* was a company of the *Augustani*—the bodyguard at Rome. Tac. Ann. xiv. 15; Suet. Nero, 25; Dion lxiii. 8. See Meyer, *Apostg.* 442; Wieseler, *Apostg.* 389.

Others, again, contend that by the *Augustan band* is meant a company of the *Prætorian guards*, and that Julius is the same person as Julius Priscus, the centurion who in A.D. 70 was appointed by Vitellius one of the two Prefects of the *Prætorium*, Tac. Hist. ii. 92, and on the overthrow of the Vitellian party killed himself from shame and vexation. Tac. Hist. iv. 11. If this be so, Julius had perhaps been the military escort of Festus on his appointment to Judea, and in that capacity had accompanied him from Rome to Cæsarea, and was now returning. The favour of Julius, if one of the *Prætorian guard*,

would also account for the wonderful impression made by Paul’s ministry at Rome amongst the *Prætorian troops*. Phil. i. 13. That a *Prætorian officer*, with a company of *Prætorians*, was often sent out of Italy on some imperial mission appears from Plin. N. H. vi. 35, who speaks of, *missi ab eo [Nerone] milites Prætoriani cum tribuno*. It is noteworthy that while Julius, a centurion of the *Augustan cohort*, was at Cæsarea, it is not said that the *Augustan cohort* itself was there.

⁴ Ign. Ep. Rom. v.

⁵ καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους δεσμώτας. Acts xxvii. 1.

⁶ It has been suggested by J. B. Lightfoot (*Philipp.* p. 34), and is not improbable, that Aristarchus did not intend to accompany Paul farther on his way to Rome than to Thessalonica, the native city of Aristarchus. Acts xx. 4. The ship in which Paul embarked was from *Adramyttium* (*πλοῖον Ἀδραμυττηνῶ*, Acts xxvii. 2), and they meant to sail along the coasts of Asia (*μέλλοντες πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους*, Ib.). “Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica,” it is added, “being with them.” Ib. Why the mention of Aristarchus in this way in connection with an intended voyage towards Macedonia; except on the tacit assumption that he was going home, and was not bound for Rome?

⁷ The date of the embarkation may be thus fixed. The arrival of Festus in Judea was about midsummer, or the 24th of June, A.D. 60. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 319, No. 1893. We have, then, to allow three days for his sojourn at Cæsarea (“after three days,” Acts xxv. 1), and then two days for his going up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem; and ten days and upwards (say twelve days) for the stay at Jerusalem (“more than ten days,” Acts xxv. 6); and then two days for the return to Cæsarea; and one day more for the hearing

westerly winds generally prevail at that period of the year, they had a favourable breeze, and the next day ran into Sidon, a distance of about sixty-seven geographical miles (fig. 244, 245, 246).⁸ This maritime seat of commerce Paul had visited before,



Fig. 244.—View of Sidon from the north. From Cassas.

and must have preached the Gospel there more than once. He had therefore many friends in the town, and as the vessel was not to sail immediately, the centurion Julius, from the dictates of a naturally kind heart, and also, perhaps, from the instructions of Festus to treat Paul with liberality, permitted him, chained by the wrist to a soldier, to call upon his Christian brethren, and receive from them those hospitalities which respect for the Apostle could not fail to elicit.

The mercantile business transacted, they again weighed anchor, and as the ship was to touch next at Myra, in Lycia, they would fain have stretched across and taken the direct course by keeping Cyprus on their right hand,⁹ but the wind, which had veered somewhat to the north, was now contrary, and they stood for the promontory of Pedalium, the south-eastern horn of Cyprus, and then sailed under the lee of

of Paul ("the next day," Acts xxv. 6); and then a good many days, say ten ("after certain days," Acts xxv. 13); and then several days—say seven ("many days," Acts xxv. 14); and then another day ("on the morrow," Acts xxv. 23); and then an interval—say twenty days—spent in preparations for the voyage and finding a ship, making in all fifty-eight days from the 24th of June, A.D. 60, which brings us to the 21st of August, A.D. 60. In describing the voyage, the author

has derived the most valuable assistance from the *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, by the late James Smith, of Jordan Hill, who has at least settled one moot question, viz. whether the scene of the shipwreck was at Malta or Meleda.

⁸ Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 22.

⁹ Thus following the direction of Paul's previous voyage, when he sailed direct from Patara in Lycia to Tyre, and kept Cyprus on the left hand. Acts xxi. 2.



Fig. 245.—Plan of Sidon. From Admiralty Chart.



Fig. 246.—Coin of Sidon. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head laureated with a star.—Rev. Female figure on back of a bull, with the legend ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ (of Sidon).

the island in a northward direction.¹⁰ On clearing the island, they came within the influence of the land-breezes, which about this time blow off the southern coast of Asia Minor, and had also the benefit of the current which during the later months sets in strongly to the west.¹¹ With wind and tide in their favour, they made good way through the sea of Cilicia, and then of Pamphylia, and having reached the embouchure of the river Andriacus, now Andraki (fig. 247), they entered it and cast anchor in the port of Myra.



Fig. 247.—Entrance to the River Andriacus, on which, at a distance of two miles and a half from the sea, was the City of Myra. From *Ionian Antiquities*.

This emporium of trade lay two miles and a half up the stream on the left bank as you ascended, and was situate on an eminence overlooking the plain.¹² The broad channel of the river below the city had been formed into a port, and the entrance to it in case of danger was protected by a heavy chain, drawn when necessary across the stream.¹³ Myra at one time was the metropolis of Lycia,¹⁴ and Scæwulph, an Anglo-

¹⁰ ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κύπρον. Acts xxvii. 4. As the ancients, like the moderns, constructed their maps with the north at the top, it has been supposed by some that to sail under a place was to sail south of it. But ὑποπλεῦσαι is a nautical phrase, and means to sail along that coast, whether north or south, which is sheltered from the wind. In this case, as the wind was N.W., they sailed along the south-east of the island. See Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 24.

¹¹ Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 28.

¹² εἶτα Μύρα ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης

ἐπὶ μετεώρου λόφου. εἶθ' ἡ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Λιμύρου ποταμοῦ. Strabo xiv. 3, 7 (p. 246, Tauch.). See Fellowes's *Travels in Lycia*; Spratt and Forbes's *Lycia*; Texier's *Asie-Mineure*. Capt. Beaufort (p. 29) thinks the distance from the sea three miles.

¹³ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείφ, τὴν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ εἰς Μύρα ἀνήει. App. B. C. iv. 82.

¹⁴ μητρόπολις τῆς Λυκίας Μύρα. Hier. Synecd. δούς δίκαιον μητροπόλεως καὶ ἄρχοντα τῇ λεγομένη πόλει Μύρα. Malala xiv.

Saxon pilgrim of the twelfth century, speaks of it as still the port of the Adriatic, as Constantinople was of the Ægean.¹⁵ But commerce is fickle, and Myra has been deserted, and is now a desolation (fig. 248). The traveller, however, still wonders at the vast theatre excavated from the mountain on the west, and surveys with interest the silent tombs of generations passed away, and the broken arches of the aqueduct that once conveyed the pure mountain stream to a dense multitude, of whom even the bones have long since crumbled to dust.¹⁶

At Myra the centurion most unluckily, as it turned out, changed his plan. Egypt, as is well known, was one of the granaries of Rome, and vessels laden with corn were during the navigable months continually passing from Alexandria to Italy. The shortest route lay along the coast of Africa, but as the north-westerly wind invariably blows at this season, they not unfrequently sailed by way of Syria to the coast of



Fig. 248.—View of the theatre and other remains of Myra. From C. Texier.

Asia Minor, and then shaped their course westward amongst the islands of the Ægean, and so passed between Crete and the Peloponnesus.¹⁷ By this means they avoided the Syrtis of Africa, and supplied the want of a compass by keeping in sight the successive landmarks.¹⁸

¹⁵ Early Travels in Palestine, by Wright.

¹⁶ See Fellowes's Lycia.

¹⁷ See Wetstein on Acts xxvii. 6.

¹⁸ Myra was a storehouse of the corn brought

from Egypt, as appears from an ancient inscription: "Horrea Imp. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ Nepotis Trajani Adriani Augusti Cos. iii." Karamania, by Capt. Beaufort,

One of these Alexandrian corn-ships was now lying at Myra, and ready to sail for Italy, and Julius, availing himself of a circumstance so fortunate, as he conceived, abandoned the design of sailing along the coast of Asia with the view of taking the Via Egnatia, and transferred his prisoners from the Adramyttian to the Alexandrian vessel. It was late in the year, and severe weather might be expected, but the craft in which they embarked was of the largest burden, and capable of encountering the violence of a heavy sea. We have curiously enough a description of one of these Alexandrian corn-ships in Lucian, who lived next after the apostolic age. The vessel, the Isis, like that in which Paul sailed, had gone round by Syria, and along the coast of Asia Minor, and then encountering adverse winds, had been driven into the Piræus. It was an unusual sight in the Port of Athens, and soon attracted a crowd of idlers from the city. Lucian introduces a dialogue amongst a party who had just examined the Isis; and one of them is made to say, "But what a ship it was! The carpenter said it was 180 feet long, and 45 wide, and from the deck down to the pump at the bottom of the hold $45\frac{1}{2}$. And for the rest, what a mast it was! and what a yard it carried! and with what a cable was it sustained! and how gracefully the stern was rounded off, and was surmounted with a golden goose" (the sign of a corn-ship)! "and at the other end how gallantly the prow sprang forward, carrying on either side the Goddess after whom the ship was named! and all the rest of the ornament, the painting, and the flaming pennants, and above all the anchors, and the capstans, and windlasses, and the cabin next the stern, all appeared to me perfectly marvellous. And the multitude of sailors one might compare to a little army, and it was said to carry corn enough to suffice for a year's consumption for all Attica, and this unwieldy bulk was all managed by that little shrivelled old gentleman with a bald pate, who sat at the helm twisting about with a bit of a handle those two monstrous paddles, one on each side, which serve as rudders."¹⁹

p. 27. And the ships that brought the corn from Egypt carried back timber from the woody mountains of Lycia. *Ib.* p. 10.

¹⁹ Lucian, *Nav. v.* These facts enable us to calculate the tonnage of an Alexandrian corn-ship. In a general way, the tonnage of a vessel may be ascertained by multiplying the length of the keel (in this case 180 ft.) by the extreme breadth (in this case 45 ft.), and the product by half the breadth, which may be taken as the average of its depth ($22\frac{1}{2}$ ft.), and dividing the whole by 94. See *Voyage and Shipwreck*, by James Smith, of Jordan Hill, p. 148. Thus, $\frac{180 \times 45 \times 22\frac{1}{2}}{94} = 1938$, or nearly two thousand tons. Jas. Smith finds an error in the assumption that the length of *keel* was equal to the length of the *ship*, inasmuch as, from the great projection of the head and stern, the length of the keel was

probably about one-half only of the length of the ship; and he estimates the tonnage as something between 1100 and 1200 tons. J. Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 150. But, on the other hand, Jas. Smith takes the depth of the ship at $22\frac{1}{2}$ ft., whereas Lucian expressly mentions the depth from the deck to the bottom of the hold at $45\frac{1}{2}$ ft., so that the truth would seem to lie somewhere between the two estimates—say 1500 tons, a size equal to our largest class of merchantmen.

The rigging of an Alexandrian ship was simple enough. A foresail called the *artemon* (*τὸν ἀρτέμωνα*), a mainsail or velum, and a topsail, or *siparum*. Jas. Smith thinks that an ancient ship had only "one great square sail, with a small one at the bow." *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 151. But Seneca, in a passage which will be

Such was the vessel to which Paul was now committed (fig. 249). The number of souls on board, including the centurion and his soldiers, and Paul and the other prisoners, was two hundred and seventy-six. Here Aristarchus probably parted from Paul, for Aristarchus had embarked in the *Adramyttian* ship with the view of sailing



Fig. 249. — Representation of an ancient ship. From a sculpture on the tomb of Nævoleia Tyche at Pompeii. From a photograph.
The name of Nævoleia was probably derived from *navis* (a ship), and hence a ship was the emblem or armorial bearing of the family.

along the coast of Asia and then pursuing his way to Thessalonica, his native place, and now that the centurion altered his plans and resolved on a sea voyage by the *Alexandrian* vessel, Aristarchus took his leave and continued on board the ship of Adramyttium. But he afterwards rejoined the Apostle at Rome, for we find him there at the date of the Epistles to the Colossians²⁰ and Philemon.²¹

The Alexandrian ship, with the centurion and Paul on board, weighed anchor from Myra, and from this moment their difficulties daily increased, till a continued scene of disasters was at length closed by an absolute wreck. There appears, however, to have been no want of seamanship on the part of the commander or the crew. The Etesian winds which blow from the north-west,²² and commence, according to Pliny, about the 20th July and continue till about the 28th August, an interval of forty days,²³ might now at the beginning of September be expected to cease, and be succeeded by a south wind,²⁴ which would have enabled them to reach Rome. This

found cited in a future page, speaks of the *velum* as distinct from the *siparum*, and shows that the *siparum* was the upper sail, and the most effective for progress of the vessel. See Seneca, Epist. 77.

²⁰ Coloss. iv. 10.

²¹ v. 24.

²² οἱ Ἑτησῖαι λεγόμενοι μίξιν ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀπὸ

τῆς ἄρκτου φερομένων καὶ ζεφύρου. Aristot. de Mundo, c. 4.

²³ Qui dies [exortus Caniculæ] xv. ante Augustas calendas est [i.e. 18th of July]. Post biduum autem exortus, iidem Aquilones constantius perflant diebus quadraginta, quos Etesias vocant. Plin. N. H. ii. 47.

²⁴ Post eos (Etesias) rursus Austri frequentes

expectation, however, was not fulfilled, and the ship was still obliged to keep close in shore, to take advantage of the land breezes and the current. Even these aids to navigation had almost lost their effect, for from Myra to Cnidus, at the entrance of the Ægean Sea, the coast trends away to the north, and so lies more exposed to the Etesian blasts. The ship in consequence made but little way, and it was not till after the lapse of many days, that by dint of tacking and beating about, they at length found themselves off Cnidus (fig. 250, 251), a distance from Myra of one hundred and thirty geographical miles.



Fig. 250.—View of the Peninsula of Cnidus with the two ports one upon each side of the isthmus, and of the site of the city of Cnidus on the mainland. The spectator is looking south. From Laborde.



Fig. 251.—Coin of Cnidus. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Venus.—Rev. Head of a lion with the name of the chief magistrate.

Here, as the coast turns abruptly to the north, the land breezes and current, by the aid of which they had been able to work up against a north-west wind as far as

usque ad sidus Arcturi, quod exoritur undecim diebus ante æquinoctium autumn. Plin. N. H. ii. 47.

²⁵ Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 34. That the merchantmen from Alexandria were in the

habit of touching at Cnidus, appears from Thucydides; for οἱ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐκέλευον . . . περὶ τὸ Τριόπιον [the headland of Cnidus] . . . τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁλκάδας προσβάλλουσας συλλαμβάνειν. Thucyd. viii. 35.

Cnidus, now ceased entirely, and they encountered at once the full force of the Etesian winds. To make head against them was impossible, and their only alternative was, instead of the direct course to the north of Crete, to steer southward, and run under the lee of the island. They made therefore for Cape Salmone (fig. 252), the

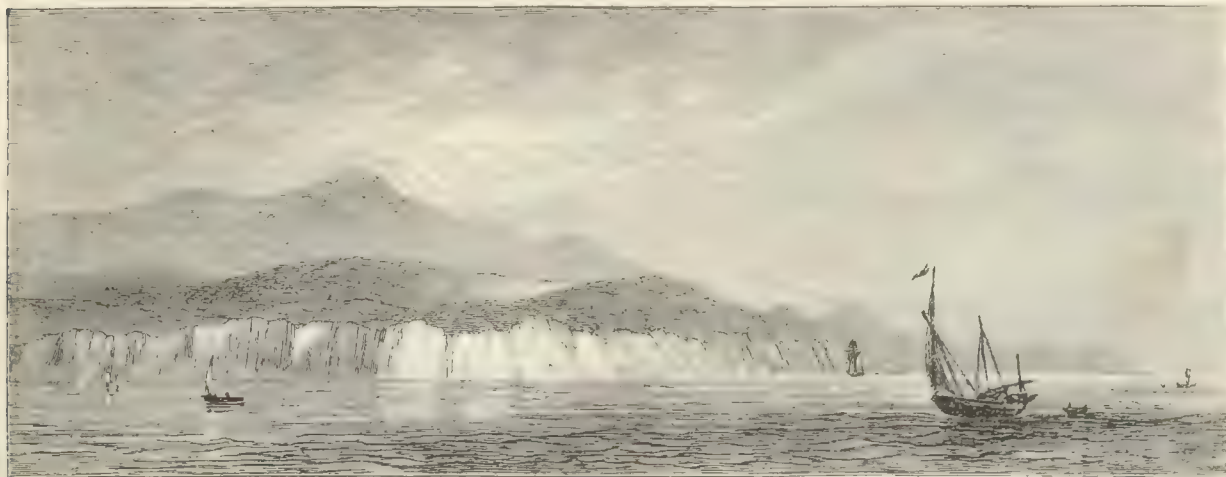


Fig. 252.—Cape Salmone, the eastern promontory of Crete. From Bartlett.

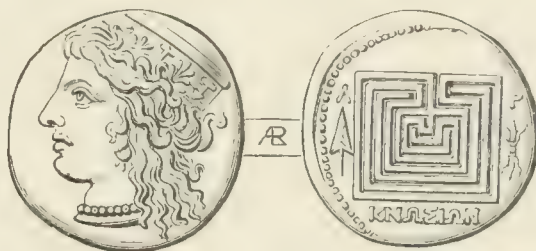


Fig. 253.—Coin of Gnosus in Crete. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Diana.—Rev. Plan of the Labyrinth with the legend ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ (of the Gnosslans).

eastern promontory of Crete (fig. 253), and passing that point they again had the advantage of a weather shore,²⁶ and being somewhat screened from the violence of the wind, they managed, but not without great difficulty, to coast half-way along the island as far as Fair Havens (still called *Λιμεῶνας Καλούς*), two leagues from Cape Matala, the promontory to the west (fig. 254, 255).²⁷

Here all further progress was stopped, for beyond Cape Matala the coast sweeps round to the north-west, and by reason of the prevailing blasts from the north-west, the vessel could not double the promontory. They therefore waited in Fair Havens

²⁶ The weather side of a ship is that exposed to the wind, and the shore on that side is the weather shore, and is therefore the shore which is sheltered from the wind by the land. The lee side of a ship is that away from the wind, and the shore on that side is the lee shore, and is therefore the shore exposed to the wind. Thus 'weather shore' and 'lee shore' have reference to the ship. To sail 'under the lee' of

a place has reference to the land, and means, to sail under shelter of the land.

²⁷ Pococke, vol. ii. p. 250. In the same way Sir James, afterwards Lord De Saumarez, after the battle of the Nile, had intended to pass by the north of Crete, but the wind being contrary, he was forced to run to the south of the island. Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 40.

for a change of wind.²⁸ None however occurred. The Fast or great day of Expiation, which was celebrated this year on 24th September, was past,²⁹ and though the vessels of the ancients under favourable circumstances, might continue at sea till 11th November,³⁰ yet after the autumnal equinox (24th September), navigation was

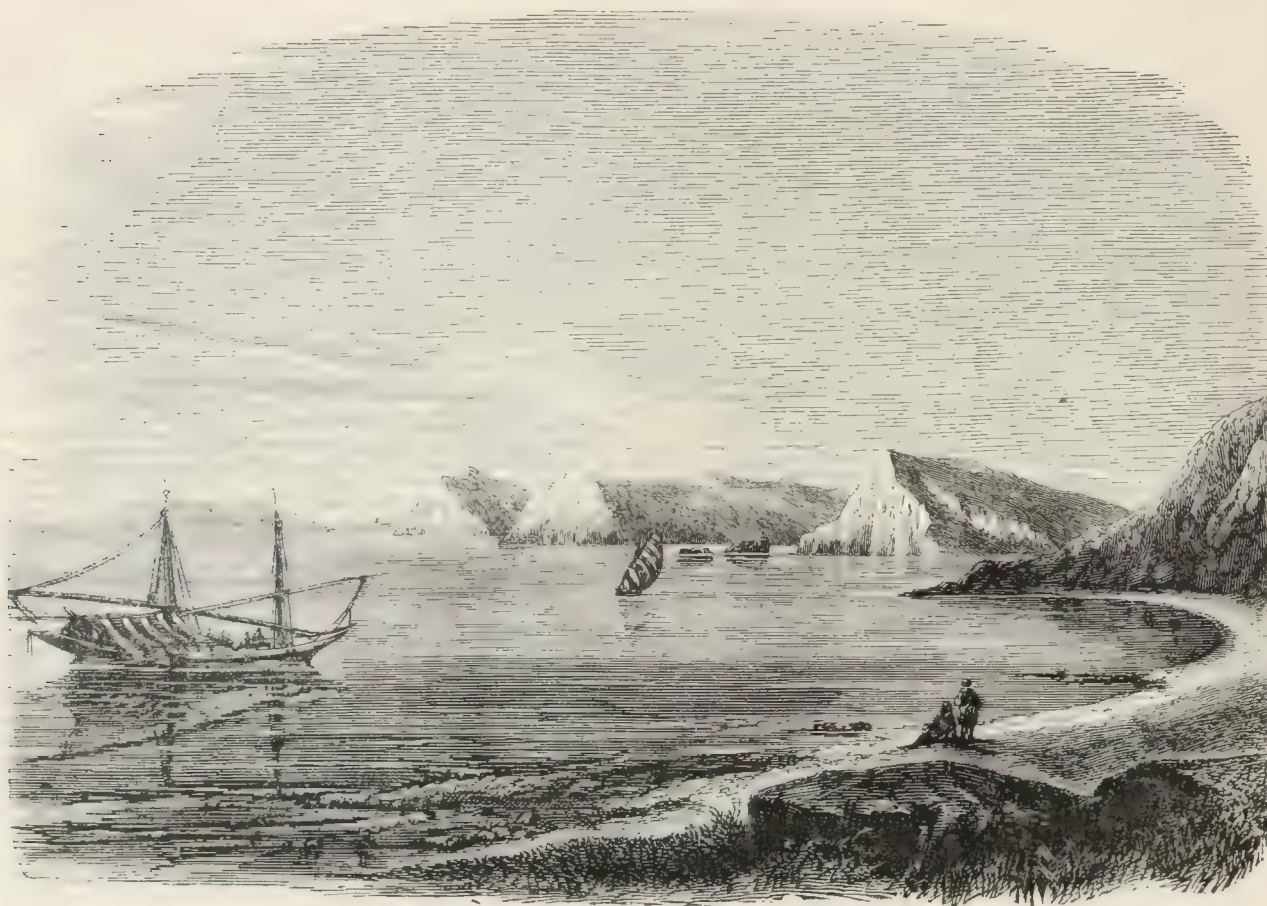


Fig. 254.—Fair Havens. From a plate in Cassell's Bible Dictionary, taken from J. Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*. The spectator is looking west.

attended with danger. It therefore became a question whether they should winter in Fair Havens, or, on the first opportunity, make for the more secure Port of Phoenix, now Lutro, which lay about forty miles to the west, on the other side of Cape

²⁸ On the slaty ridge which forms the western horn of the bay are found the ruins of a church dedicated to St. Paul; and Captain Spratt supposes that Paul may, during the sojourn at Fair Havens, have preached to the natives on this spot. Capt. Spratt's *Crete*, ii. 4.

²⁹ According to the Rabbins, navigation at sea was practicable only from the Feast of Pentecost to the Feast of Tabernacles, which occurred only five days after the Fast. See the passages cited by Schoettgen, *Horæ Heb.* i. 482.

³⁰ Ex die igitur iii. Iduum Novembris usque in diem vi. Iduum Martiarum maria claudun-

tur. Nam lux minima, noxque prolixa, nubium densitas, aeris obscuritas, ventorum imbrium vel nivium geminata sævitia, non solum classes a pelago, sed etiam commeatus a terrestri itinere deturbat. Veget. de Re Milit. v.; Plin. N. H. ii. 47. And see Cæs. B. G. iv. 36; v. 23. F. Martin, in his Notes on the Four Gospels and the Acts, observes: "Philo notes that after the Fast nobody thought of putting to sea. The second parliament of James III. enacted that no ship should be freighted out of Scotland with staple goods from the day of St. Simon and St. Jude to Candlemas."

Matala,³¹ and across the Bay of Messara. This was a very debatable point. On the one hand Fair Havens was a tolerable roadstead, behind some isolated rocks, but though a good shelter, as was now experienced, from north-westerly winds, and pro-

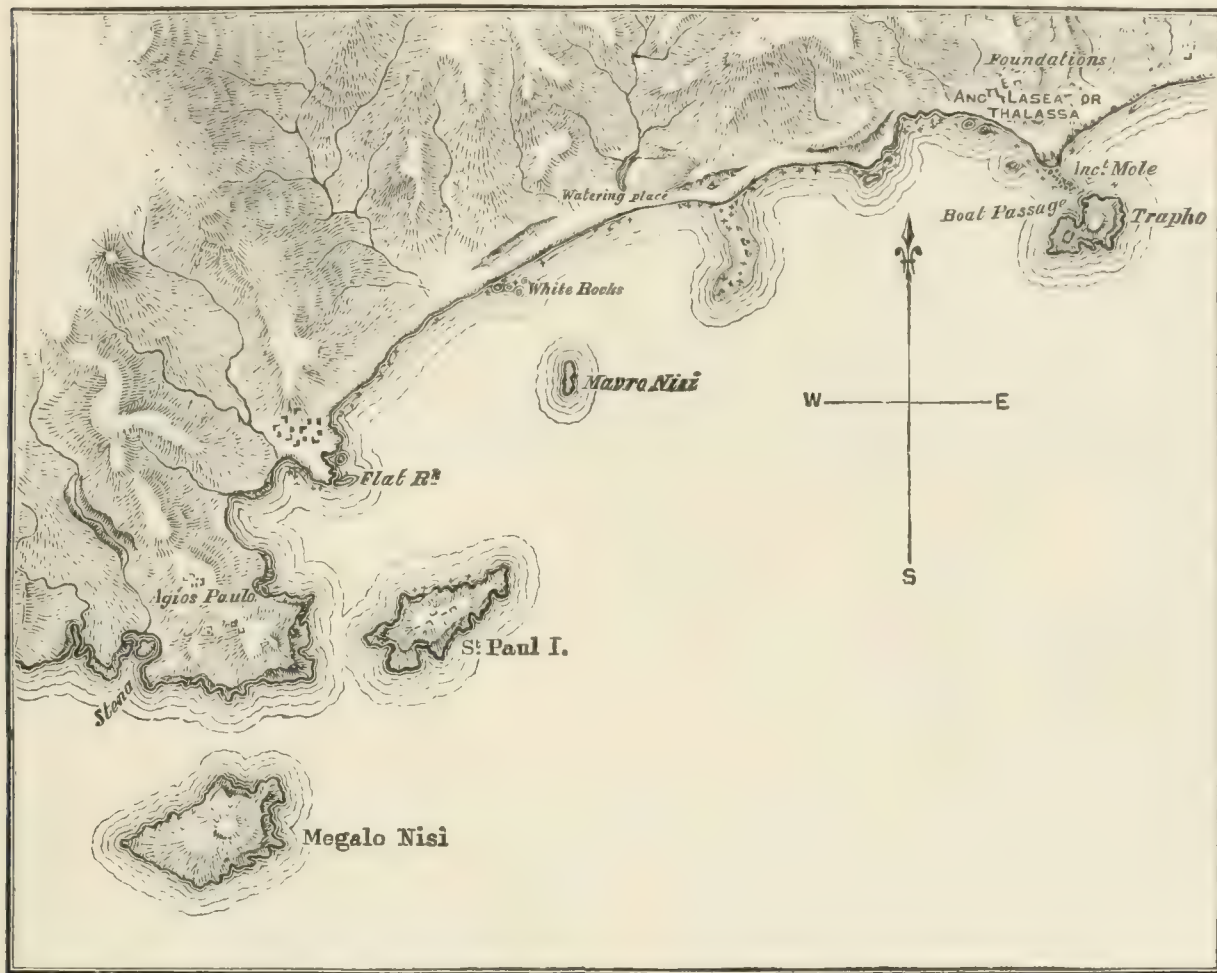


Fig. 255.—Map of Fair Havens. From Admiralty Chart.

tected on most points of the compass, it was exposed on the east and south-east, and was therefore an unsafe refuge in winter.³² The city of Lasæa,³³ however, lay at a

³¹ That Phoenix is Port Lutro has been proved by J. Smith, of Jordan Hill, in his *Voyage and Shipwreck*. Thus Ptolemy (iii. 17, 3) makes the longitude of Phoenix the same as that of Lutro. Strabo describes Phoenix as on the south of the isthmus or narrowest part of Crete, x. 4 (p. 370, Tauch.), and Lutro is so situate. Hierocles Synec. calls Phoenix Φοινίκη, ἥτοι Ἀραδένα, and Pashley (ii. 257) found, just above Lutro, two villages called Aradhena and Anopolis. The mention of Anopolis is a further confirmation that Lutro is Phoenix; for while Hierocles calls Phoenix Aradhena, Stephanus Byz. calls Aradhena Anopolis: Ἀραδὴν πόλις Κρήτης· ἡ δὲ Ἀνώπολις λέγεται διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἄνω. The relative situations of Aradhena and Anopolis will be seen in the accompanying chart, p. 195.

³² Spratt's *Crete*, ii. 2, 4.

³³ Lasæa is perhaps the Λίσσος mentioned by Hierocles Synecdemus in connection with Phoenix and Aradhena. Lissus is called Lisia in the Peutinger Tables, and stated to be sixteen miles from Gortyna, which is about the distance of Fair Havens from Gortyna. It is now known by the name of Lapsea. "Near the Καλοὶ Λιμένες, on the summit of the hills, are the remains of the city Lapsea, surrounded by precipitous mountains. A temple with its statues lies in ruins, and other vestiges may be traced near the harbour." Museum of Class. Antiq. vii. 287. Captain Spratt describes it as standing on the promontory which forms the eastern horn of the Bay of Fair Havens. *Crete*, ii. 8. He rather fancifully traces the name from the Λίσση

short distance from Fair Havens, a circumstance not immaterial during three or four dreary months, to the comfort of the mariners. Phoenix, on the other hand, was a safe harbour in all weathers, and was the only port along the southern coast of Crete which was so.³⁴ It lay on the east side of a promontory on which was built the city of Phoenix,³⁵ and would hold ten or twelve large vessels.³⁶ The port was formed by an island lying in front of it, and having two entrances looking respectively to the south-east and north-east³⁷ (fig. 256, 257).

The risk of proceeding thither at this late season of the year was a serious obstacle. Julius, the centurion, and the captain and pilot and other naval officers met in council, and Paul, who had no little experience in naval matters, for he had been already thrice shipwrecked,³⁸ assisted, by the courtesy of Julius, at the consultation. The Apostle's advice at once was to remain at Fair Havens, and he predicted in the most distinct terms the danger of quitting it. "Sirs," he said, "I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives."³⁹ The centurion was well acquainted with Paul, and gave him credit for a clear head and sound judgment, but in matters of seamanship he rather deferred to the captain and pilot, who agreed in representing Fair Havens as an unsafe winter harbour, and urged the necessity, at whatever hazard, of making for Port Phoenix. The council so decided, and they now watched for an opportunity of carrying the resolution into effect.⁴⁰

πέτρα of Homer, for he tells us that just opposite the eastern promontory on which Lasæa stood is an islet or rock called Traphos, which (and no other) would answer Homer's description :

ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἅλα πέτρῃ
ἑσχατιῇ Γόρτυνος, κ.τ.λ.

Odyss. iii. 293.

And he identifies Lasæa with Thalassæa, a coin of which (though it could only have been a small coast town) is to be found in Mionnet. Spratt's Crete, ii. 9. Pliny mentions a city of Crete by the name of Lasos, but does not give the situation. Plin. N. H. iv. 20.

³⁴ Spratt's Crete, ii. 249.

³⁵ Spratt's Crete, ii. 254.

³⁶ Spratt's Crete, ii. 251.

³⁷ βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον. Acts xxvii. 12. 'Looking down the south-west wind and the north-west wind,' or towards the points to which they blow. The harbour was formerly said to be nearly choked up from the effects of a mountain stream which discharges itself into it. See Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 50. But more recently J. Smith, in a letter to a friend, furnishes some further particulars, and states that Loutro is an excellent harbour. "You open it unexpectedly; the rocks stand apart, and the town appears within. During the Greek

war, when cruising with Lord Cochrane . . . they chased a pirate schooner as they thought right upon the rocks. Suddenly he disappeared, and when rounding in after him, like a change of scenery the little basin, its shipping, and the town of Loutro revealed themselves." See Alford's New Testament.

³⁸ 2 Cor. xi. 25.

³⁹ Acts xxvii. 10.

⁴⁰ That the port of Phoenix was a favourite resort of the Alexandrine vessels is curiously enough confirmed by an inscription found there, purporting that Dionysius of Alexandria, captain of the ship whose sign was Isopharia, and of the fleet of Theon, had superintended the dedication of an altar or temple to Serapis, &c. : "Jovi Optimo Maximo, Serapidi et omnibus Diis et Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germanico Dacico, Epistelus Libertus stabularius, curam agente operis Dionysio Sostrati filio Alexandrino Gubernatore Navis Parasemo Isopharia Cl. Themis." Spratt's Crete, vol. ii. p. 254.

The old town of Phoenix was on the promontory to the west of the harbour; but Lutro, the modern village, is on the seaside at the head of the port. Ib. The promontory divided the Port of Phoenix on the east from the Bay of Phoenix, now Phenika Bay, on the west.

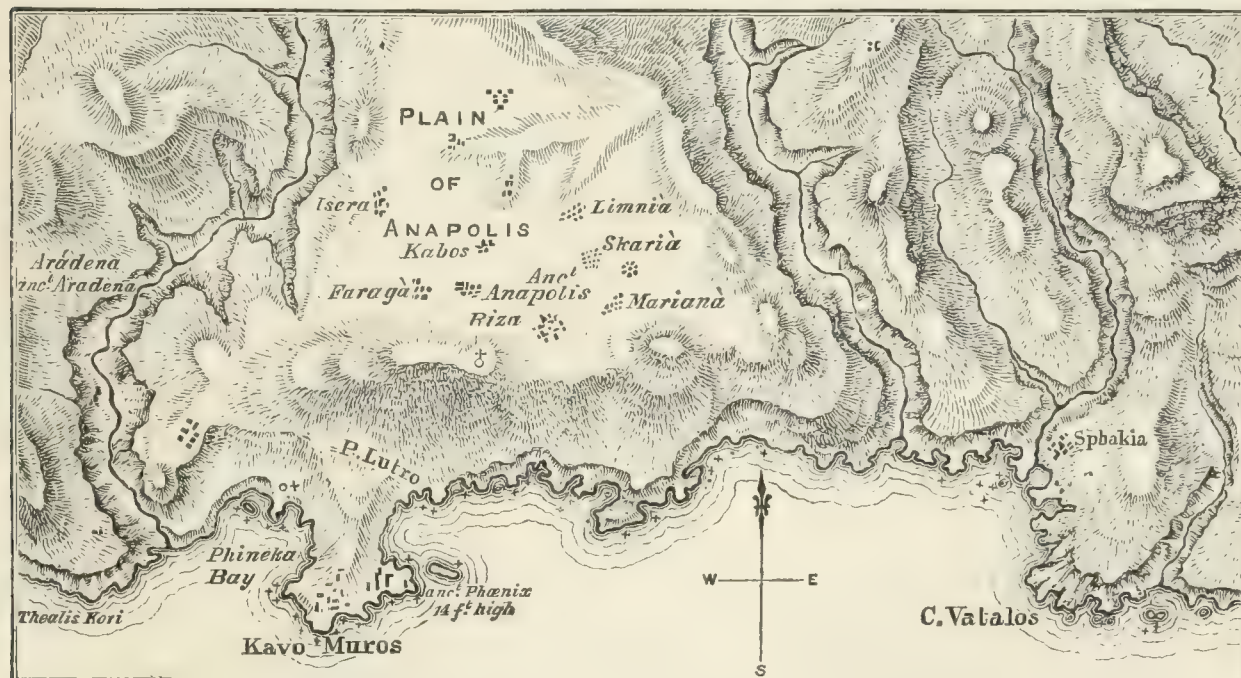
About the middle of October the wind at length shifted, and a gentle breeze sprang up from the south. All now was alacrity. The anchor was weighed, the sails were set, and the ship bounded forward. After clearing the harbour, their



Fig. 256.—view of coast about Port Phoenix. From Admiralty Chart.

Phenika Bay.	Site of the	Port Phoenix or Lutro	City of Sphakia.
Thought by Words-	city of Phœ-	in the bay to the right	
worth to be Port	nix on the	of the Promontory.	
Phoenix.	promontory.	See chart.	

course, till they rounded Cape Matala, was close to the land. A ship which could not lie nearer to the wind than seven points could just weather that point which bears west by south from the entrance to Fair Havens. We see, therefore, the propriety



257.—Chart of Port Lutro (Phoenix) and coast. From Admiralty Chart.

of the expression "they sailed close by Crete."⁴¹ The distance from the anchorage at Fair Havens to Cape Matala was four or five miles.⁴² They now doubled the Capo, and,

⁴¹ ἀσπον παρελέγοντο τὴν Κρήτην. Acts xxvii.
13. Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 56.

⁴² Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 56.

deeming their purpose accomplished, steered merrily across the gulf for Port Phoenix, a distance of thirty-four miles. Alas! the tempting breeze had but lured them to their doom. They had not made half their passage when a typhoon⁴³ from the north-east (not uncommon in those seas, and called Euroclydon)⁴⁴ struck against the vessel.⁴⁵

⁴³ The term implies a vortex or whirlwind, from the sudden shifting of the wind from the south to the north-east.

⁴⁴ Acts xxvii. 14. Another reading is *Εὐρακύνων*, Euroaquilo, or north-east. Euroclydon is from *Εὖρος*, 'the east wind,' and *κλύδων*, 'a billow;' and Euroaquilo from *Εὖρος*, 'the east wind,' and *Ἀκύνων*, 'the north wind,' and therefore signifying a north-easter.' Neither Euroclydon nor Euroaquilo is found elsewhere. It is hard to say, since the MSS. are about equally balanced, whether Euroclydon or Euroaquilo is the true reading. Bryant, in his *Observations on the Wind Euroclydon*, contends for Euroclydon.

His first great argument is that Euroaquilo would be a compound of *Εὖρος*, a Greek word, and Aquilo, a Latin word, and therefore not, like Euronotus (Plin. N. H. ii. 46), a compound of two Greek words. But though 'Eurus' was originally Greek, yet in the time of the Apostle it had become naturalised amongst the Romans. Thus, Eurus jam civitate donatus est, et nostro sermoni non tanquam alienus intervenit. Senec. Nat. Quæst. v. 16. And not only so, but the Latins used the compound word Euroauster, and certainly Auster was Latin and not Greek. Gellius ii. 22.

Another argument of Bryant is that Euroaquilo, even if admitted to be well compounded, could not denote a north-east wind; for while Aquilo is certainly the north, Eurus is not the east wind, which was known as subsolanus or solanus, and so answered to the Greek ἀφελιώτης; and further, that Eurus amongst the Greeks, as shown by the Temple of the Winds at Athens, was the south-east, answering to Vulturnus amongst the Latins; and that, when the word Eurus was introduced amongst the Romans, it preserved the same meaning, as, Qui surgit ab oriente æquinoctiali [E.] subsolanus apud nos dicitur; Græci illum ἀφελιώτην vocant. Ab oriente hiberno [S. E.] Eurus exit, quem nostri vocavere vulturnum, &c. Senec. Nat. Quæst. v. 16. Ab oriente æquinoctiali subsolanus, ab oriente brumali vulturnus: illum Apelioten, hunc Eurus Græci appellant. Plin. N. H. ii. 47, 46. Favonio [W.] contrarius est quem subsolanum appellavimus . . . Huic [Coro=N. W.] est contrarius Vulturnus [S. E.].

Plin. N. H. ii. 47. Ventumque Vulturnum [S. E.] Eurus Græcis dictum. Ib. xviii. 77, 3. So that Euroaquilo in composition would be not N. E., but S. E. N., which would be a contradiction in terms. To this it may be answered that not only Homer, *Odyss.* v. 295, and the poets generally, but also Aristotle, *De Mundo*, c. 4, Strabo ii. 3, Arrian *Periplus Euxin.* s. 4, Stobæus lib. i., and others (see Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck*, p. 123), assume Eurus to be the cardinal point of East. Besides, to say that Eurus is S. E. proves too much, for then even Euroclydon would indicate a wind to the S. of E., whereas it is clear that the wind in question was to the N. of E., or the vessel could not have been carried down from Crete to Clauda, and the mariners would not have been apprehensive of falling upon the Syrtis. Eurus, therefore, whether the true reading be Euroclydon or Euroaquilo, must mean due east.

The language of Luke seems in one particular to favour the reading of 'Euroclydon,' for he writes, ἔβαλε κατ' αὐτῆς ἄνεμος τυφωνικός, ὁ καλούμενος, κ.τ.λ.—i.e. a wind which was known by a special name, and called so-and-so; whereas, if the wind was merely a point of the compass, as Euroaquilo, it could no more have been said "which is called a north-easter," than it could be said "which is called the north wind, or the south wind," as the point of the compass named would indicate the wind without any qualification. As Luke, therefore, calls attention to the fact that the wind had acquired a peculiar appellation, it may be fairly argued that the wind in question was not a point of the compass—i.e. was not Euroaquilo, but Euroclydon. It is immaterial to decide, as, whichever be the true text, it is clear that the wind, in fact, whatever its name, was from the N. E., or some point very near it.

⁴⁵ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔβαλε κατ' αὐτῆς ἄνεμος τυφωνικός, ὁ καλούμενος Εὐροκλύδων. Acts xxvii. 14. "A typhoon struck against her," viz. the ship—τῆς νῆος. A person who had been some weeks on board would thus shortly but naturally express himself. The vessel would be always in his mind, and instead of repeating the word "ship," he would use the word "she" or "her." So Shakespeare, in the 'Tempest,' before any

They could neither regain Fair Havens nor hold on for Phœnix, but with sails spread and the boat in the water,⁴⁶ as in a pleasure excursion, they were at the mercy of the gale, and being wholly unable to *face* it⁴⁷ (fig. 258), were swept along

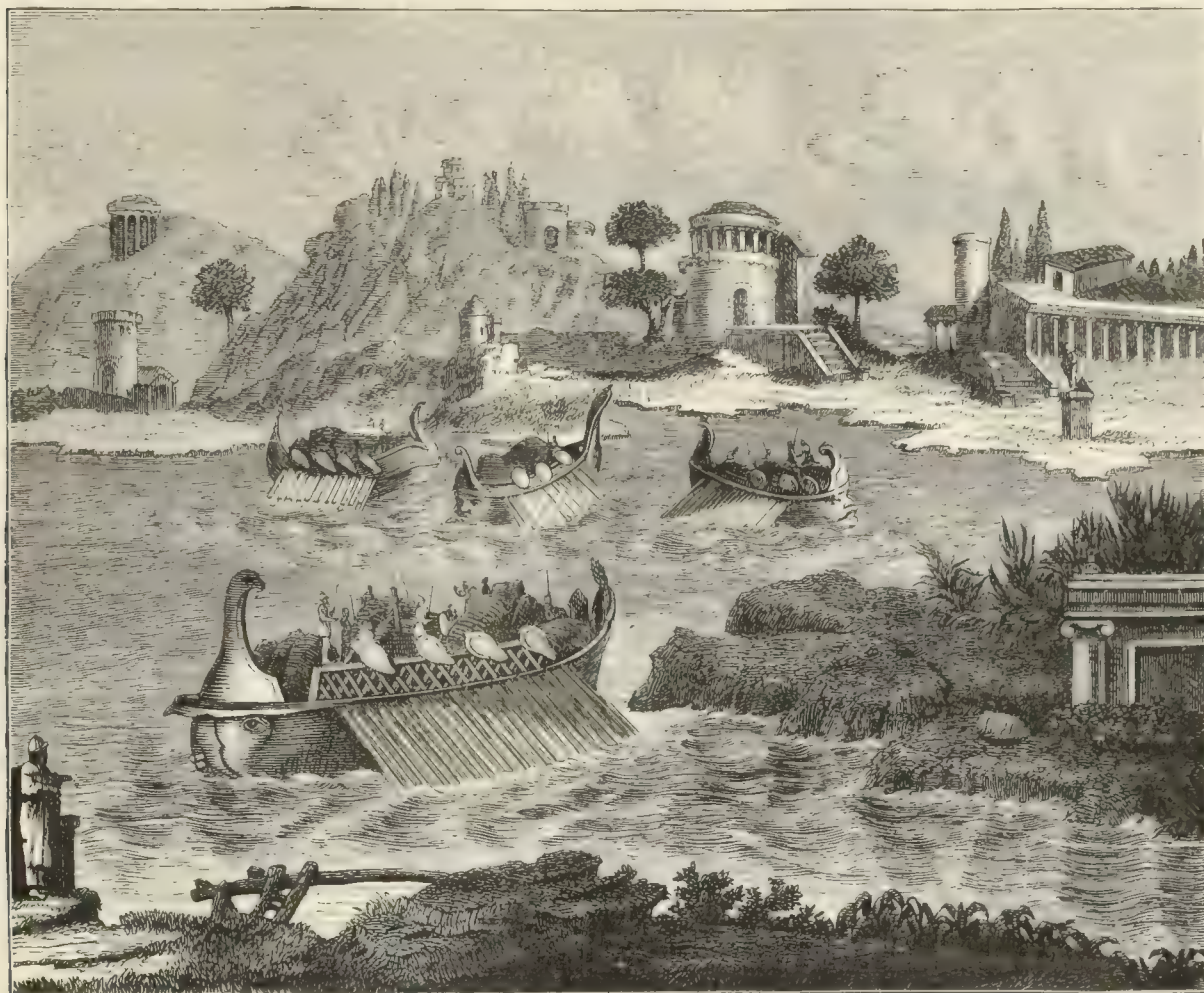


Fig. 258.—A painting from the walls of a house in Herculaneum, exhibiting vessels with eyes on the prow, and illustrating the passage in Luke where the ship is said to “eye” (ἀντοφθαλμεῖν) or face the wind.

by it, or, in nautical phrase, they scudded before it⁴⁸ to the south-west. Driven in this direction for twenty-three miles,⁴⁹ they neared the little island of Clauda, now

mention is made of a ship, writes, “Down with the topmast; yare, yare; lower, lower; bring *her* to with main-course.” Tempest, act i. scene 1. The term commonly employed by Luke for the merchantman in which he sailed is πλοῖον, but he also uses the word ναῦς, xxvii. 41. If this interpretation be not adopted the words κατ’ αὐτῆς can only be applied to τὴν Κρήτην, which had immediately preceded, and if so, what can be the meaning? To say that the wind drove them *against* or *toward* Crete is absurd, as they were carried in the very opposite direction. Alford suggests that the wind came down upon them from Crete (as in βῆ δὲ κατ’ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων, κατ’ Ἰδαίων ὀρέων, κατὰ πέτρης, &c.) But this makes the wind a local one, and connects it particu-

larly with the island, whereas the wind from their being driven before it for fourteen days was manifestly of a general character and of the widest range. This interpretation, however, seems the only one, if the reader reject the hypothesis that by κατ’ αὐτῆς the ship itself is referred to.

⁴⁶ Thus Cicero, Funiculo qui a puppi religatus scapham annexam trahebat. De Invent. ii. 51.

⁴⁷ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν—‘to look at it.’ Acts xxvii. 15. The ancient vessels, as many still in the Mediterranean, had a large eye painted on each side of the bow. See fig. 258.

⁴⁸ ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα. Acts xxvii. 15.

⁴⁹ Smith’s Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 64.

Gozzo,⁵⁰ and they gladly rounded the eastern cape and ran under the lee of the shore. There was no anchorage, or none practicable against a north-easterly wind, but they were somewhat less exposed to the violence of the gale, and they now endeavoured to repair their fault by taking every precaution that good seamanship dictated for encountering the storm. Their first object was to secure the boat by hoisting it on board, a task of no little difficulty, as having been dragged through a heavy sea for nearly thirty miles it was completely swamped. Their next care was to prop or undergird the vessel.⁵¹ Having been caught by the storm with her sails set, she had suffered a severe straining, and was beginning to leak. To prevent her, if possible, from going to pieces, they passed a strong cable several times round her, about midships, where the timbers, from the leverage of the mainmast, had most suffered. They next "made the ship snug" by lowering the sails, and bringing down upon deck all the spars and rigging.⁵²

Now came the question, what course were they to steer. They could not scud before the wind, not only from the danger of a pooping sea beating against the stern, but four-and-twenty hours' drift in the direction of the storm would carry them to certain destruction upon the Great Syrtis or sandbank of Africa. They could not heave-to on the port-tack, or, in other words, turn the head of the vessel to the left, for in that quarter, and at no great distance, lay the coast of Libya, and they would soon be wrecked upon a lee shore. The only remaining alternative, and which they adopted, was to heave-to on the starboard tack, or to the right, in a north-westerly direction.

They therefore set the storm-sail to keep the vessel steady, and steered as close to the wind as a north-easterly gale would permit. They were now fairly committed to their fate, and were drifting in Adria⁵³ to the north-west, at the rate of about forty

⁵⁰ Κλαύδην. But Griesbach prefers the reading of Καῦδα. In Pliny, Suidas, and Mela, the island is called Gaudos, whence the Greek name Gaudonesi, or Isle of Gaudos, now Italianised into Gozzo.

⁵¹ That undergirding was in use amongst the ancients is evidenced by many passages. *ναῦς συμβουλευσας τοῖς ῥοδίοις ὑποζωννύειν*. Polyb. Leg. 64.

*νηὸς τοὶ πλευρῆσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς,
Κλεάρισθ', οἷ' ἔχομεν.*

Theognis, 513,

ζωνεύματα, ὑποζώματα· σχοινία κατὰ μέσον τὴν ναῦν δεσμευόμενα. Hesych.; and see some possible references to the same custom, Horace, Carm. i. 14, 6; Thucyd. i. 29; Appian, B. C. v. 91. In modern times the strain is spread over three masts with small sails, which can be quickly taken in; but the ancient ships had to sustain the leverage of a single mast with a ponderous yard at the upper end. Smith's Voyage and

Shipwreck, p. 63. But undergirding is occasionally resorted to even at the present day.

⁵² *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*. Acts xxvii. 17.

⁵³ The sea now commonly called the Adriatic, is that between Italy on the west and Dalmatia and Illyria on the east; but this was not so when Luke wrote. Originally the Adriatic (which took its name from Adria, a town of celebrity at the mouth of the Po) reached from the end of the gulf to a line drawn from Aulon in Illyricum to Hydrus in Calabria; but so early as the time of Scylax, the Adriatic had extended itself southwards so as to embrace within it the Ionian Sea, which washed the western shore of Greece. *λιμὴν Ὑδροῦς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀδρίου ἢ τῷ Ἰονίου κόλπου στόματι*. Scylax, Japyges. So Horace speaks of the battle of Actium as fought in the Adriatic.

Actia pugna

Te duce per pueros hostili more refertur;
Adversarius est frater, lacus Adria.

Hor. Ep. i. 18, 61.

miles a day. The storm, instead of abating, as they might reasonably have expected, continued with unabated violence,⁵⁴ and the timbers in consequence being more and more strained, and the leakage increasing, the next day they were obliged to lighten the vessel by heaving overboard the least valuable and most weighty part of her burden. This formed a temporary relief, but the ship, from the fury of the gale, soon laboured as much as before, and the day following they threw overboard the tackling of the ship. Paul and Luke both assisted personally, for Luke observes, “*We cast it out with our own hands.*”⁵⁵ The mainyard was probably an immense

And Strabo writes: ὁ δ' Ἰόνιος κόλπος μέσος ἐστὶ τοῦ νῦν Ἀδρίου λεγομένου. Strab. ii. 5 (p. 196, Tauch.) Here Strabo alludes to the Ἀδρίας as used in a wider sense than formerly, but does not give us the limits. Elsewhere he speaks only of the μυχὸς or κόλπος Ἀδριατικός, and not of the πέλαγος Ἀδριατικόν. See vii. 5, and excerpt. 3 from the same book. Ovid, however, his contemporary, supplies the omission, and we learn from him that the Ἀδρίας reached all the way from Sicily to Greece. Thus Ceres in search of her daughter Proserpine, sails from the straits of Messana to Greece.

Effugit et Syrtes, et te, Zancleæ Charybdi;
Et vos, Nisæi, naufraga monstra, canes;
Adriacumque patens late, bimaremque Corinthon.
Sic venit ad portus, Attica terra, tuos.

And the same poet, in referring to his own voyage from Italy to Greece on his way to exile, proceeds:

Aut hanc [literam] me gelidi tremere cum mense Decembris
Scribentem mediis Adria vidit aquis,
Aut postquam bimarem cursu superavimus Isthmon,
Alteraque est nostræ sumpta carina fugæ.

Ovid. Trist. i. 11, 3.

The shipwreck of Josephus on his way to Rome occurred at nearly the same time with that of St. Paul, and he speaks of the Adriatic in exactly the same sense as Luke; for, sailing from Judea to Puteoli, his ship foundered κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν, Vit. iii., and he was picked up at sea by a vessel on her voyage from Cyrene to Puteoli, ib. The lines of the two vessels, one from Judea and the other from Cyrene, would meet in the sea called by Luke the Adriatic. The same extended sense continued to be given to Ἀδρίας for some ages after the Christian era. Thus Pausanias (circ. 180 A.D.) speaks of the Straits of Messana as connecting the Tyrrhene sea in the north with the Adriatic on the south: οἱ τε γὰρ ἄνεμοι παράσσουσιν αὐτὴν [θάλασσαν], ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ κύμα ἐπάγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρου πελάγους ὃ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν. v. 25, 1; and again as lying between Sicily and the Morea,

for the Alphæus passes under it from Arcadia to Ortygia: ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα μηδὲ Ἀδρίας ἐπισχῆσειν αὐτὸν τοῦ πρόσω· διανηξάμενος δὲ τοῦτο πέλαγος . . . ἐν Ὀρτυγίᾳ ἐπιδείκνυσιν. viii. 54, 2. In the same way does Ptolemy distinguish between the Adriatic κόλπος, or *gulf*, and the Adriatic πέλαγος, or *sea*: vii. 5, 3 and 10; viii. 7, 2; viii. 8, 2; i. 15, 3; making the Adriatic πέλαγος, or sea, reach from Sicily to the Gulf of Corinth. περιορίζεται [Sicily] . . . ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ, viii. 9, 2; and thence to the south of Greece as far as Crete. ὀρίζεται [the Peloponnesus] . . . ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ πελάγει, iii. 15, 3; ἡ Κρήτη περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δυσμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ πελάγους, iii. 17, 1; and see viii. 12, 2. So Philostratus describes the Isthmus of Corinth as dividing the Ægean from the Adriatic: Αἰγείου καὶ Ἀδρίου μέσος. Icones, ii. 16, Palæmon; and again as joining the Sicilian sea. ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος [the Alphæus in Peloponnesus] Ἀδρία καὶ Σικελικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχέεται. Vit. Apoll. viii. 15; and even meeting the Tyrrhene sea at the Straits of Messana. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίην τε καὶ πορθμόν ἔνθα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ἀδρία συμβάλλων χαλεπὴν ἐργάζονται τὴν Χάρυβδιν. Vit. Apoll. v. 11. And again Hesychius: Ἰόνιον πέλαγος ὃ νῦν Ἀδρίας.

It is evident from these citations (and we need not pursue the subject further) that in the first century after Christ, and for a long period subsequently, the Adriatic—ὁ Ἀδρίας—embraced the great basin of the Mediterranean now called the Syrtic basin, between Sicily on the west and Crete on the east, Africa on the south and Venice on the north. See also Biscoe on the Acts, c. 10; Wetstein's note on Acts xxvii. 27; and Smith's Geog. Dict.

⁵⁴ σφοδρῶς χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν. Acts xxviii. 18.

⁵⁵ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐρρίψαμεν. Acts xxvii. 19. On other occasions in the narrative of the voyage, Luke uses the third person plural.

spar, and the united efforts of both passengers and crew must have been required, particularly in a high wind, for launching it into the sea. Several dreary days now succeeded.

The fury of the storm at length somewhat subsided, but a hard gale was still blowing,⁵⁶ and the shattered and leaky ship was little capable of resisting its violence. It was evident that unless they could soon make some shore she must be a wreck. But where was the land to be found? They had no mariner's compass, and the heavens being overcast, neither the sun by day nor the stars by night were visible, to enable them to steer their course. They held on therefore upon the same tack. All hopes of safety were now abandoned, and perhaps the gloomy prospect assumed a darker hue from the exhaustion of continued labour at the pumps, and the abstinence from food which anxiety for their lives, and the casualties of the storm, had imposed upon all on board.

There was one passenger, however, who, as the chosen champion of Christianity, could not yet be withdrawn from a scene of trial. The protecting hand of Heaven still followed the Apostle Paul, and as he had been divinely warned of the danger of the voyage, so now, while rapt in sleep, and as the storm raged around him, he again received a preternatural intimation that he must stand before Cæsar, and that the lives of his fellow voyagers would be spared. The morning broke, and no dawn of hope appeared in the horizon; but Paul, strong in faith, assembled the passengers and crew, and communicated the glad tidings:—"Sirs," he said, "ye should have hearkened unto me, and have not loosed from Crete, and ye would have saved^{56a} this harm and loss; and now I exhort you to be of good cheer, for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship; for there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, 'Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cæsar; and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.' Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer, for I believe God, that it shall be even as it hath been told me; nevertheless, *we must be cast away on a certain island.*"⁵⁷

While riding in safety at Fair Havens, they had paid little regard to the Apostle's warning against coming disaster; but amid the gloom of the Adriatic they would hail with joy from the lips of one, whom they must now have regarded as a prophet, the pleasing prediction of their escape from the yawning billows which raved around them. Paul had declared that they "must be cast away on a certain island" and they now looked anxiously for the land of promise.

It was on the *fourteenth night*⁵⁸ of their drift across the broad expanse of waters when the watchful mariners caught the first prognostication of an approaching shore. No mountain range towered before them, but the ear caught the sound of breakers, and the experienced eye detected through the darkness on the left a white surge,

⁵⁶ χειμῶνος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικειμένον. Acts xxvii.
20.

^{56a} κερδῆσαι. In Eng. ver. "gained."

⁵⁷ Acts xxvii. 21-26.

⁵⁸ ὥς δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ νύξ ἐγένετο. Acts xxvii. 27.

as of billows beating against a foreland.⁵⁹ They sounded, and found themselves in twenty fathoms water; they presently sounded again, and the depth was only fifteen fathoms; they were, therefore, rapidly nearing some land, and they could now plainly discover breakers ahead (fig. 259), and if the vessel were to be dashed against a rocky coast, they would have little chance of their lives. Their only resource in such a moment of awful suspense was, if possible, to anchor the vessel, and as soon as day-

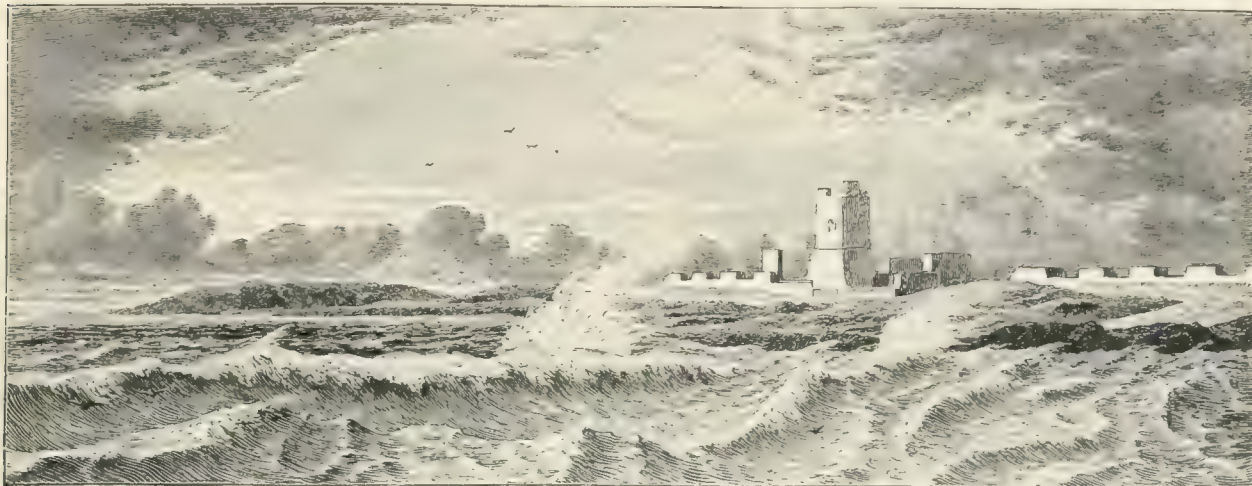


Fig. 259.—View of Koura Point. From Admiralty Chart.

The entrance to the Bay of St. Paul is on the spectator's right, and the battlements line the left shore as you enter. See the chart of the bay (fig. 260).

light appeared to run the sinking ship aground where the shore was safest. The vessel, according to the ancient practice, was supplied, as a protection against a lee shore, with several anchors,⁶⁰ and they at once cast out four from the stern. By anchoring not from the bow but the stern they would the soonest arrest the ship's way, and when morning broke her head would be toward the shore.⁶¹ The anchors held fast, and the onward course of the vessel was arrested. The two rudders or paddles, one on each side (fig. 262), by which the ship was steered, and useless for the present, were lifted out of the water, and fastened by the bracings or rudder bands, so as to be clear of the anchor cables.

More than eighteen hundred years have elapsed since the hearts of all on board have ceased to beat; but imagination still pictures to itself the alternations of hope and fear which must then have agitated each anxious breast, as they waited impatiently for the dawn of day to disclose to their straining sight the features of the coast on which they were cast. The shore was close at hand, but between them and it lay a yawning gulf. The vessel, held by her anchors, was pitching

⁵⁹ The promontory of Koura.

⁶⁰ Lucian, in describing the Alexandrian corn-ship (p. 188, ante), speaks of her anchors (*αγκυραι*) in the plural. Lucian, *Nav.* v.

⁶¹ "Sir J. Chardin says, the *Egyptian* kayicks (of about 400 tons, and carrying twenty-four to

thirty guns) have anchors only at the stern (*Iliad*, α' 436), and that these are let down some distance from the ship, one on each side, that the cables may not interfere." Note by F. M. (Fred. Martin) on Acts xxvii. 29.

heavily, now mounted on the crest of the foaming billow, and now plunging into the depth as if never to rise again. In an instant she might founder or go to pieces, and to increase the dismalness of the scene, the overcast heavens poured down a continued deluge of rain or sleet, and the weary limbs of the mariners were half benumbed with cold.

In such a scene of danger the noblest natures only are capable of generous sentiments, and we marvel not when we read that the sailors meditated a desertion of the vessel in her hour of peril. Their design was to man the only boat which the ship carried, and regardless of the safety of others, to row themselves toward the shore, and find, if they could, some practicable landing-place. To cover their intention, they pretended that besides the four anchors from the stern, another anchor ought to be laid out from the prow. If merely dropped, they pretended, from the head of the vessel, it would have no effect in steadying her, and recourse must therefore be had to the boat for carrying the anchor to a distance from the vessel before it was cast. They now began lowering the boat into the sea. Had they executed their dastardly plan, the lives of all who remained on board might have been sacrificed, for how were the landsmen, who were left behind, to handle a vessel of the largest burden? Paul, with his fellow-prisoners, was standing near the boat amongst the Roman soldiers under the command of Julius, and his eagle eye and prophetic spirit at once penetrated the base project, and he exclaimed to the centurion in whose charge he was, "Except these abide in the ship you cannot be saved!" No sooner were the military guard apprised of the treacherous design of the cowardly seamen, than they rushed to the boat, and severing the hawsers let her fall off into the sea. How forcibly does this evince the absolute ascendancy which Paul had gained over his comrades! He had said that their lives should be spared, and though, humanly speaking, the boat offered the fairest prospect of gaining the land, yet, at a word from him, they deprived themselves even of this last resource.

It wanted now but a short time to daybreak, when the final effort was to be made for their lives, and when every one on board would be called upon to exercise his best faculties and put forth his utmost bodily energies for the rescue of himself and his comrades. Paul, who throughout retained the utmost presence of mind (for "to live was Christ, and to die was gain"⁶²), now impressed on those around him the necessity of invigorating their fainting limbs by proper nourishment, and he stimulated their appetite by assuring them of their personal safety. "To-day," he said, "is the *fourteenth day*⁶³ that ye have tarried and continue fasting, having taken

⁶² Philipp. i. 21.

⁶³ Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες, ἅσιτοι διατελεῖτε, μηδὲν προσλαβόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Acts xxvii. 33. Luke had previously spoken of the fourteenth *night*, Acts xxvii. 27. The Euroclydon, therefore, had broken upon them at

night, or Luke is reckoning by the *νυχθήμερον* of the Jews—i.e. he considers the night as preceding the day. The expression that they had "taken nothing" is hyperbolical, and means only that they had omitted their accustomed meals.

nothing; wherefore I pray you to take some meat, for this is for your health, for *there shall not a hair fall from the head of any of you*.⁶⁴ With these words the Apostle set an example to the rest, and took bread, and, saying grace in their presence with the same calmness as if he were on land, brake it and began to eat. Encouraged by the air of confidence displayed by him on whom all eyes were fastened, the ship's crew gathered comfort, and they also refreshed themselves.

They had now made their last meal on board, and as the vessel could not be saved, and there was no further occasion even for the corn with which she was loaded, they cast her freight into the sea, and thus lightened her as much as possible, that so they might run her the more easily on shore.

The wished-for morning at length broke, and through the gloom (for the rain was still falling) the outlines of the coast gradually rose to their view. The land

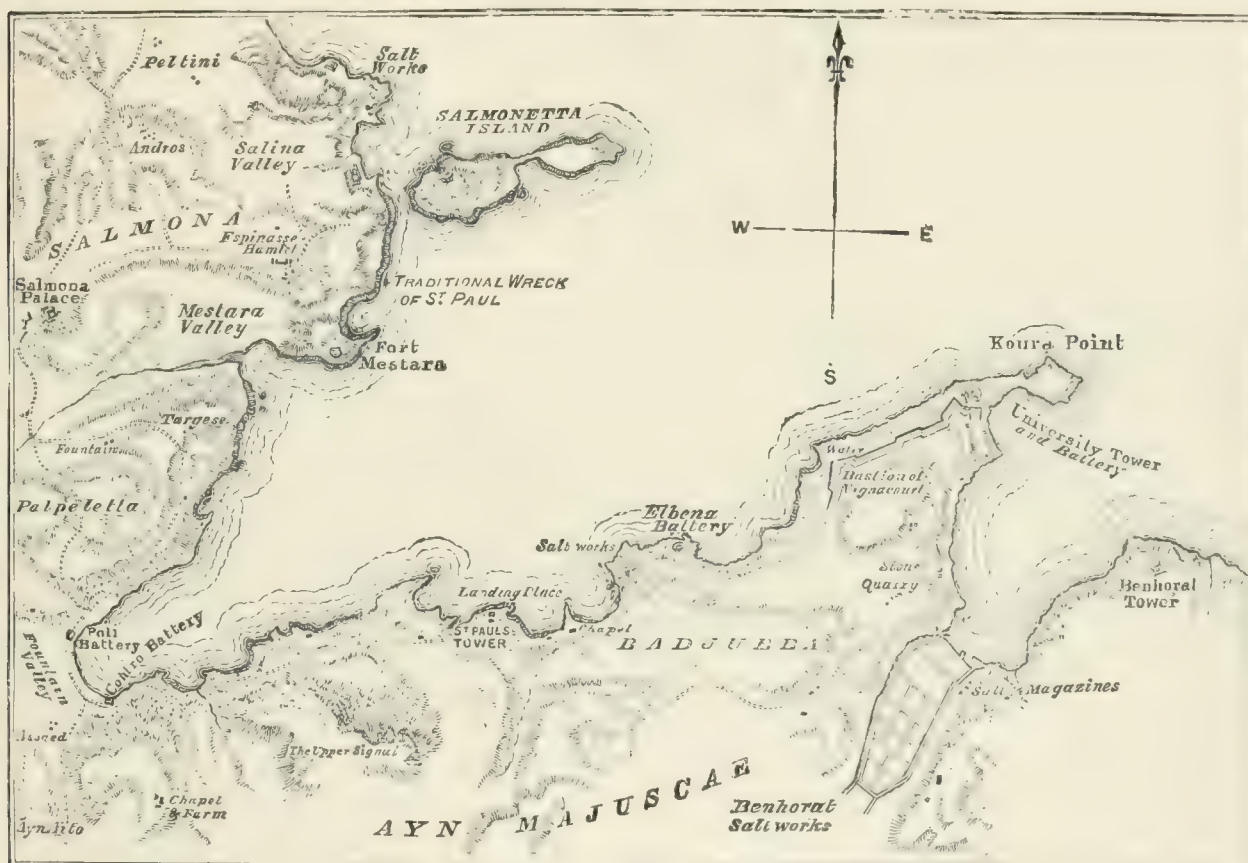


Fig. 260.—Chart of St. Paul's Bay. From Admiralty Chart.

was not marked by any distinguishing feature which could be recognised; but they saw before them a spacious bay two miles long by one broad with an iron-bound coast, except that along the western side of the bay the cliffs gradually lowered, and terminated on the south-west in a flat open shore⁶⁵ (fig. 260). They had anchored during the night at the entrance of the bay on the northern side, and

⁶⁴ Acts xxvii. 33, 34.

⁶⁵ κόλπον τινὰ ἔχοντα αἰγιαλόν, Acts xxvii. 39; and Julius Pollux writes: χωρία ἐπιθαλασσίδια

οἷς ἐστὶ προσχεῖν ἀκτὴν, ἡδὼν, αἰγιαλὸς, χηλὴ, ὕφορμος, λιμὴν, καταγωγὴ. Pollux i. 9.

had been justly apprehensive of "falling upon the rocks" in front. They were now minded to change the vessel's track, and steer for the flat open shore.⁶⁶ But the historian adds, "if it were possible,"⁶⁷ for to make a tack athwart the wind with a disabled ship was a manœuvre not easy of execution. However they hoped for the best, and ventured on the hazardous experiment. Not to lose time by taking up the anchors, they cut the cables and let the anchors go⁶⁸ (fig. 261), and at the same

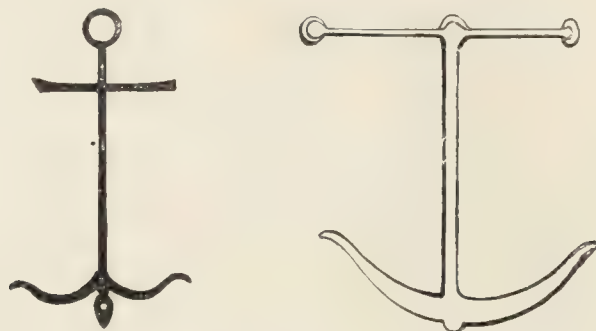


Fig. 261.—Ancient anchors. From Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea*.

time loosened the bands of the rudders⁶⁹ (fig. 262), and once more committed themselves to the waves. The efforts of the helmsman were all in vain. The wind was



Fig. 262.—From Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea*.

We have here an illustration in a general way of an ancient sailing ship. In the centre is the mainmast with the sail reefed up to the yard. At the head of the vessel is the artemon, or foresail for steadying the ship's course, and giving effect to the steerage when the mainsail was furled. At the stern are seen the two great paddles, one on each side, acting as rudders.

The subject of the piece is the throwing overboard of the prophet Jonah, but it is supposed that some mystical meaning lies concealed under the ostensible scene.

net to be resisted—they were "beaten out of their course" and drifted rapidly towards the iron-bound coast at the north-west corner of the bay, a place "where two seas met,"⁷⁰ i.e., where an outlet or strait communicated with the sea on the north so that

⁶⁶ ἐξῶσαι. Acts xxvii. 39. Literally, to thrust the ship aside out of her proper course.

⁶⁷ εἰ δύναιντο. Ib.

⁶⁸ καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας περιελόντες εἶπον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Acts xxvii. 40.

⁶⁹ ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων. Acts xxvii. 40. The πηδάλια were two broad paddles

(πηδάλια, whence the word 'paddles'), one on each side of the ship, and by means of which the ancients steered the vessel. See the sketch, fig. 262.

⁷⁰ περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον. Acts xxvii. 41.

THE ISLAND OF MALTA

From Admiralty Chart,
and Ordnance Map.
Geographical Miles.

0 1/4 1 2 3



Ships' course



the northern arm of the bay instead of being a peninsula (as it had appeared from the mouth of the bay) was in fact an island. What was to be done in this emergency? They turned the head of the vessel towards the shore and "ran her aground" upon what proved to be a mudbank.⁷¹ The fore part of the vessel now stuck fast, while her stern was beaten by the fury of the billows. It was evident that in a few minutes the shattered hulk would go to pieces, and every one looked wildly around for the means of safety. The soldiers who were chained to their prisoners at once disencumbered themselves of their charge, but even in that hour of peril were actuated by a stern sense of duty, and rather than permit their escape, would have put them instantly to death;⁷² but the life of Paul was to be saved at all risks, and Julius, the centurion, with great humanity, took the responsibility on himself, and prohibited the cold-blooded butchery.⁷³ He at the same time commanded such as could swim to cast themselves first into the sea. This they did, and gained the shore, and then lent what assistance they could to their less fortunate comrades. Thus it was, that as the vessel went to pieces, some on boards, and some on broken fragments of the ship, made their way through the surf, and they all, two hundred and seventy-six in number, struggled safely to land.⁷⁴

The sight of a vessel in distress had in the mean time attracted the natives to the spot, and the wretched castaways were received with a kindness which would have done honour to any civilized country. The sacred historian indeed designates them as 'barbarians,' but the term indicates only that they were not Greeks.⁷⁵ The ship's crew now learnt for the first time that the coast on which they had been



Fig. 263.—Coin of Gaulos, a dependency of Malta, under the Phœnician rule. From Pellerin.
Obv. Head with caduceus. Rev. Wreath of laurel, and within it in Phœnician characters the word Alal.

stranded was the island of Melita or Malta (fig. 263, 264, 265). The bay into which they had been driven (known ever since as St. Paul's Bay) was about seven miles to

⁷¹ ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν. Acts xxvii. 41.

⁷² Acts xxvii. 42.

⁷³ Ib. ver. 43.

⁷⁴ Ib. ver. 44.

⁷⁵ Barbari antiquitus dicebantur omnes gentes exceptis Græcis. Festus, sub voce 'Barbari.'

Huic nomen Græce Onagos fabulæ;
Demophilus scripsit, Marcus vertit Barbare (i.e. Latine).
Plaut. Asin. Prolog. 10.

The Maltese were Phœnicians, who were called κατ' ἐξοχὴν Barbarians, as they could speak neither Greek nor Latin. They came partly from Tyre and partly from Carthage. ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος αὕτη Φοινίκων ἄποικος. Diod. Sic. v. 12. μικρὸν ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας εἰσὶ νῆσοι τρεῖς μικραὶ, ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων οἰκούμεναι Μελίτη, πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, Γαῦλος πόλις, Λαμπάς. Scylacis Perip. 'Carthago.' ἐν δὲ Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα τάδε ἐστὶν Ἑδύνοι,

the north of Valetta, the present capital. The foreland against which they had seen at night the billows dashing on their left (the first intimation of approaching land), was Koura Point.⁷⁶ The precise part where the vessel was run on shore was "a place



Fig. 264.—Coin of Malta under the Greeks. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Isis with the legend *Μελιταιων* (of the Maltese).—Rev. Figure of Osiris. See 1 Eckhel, p. 263.

where two seas met;" a most accurate description, as the northern side of the bay is formed by the rocky island of Salmonetta, and the spot where the ship grounded

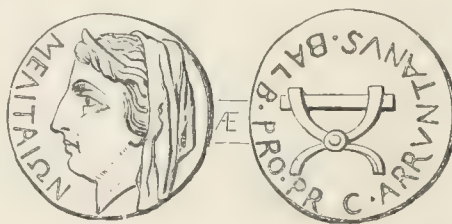


Fig. 265.—Coin of Malta with Greek population under Roman rule. From Pellerin.

Obv. Female head with the legend *Μελιταιων* (of the Maltese).—Rev. Curule chair of a Roman magistrate, and the legend C. Arruntanus Balbus Propætor, and therefore struck when Balbus was Propætor of Sicily to which Malta was an appendage.

was a little to the south of the western extremity of the island, and where consequently the sea within the bay meets the sea without the bay through the channel that divides Salmonetta from the mainland.⁷⁷ The soundings at the entrance of the bay from the east off Point Koura, exactly correspond with the account of

Σικανοὶ, Σικελοὶ, Φοίνικες, Τρῶες· οὗτοι μὲν Βάρβαροι, οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες. Scylacis Perip. 'Sicilia.' *Μελίτη νῆσος* . . . ἔστι καὶ πόλις ἀποικος Καρχηδονίων καὶ δῆμος τῆς Οἰνηίδος φυλῆς. Steph. Byz. ἄκουν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικες (Σικελίαν) . . . Βάρβαροι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦδε Σικελίαν καὶ οὕτως ἄκῃσαν. Thucyd. vi. 2. Phœnician antiquities have been found in Malta; and Boeckh gives a bilingual inscription in Phœnician and Greek, which he attributes to the first century before Christ. It is engraved on an ancient candelabrum dedicated to Hercules by two Tyrians named Dionysius and Serapion. See the Phœnician inscription in *Académie des Inscript.* vol. xxx. p. 426, accompanied with an essay upon the subject. The candelabrum was discovered amongst the ruins of the Temple of Hercules at Marsa Scirocco,

the ancient Ἡρακλέους Λιμήν. See Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. No. 5753. No doubt both Greeks and Romans afterwards immigrated into Malta, but they formed the upper class, while the mass of the population was still Punic.

⁷⁶ It is a singular coincidence that Koura should so nearly resemble, if it be not identical with, the Greek word *χώρα*, or land. Is it possible that Koura should have been so called as being the first land seen by Paul and his comrades? The words of Luke are: *ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν*. Acts xxvii. 27.

⁷⁷ In 1851 the author made an excursion to St. Paul's Bay from Valetta, in a row-boat, and cast anchor on the spot where the wreck occurred. Our attention was forcibly called to the truth of

Luke. The distance from Clauda is four hundred and seventy-six miles, which the vessel had accomplished in thirteen days, being about the rate at which a modern ship of the same burden with the same wind would have drifted.⁷⁸

The unfortunate voyagers had now escaped with their lives, but they were still in a wretched plight, for some had their clothes dripping from the sea, and others had no clothes at all, and the cold was severe (for it was about the 10th of November), and the rain was falling heavily. Malta at this time was under Roman dominion, and Roman enlightenment had softened the manners of the people, and the shipwrecked mariners met with every attention which their present distress required. They were conducted to a sheltered spot near at hand, and a fire was kindled. Paul had been the master-spirit on board, and he was now equally alert on land. While others were probably attending to their own personal comfort, we find Paul with his wonted energy and disinterestedness engaged in collecting fuel, but the miraculous incident that followed we shall relate in the words of the sacred narrative: "And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks⁷⁹ and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat and fastened on his hand. And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, no doubt this man is a murderer,⁸⁰ whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet Vengeance⁸¹ suffereth not to live.⁸² And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm;⁸³ howbeit, they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly; but after

Luke's description, that "two seas met," for one lay open to our view through the broad mouth on the east by which we had entered, and the other disclosed itself through the channel between the island and the mainland. The latter passage is very deep, and the rocks on both sides precipitous, and we made our exit from the bay through it.

⁷⁸ Josephus in his autobiography gives an account of a shipwreck that he suffered in sailing from Judea to Italy, and from some resemblances between the shipwreck of Josephus and that of St. Paul it has been contended that they both were passengers by the same vessel. But on a little examination the resemblances are in particulars which were common to voyages at that day, and the discrepancies between the two render the identity impossible. No doubt, in both cases the shipwreck was on a voyage from Judea to Italy, and occurred in the sea called Adria, and Josephus as well as Paul proceeded after the wreck to Puteoli. But, on the other hand, the wreck of Paul was in A.D. 60, and that of Josephus four years later. The one vessel had 276 men on board (Acts xxvii. 37), and the other 600 (Jos. Vit. 3). The one

vessel was run aground on the coast of Malta (*ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν*, Acts xxvii. 41), and the other foundered at sea (*βαπτισθέντος τοῦ πλοίου*, Jos. Vit. 3). Paul was carried, in the spring, by a ship of Alexandria (*πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρινόν*, Acts xxviii. 11); but Josephus and eighty others were picked up at sea by a ship of Cyrene, &c. Jos. Vit. 3. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 333, No. 1950.

⁷⁹ *φρυγάνων*. Acts xxviii. 3. In Theophrastus, H. P. i. 4, is the following definition: *φρύγανον δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ ῥίζης πολυστέλεχος καὶ πολύκλαδον οἶον καὶ γάμβρη καὶ πήγανον*. Language could not more accurately describe the thorny heather referred to *infra*, p. 208. See Kuinoel, Acts xxviii. 3.

⁸⁰ Paul was a prisoner for some crime, and they argued that it must have been a dreadful one, such as murder.

⁸¹ *ἡ Δίκη*—the goddess Nemesis, or Retribution.

⁸² *ἔκτανε λυγρὸς ἔχισ' τί μάτην πρὸς κύματ' ἐμόχθει, τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς φεύγων μοῖραν ὀφειλομένην;*
Statyllius Flaccus, Anthol. vii. 290 (Tauch.).

⁸³ Christ had promised his disciples that they should take up serpents and feel no harm. Mark xvi. 18.

they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said he was a God."⁸⁴

It has been objected to this account: 1. That there is no wood in Malta, except at Bosquetta, and, 2. That there are no vipers in Malta. How, then, it is said, could the Apostle have collected the sticks, and how could a viper have fastened upon his hand? But when I visited the Bay of St. Paul in 1851 by sea, I observed trees growing in the vicinity, and there were also fig-trees growing amongst the rocks at the water's edge where the vessel was wrecked. But there is a better explanation still. When I was again at Malta in 1853, I went with two companions to the Bay of St. Paul by land, and this was at the same season of the year as when the wreck occurred. We now noticed on the shore just opposite the scene of the wreck, eight or nine stacks of small faggots, and in the nearest stack I counted twenty-five bundles. They consisted of a kind of thorny heather, and had evidently been cut for firewood; as we strolled about, my companions (whom I had quitted to make an observation) put up a viper, or a reptile having the appearance of one, which escaped into the bundles of sticks. It *may* not have been poisonous, but was *like* an adder, and was quite different from the common snake; one of my fellow-travellers was quite familiar with the difference between snakes and adders, and could not well be mistaken. After all, therefore, it may be found that vipers, though rare, still exist at Malta. Assuming, however, that there are none at the present day, the objection is of little weight, for vipers are common enough in Sicily, and no doubt were so originally in the adjacent island, but Malta (which is now more densely populated than any other part of Europe, and contains 1200 persons to the square mile), has for many centuries been under such a state of high artificial cultivation, that vipers might well be exterminated from a narrow space, twenty miles by twelve, just as wolves have been from Great Britain. Upon this point, writes the author of the *Voyage and Shipwreck*:⁸⁵ "I would merely observe that no person who has studied the changes which the operations of man have produced on the fauna (animals) of any country will be surprised that a particular species of reptiles should have disappeared from that of Malta. My friend the Rev. Mr. Landsborough, in his interesting excursion in Arran, has repeatedly noticed the gradual disappearance of vipers from that island since it has become more frequented."

Malta at the time of the shipwreck was attached to the Proprætorship of Sicily, but being a place of some consequence had a resident Governor by the title of *Πρῶτος*, or Primate,⁸⁶ as appears by an ancient inscription found at Civita Vecchia, in which a certain Roman Knight is styled *Πρῶτος Μελιταίων*, Primate of the Maltese.⁸⁷ The

⁸⁴ Acts xxviii. 3-6.

⁸⁵ Page 111.

⁸⁶ The term was probably introduced by the Phœnicians, who colonised the island.

⁸⁷ Malta and the adjacent island of Gaulos (now Gozo) were under the jurisdiction of the same primate. Thus in a Greek inscription found at Civita Vecchia.



THE BAY OF ST. PAUL FROM THE SOUTH. *From a Sketch by Mrs. F. Mountain.*

In the centre of the plate is the Island of Salmonetta, at the west end of which the "two seas met." The ship marks the spot where the wreck occurred



THE GROTTA IN WHICH, ACCORDING TO TRADITION, ST. PAUL LIVED DURING
HIS SOJOURN IN MALTA.

From a Sketch by Mrs. F. Mountain.

The Grotto is in the valley of Mouta, a ravine on the road from the Bay of St. Paul to Civita Vecchia, the ancient Melita, the capital of the Island.

To face Vol. ii. p. 208.

capital was Melita (now Civita Vecchia), situate on a bold eminence, near the centre of the island, about five miles from St. Paul's Bay, and commanding a view of it, which will account for the circumstance of a concourse of people being so soon attracted to the spot. Publius was then Primate (or, as it is translated, the Chief man),⁸⁸ and his residence was at Melita, the capital, and according to tradition occupied the site of the present cathedral.

Publius was a young man (at least his father was still living), and was actuated by kind and generous feelings, and no sooner was he made acquainted with the disaster, than he opened his doors to the luckless crew, and afforded them for three days, *i.e.*, until they could be otherwise provided for, the most liberal entertainment. The humanity of Publius, and the islanders subject to his jurisdiction, did not go unrewarded, for Paul was made the instrument in the hands of Providence of conferring the greatest of blessings upon them; "for it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux, to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him; and when this was done, others also which had diseases in the island, came and were healed" (fig. 266).⁸⁹

A. Κλαυδιος Κυρ. Προυδης Ιππευς Ρωμαιων
Πρωτος Μελιταιων και Γαυλων
Αρξας και αμφιπολευσας
Θεω Αυγουστω.

Aulus Claudius Quirinus Prudens, a Roman Knight, Primate of Melita and Gaulos, Viceroy and Priest to Divus Augustus. Bryant's Observations, p. 52; Boeckh, Corpus Inscript. Græc. No. 5754; Reinesius, Syntagma Inscriptionum.

Besides the Primate, there was also an Imperial Procurator. Thus in another inscription found at Malta we read:

Chrestion Aug. L.
Procurator Insularum
Melit. et Gaul.
Columnas cum fastigiis et parietibus
Templi Deæ Proserpinæ
Vetustate ruinam imminetibus
Restituit
Simul et pilam inauravit.

That is, "Chrestion, a freedman of Augustus, Procurator of the Islands Melita and Gaulos, repaired the pillars, together with the roof and walls, of the temple of the goddess Proserpine, which through age were ready to fall. He likewise gilded the ball." Bryant's Observations, &c., p. 52. Bryant assumes the word *πρωτος* in the Greek inscription to be the mere translation of *Procurator*, the more correct title. But it is well known that in all the provinces there was not only a *prefect* to govern, but also

a *procurator* for fiscal purposes; and so in Malta there was the primate, or governor, and also a procurator. See Bryant's Observations, p. 52.

There is also a coin of Melita making mention of a proprætor (but this must have been in the time of the republic): obverse, *Μελιταιων*—reverse, "C. Arruntanus Balb. Propr." round a curule chair. See the coin engraved, ante, p. 206.

Another ancient Latin inscription found on a marble dug up in Malta, but much obliterated, runs as follows:

[Munic]ipi Mel. Primus omni . . .
. . . Item ædem Marmo[ream Apo]llinis
consecravit.

which Ciantar interprets to mean that some one (whose name is lost) "Primate of the municipium of Malta" (for both Malta and Gozo were municipia), conferred some public benefit and "also dedicated a temple of Apollo of marble." Ciantar, De Antiquâ Inscriptione nuper effossâ in Melitæ urbe Notabili, 1739. Here we have the Latin *Primus Melitæ*, corresponding to the *πρωτος Μελιταιων* of the Greek inscription.

⁸⁸ In the time of Cicero, Malta was certainly included in the province of Sicily. Cic. Verr. iv. 18. If this arrangement was still in force, Publius would be the legate of the Prætor of Sicily, which was one of the Senate's or people's provinces.

⁸⁹ Acts xxviii. 8, 9. This healing power also



Fig. 266.—Leaf of a Roman Diptych, containing two portraits of St. Paul.

This engraving represents one leaf of an ancient and very curious ivory diptych brought from Rome in the time of the first Napoleon by Baron Denon, and supposed to date back not later than the fourth century.

In the central group is St. Paul shaking off the viper from his hand into the burning sticks at his feet, without any bodily harm, to the great amazement of Publius, the primate of the island, and his armed body-guard.

At the foot of the sculpture are seen two young persons (those in the middle) on the very verge of the grave; one of them fearfully emaciated, in the last stage of consumption, and the other paralysed and withered on one side. On the spectator's left is the parent of one of the two patients appealing to the physician on the extreme right for relief, but the physician confesses at once that he has no remedy for the one or other of the invalids, but points upward to the apostle Paul as the only hope by miraculous interposition.

In the uppermost group we recognize again the features of the apostle. He is now seated in a curule chair, such as was used by the Roman prætors and other persons of authority, and apparently ordaining a bishop (perhaps Linus, the first bishop of Rome), as the priest before him holds a bible in his left hand, one of the accompaniments of episcopal ordination. Behind the chair stands a grave and reverend personage, who officiates as chaplain.

The original of this singular remnant of antiquity is now in the hands of M. Carrand, of Lyons, and the above cut is from a facsimile of it in the British Museum. An engraving from the original will be found in Amaury Duval's *Monumens des Arts du Dessin*, 4 vols. fol. Paris, 1829. See further Marriott's 'Testimony of the Catacombs,' p. 67.

The seas were now closed against any further voyage, and Paul and his comrades had no alternative but to pass the winter in the island, upon which they had been cast. The natural sympathy of the Maltese appears to have required no stimulus, but had it been otherwise, the miraculous powers displayed by the Apostle, coupled with the authority possessed by Julius as an Imperial officer, and in charge of prisoners on their way to Rome, would have secured abundant hospitality. During their stay in the island the exertions of Paul in the cause of Christianity were unceasing, and many must have been converted from the worship of Hercules and Proserpine, and Apollo and other idols, to the pure doctrines of the Gospel. Indeed, if we may believe the ancient Martyrologies, Publius himself became a convert, and was the first Bishop of Malta.⁹⁰

had been foretold by our Lord to his disciples. Mark xvi. 18.

⁹⁰ See Thevenot's *Travels in the Levant*, part i. c. 5. Thevenot remarks that Paul, as a legacy to the Maltese, banished all the venomous reptiles. See Bryant's *Observations*, p. 45.

The question whether the shipwreck occurred at Malta, or at Meleda in the Adriatic gulf, possesses comparatively little interest since the publication of the admirable *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, by James Smith, of Jordan Hill, which is allowed universally to have established Malta as the real scene. The reader, however, may expect some notice to be taken of a point so long and so warmly disputed.

The idea of substituting Meleda, in the Adriatic, is as old as Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who writes: *νήσος μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα, ἣτοι τὰ Μαλοῦσαται, ἣν ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς μέμνηται, Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων*. Constantin. Porphy. de Admin. Imp. p. 36, cited by Winer, *Bibl. Realw.*

Porphyrogenitus in this view has been followed by several others, both Germans and English; but the most judicious writers have from the first decided against Meleda and in favour of Malta. Amongst the English advocates of Meleda, the best known is Bryant (*Observations*, &c.), an author who was fond of startling paradoxes, and

argued, with equal force, that Troy had never any actual existence.

The claims put in for Meleda are reducible to three grounds: 1. That the vessel in which Paul sailed was wrecked in Adria, which, it is said, must mean the Adriatic gulf; 2. That the inhabitants of Melita were *βάρβαροι*, which would apply to Meleda, but not to Malta, whose inhabitants were civilised; and 3. That there were no poisonous serpents in Malta, whereas there are such in Meleda.

1. As to the first position, the reader is referred to the note ante, p. 198, from which it appears that this whole argument has arisen from a confusion between the Adriatic gulf (*κόλπος Ἀδριατικὸς*) and the *Ἀδρίας* simply—i.e. the Adriatic sea (*πέλαγος*). The former is that still known as the Adriatic gulf; but the Adriatic sea is accurately described by Ptolemy as the great basin of the Mediterranean which lies between Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Crete.

2. As to the second argument, the word *βάρβαρος* may either mean an uncivilised and inhuman people, or a people distinct from the Greeks, who, when Luke wrote, called all but themselves barbarians. Now, Luke does not use the word *βάρβαρος* in the former sense, for the inhabitants "showed us no little kindness."

Acts xxviii. 2. But he means only that they were not Greeks. They were, in fact, Phœnicians, who were always classed by the Greeks as *βάρβαροι*. See this subject also discussed ante, p. 205, note.

3. The third argument—that there are no vipers in Malta—is equally destitute of weight; for as the face of a country changes, the animals change. Lions were once in Judea, and wolves in England. Malta is now the most populous spot of Europe, and the wonder would be, not that vipers have been exterminated, but that they should still exist. See further on this subject, also ante, p. 208, note.

On the other hand, the pages of James Smith, of Jordan Hill, demonstrate, by accumulated evidence collected during the whole voyage, from its commencement to its termination, that the shipwreck was at Melita, or Malta. He tracks the course of the Apostle from place to place with unanswerable exactness.

We leave the general survey, which is contained in the text, to speak for itself, and shall draw attention to some striking points only.

1. For Paul's vessel to have been driven from the south of Crete to Meleda, in the Adriatic, the wind must have been from the S.E., and the advocates of this theory maintain that it was so. But, in the first place, the oldest version, the Vulgate, and the two most ancient MSS. (the Vatican and the Alexandrian), and others, have not the reading of *Εὐροκλύδων*, but *Εὐρακίλων*, or Euroaquilo; and if this be the true reading, the question is settled, for Euroaquilo can only mean the north-east. But even with the reading Euroclydon, it is palpable, from other circumstances that the wind, whatever its name, was from the N.E.; for Fair Havens, which is still so called, lies about half-way along the south coast of Crete; and when they had sailed but a little way from it (*οὐ πολὺ*, Acts xxvii. 14), they were caught by the Euroclydon, and forced down to the island of Clauda, which is south-west of Fair Havens; so that the Euroclydon must have blown from the N.E. Not only so, but when they had passed Clauda, they were apprehensive of falling upon the great Syrtis (*τὴν Σύρτιν*, Acts xxvii. 17), which again was to the S.W.; so that the wind was still from the N.E.

2. Upon the subject of the wind, it is further to be remarked that the S.E. wind, or Scirocco, even in November, is a hot and dry wind, and seldom or never lasts more than five days (Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 109). But the Euroclydon was cold and wet (*διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν*

ἐφεστῶτα καὶ διὰ τὸ ψύχος, Acts xxviii. 2), and lasted for fourteen days. Acts xxvii. 27.

3. When Paul sailed again from Melita, it was in the Castor and Pollux, a ship of *Alexandria*, which had wintered in the island in ordinary course. Acts xxviii. 11. Melita, therefore, must have been in the usual track from Alexandria to Rome, which Malta was. But Meleda was quite remote from it, and half-way up the Gulf of Venice.

4. Paul was wrecked in the sea called *Adria*, in a vessel from *Alexandria*, and the ship which carried him from Melita to Rome was from *Alexandria*. Josephus also, four years after this, was wrecked in the *Adria*, in a vessel which carried him from *Judea* (Jos. Vit. 3), and was picked up at sea in the same *Adria* by a vessel from *Cyrene*, Ib. It is plain, therefore, that the *Adria* in question was on the high road to Rome from Alexandria, and from Judea, and from Cyrene. The *Adria*, therefore, was clearly that bounded by Sicily, Italy, Greece, and Crete, and could not be the Adriatic gulf, which stretched away to the north far away from the track from Alexandria, Judea, and Cyrene, to Rome.

5. The wreck itself occurred at a spot where two seas met, and at Malta, in the Bay of St. Paul, two seas do meet round the island of Salmonetta; but there is no such feature of two seas meeting to be found at Meleda.

6. The Castor and Pollux, in which Paul left Melita for Rome, touched first at Syracuse. Acts xxviii. 12. Therefore Syracuse lay in her course, and, we may add, in her *direct* course; for when the same ship sailed again, Luke mentions that they made a circuit (*περιελθόντες*, Acts xxviii. 13), which implies that they had not done so before. Now, if the ship started from Malta, Syracuse did lie in her *direct* course; but if from Meleda, in the Gulf of Venice, she must have made a most unaccountable deviation to get to Syracuse, and for what? To tack about and go back again.

7. Had the wind been from the S.E., as supposed, then, as they were caught by it a little way from Fair Havens, which lies about the middle of the southern side of the island, the vessel must inevitably have been driven thence upon the coast of Crete itself; and had they cleared the island of Crete, then in their course from Crete to Meleda, they would have sighted and almost grazed the western coast of Greece, and passed amongst the islands in front of it, and then have entered the contracted mouth of the Gulf of Venice. And could they have done

all this without having once seen any of the numerous headlands on their right and left? Acts xxvii. 20 and 27.

8. We shall only further remark that tradition has uniformly pointed to the Bay of St. Paul in Malta, as that where the wreck oc-

curred, and a monument was long ago erected to mark the spot. But the inhabitants of Melita have no trace of any similar tradition, and must be not a little surprised at the honour proposed to be conferred upon them.



Fig. 266a. Specimen of the *φρύγανον* (Acts xxviii. 3) or thorny heather which grows round the bay of St. Paul, Malta, and is cut in the autumn for firewood. The specimen engraved is that of a small piece taken from a bundle in one of the 8 or 9 stacks found there. Height of the heather about a foot. See ante, p. 208.

CHAPTER VI.

Paul a Prisoner at Rome for two years—He writes the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians.

“The city which thou seest, no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, Queen of the earth,
So far renown’d, and with the spoils enrich’d
Of nations. There the Capitol thou seest
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable; and there Mount Palatine,
The Imperial palace, compass huge and high,
The structure skill of noblest architects,
With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
Turrets and terraces and glittering spires.”

Paradise Regained.

PAUL’S sojourn in Malta was, we are told, a period of three months,¹ and this will bring us to about the 8th of February, A.D. 61. The navigation of the seas by the ancients commenced at this time, as we learn from Pliny² and Vegetius;³ and Julius the centurion now looked around him for some means of conveying his prisoners to their final destination. The more usual track of the corn vessels between Egypt and Rome lay along the coast of Africa to Malta and Sicily, and thence through the straits of Messana to Puteoli, the port of Rome. From Puteoli the cargoes were either transhipped into smaller craft to be carried to the artificial harbour formed by Claudius at Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, or were transported to Rome by land carriage along the Via Appia. One of these Alexandrian vessels, whose sign was Castor and Pollux (the tutelary deities of mariners),⁴ had wintered at Malta, probably

¹ One tradition is that the Apostle during this period resided in a grotto still shown at Civita Vecchia, near the cathedral. It is under a chapel which forms the right wing to the church of St. Paul. After descending a few steps, a door is unlocked on the right, and you enter a grotto having the usual vaulted appearance, and about the size of an ordinary room. The stone from which it has been excavated is of a light colour, and so soft that you can crush it with the hand. The legendary tale is that, though most travellers carry away a fragment, the size and shape of the grotto are miraculously

preserved. The author, however, observed a considerable hiatus on one side, made by the pickaxe; not to mention that the sides of a grotto, as well as the walls of a house, are capable of renovation by the introduction of new materials. Another tradition is that Paul resided in a much more spacious grotto in a ravine on the road from the Bay of St. Paul to Civita Vecchia. See accompanying plate.

² H. N. ii. 47.

³ Veget. de Re milit. iv. 39.

⁴ παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις—i.e. the vessel carried as figure-heads at the prow the twins Castor and

at Valetta, on her way to Italy, and was now about to resume her voyage. Julius availed himself of so favourable an opportunity, and embarked his soldiers and their prisoners on board. They had been thrown upon the island in the most helpless and destitute state, but so exemplary had been their conduct during their abode, and such had been the benefits conferred upon the Maltese by the hands of the Apostle, that "when we departed," says Luke, "they honoured us with many honours, and laded us with such things as were necessary."⁵

The *Castor* and *Pollux* sailed with a fair wind, and soon ran into Syracuse (fig. 267, 268, 269), the first port at which she was to touch, and distant from Malta about one hundred miles.⁶ Here the vessel rested three days for the purposes of trade, as Syracuse was at that period a flourishing emporium, for which it was peculiarly calculated from its excellent port. The city was situate on a broad foreland on the



Fig. 267.—View of Syracuse. From Admiralty Chart.

The spectator is standing at the amphitheatre to the north of the great port, and is looking over the port to the south.
The city is on the island to the left.

eastern coast of Sicily, and on the south-west was a magnificent basin protected by the island of Ortygia, which, stretching in front of it and almost touching the mainland at the north, left a spacious entrance into the harbour on the south.

At the end of three days the *Castor* and *Pollux* again set sail, but as the wind was westerly, and they were under shelter of the high mountainous range of Etna on

Pollux (viz. *Castor* on one side of the prow and *Pollux* on the other), and Luke leaves it to be implied that this was the name of the vessel. Most commonly amongst the ancients there was a figure or *insigne* at the prow, and a painted representation or image of the tutelary god, called the *tutelu*, at the stern. Sometimes the prow, as in

Paul's vessel, carried an *insigne*, which served also for the *tutela*. See Kuinoel's note, Acts xxviii. 11.

⁵ Acts xxviii. 10. The 'honours' probably included pecuniary aid. 'Honor' was often used for money; whence 'honorarium,' a fee.

⁶ Diod. Sic. v. 12.



Fig. 268.—Plan of Syracuse and its ports. From Admiralty Chart.



Fig. 269.—Coin of Syracuse. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Proserpine with the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (of the Syracusans).—*Rev.* A chariot of four horses and Victory crowning the charioteer. This coin commemorates the victories of Syracuse in the public games of Greece, and especially at the Olympia.

their left, they were obliged to stand out to sea in order to fill their sails, and so came to Rhegium by a circuitous sweep, or, as it has been translated, "they fetched a compass."⁷ Rhegium lay on the coast of Italy, near the mouth of the narrow strait



Fig. 270.—*Rhegium, now Reggio. From St. Non.*

The spectator is looking south-west, with the port on the right, and Mount Etna in the distance, on the opposite side of the strait.

which separates it from Sicily. Caligula had projected a port there for the protection of the Alexandrian corn-ships, but he had no liking for the only rational work that he ever undertook, and died without bringing it to completion (fig. 270).⁸

As the breeze (which often takes the direction of a narrow channel) came directly down the strait, the *Castor* and *Pollux* was unable to proceed, and so waited at Rhegium until the wind shifted. They remained only one day, when a south wind sprang up (the most favourable that could be desired), and the ship was again under sail. After a run of fifteen miles they reached the headland on the east coast, so famous in story as the abode of the monstrous Scylla, who, with her six long necks and heads, was continually howling and barking like so many dogs at the passing

⁷ The Greek word is *περιελθόντες*. Acts xxviii. 13. I was informed by a friend, many years ago, that when he made the voyage himself, in a sailing vessel, from Syracuse to Rhegium, the vessel took a similar circuit for a similar reason. That the Alexandrian vessels usually touched

at Rhegium appears from Suetonius: *Quare festinans a [Judæa] in Italiam, cum Rhegium, dehinc Puteolos onerariâ nave [Titus] appulisset, Romam inde contendit.* Suet. Tit. 5. Just such was the course pursued by Paul.

⁸ Jos. Ant. xix. 2, 5.

mariner (fig. 271); and just opposite the headland, near the Sicilian coast, was the no less celebrated whirlpool, the Charybdis. Thus in the infancy of navigation the mariner was sorely put to it how to thread his way safely between the ragged insidious rocks on the right, and the absorbent eddies of the whirlpool on the left,

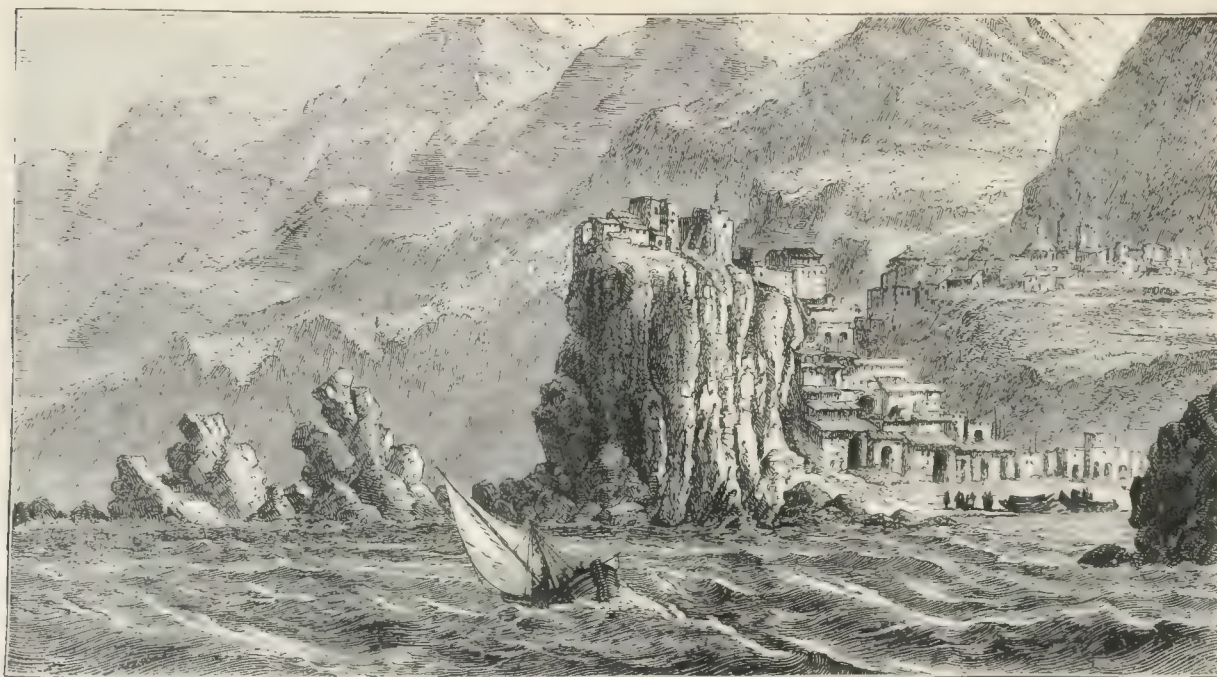


Fig. 271.—*The ragged rocks of Scylla on the right, i.e., to the east of the strait.*

Just opposite to the rocks was the whirlpool called Charybdis, whence the famous line from the *Alexandreis* of P. Gaultier :
Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim

The fables of Homer and the poets offered no real danger to the *Castor* and *Pollux*, which now cleared the strait, and made for Puteoli.⁹ The distance of this town from Rhegium was about one hundred and eighty-two miles, and the second day they had accomplished the voyage.

The bay of Naples (fig. 272), in which Puteoli was situate, was one of the finest in the world, of an amphitheatric form, and about twenty-five or thirty miles across. The southern horn of the crescent-like bay was formed by the promontory of Minerva, and the northern by the promontory of Misenum. Off the headland of Minerva was the island of Capreæ, the residence of the gloomy Tiberius, and as the *Castor* and *Pollux* passed it, the voyagers might have seen the precipitous rock frowning over the sea, from which the tyrant, after putting them to the most exquisite torture, was wont to hurl his victims; while boatmen waited below with bludgeons to dispatch any that might survive the fall.¹⁰ Off the opposite promontory were the islands of Ischia and Procida, and in the harbour of Misenum, close under the promontory and to the east of it, lay at anchor the Imperial fleet of the Lower Sea.¹¹ The admiral in command

⁹ From Rhegium to Puteoli by sea, and thence to Rome by land, was the common track. See Suet. Tit. 5

¹⁰ Suet. Tib. 62.

¹¹ The fleet of the Upper Sea was stationed at Ravenna.

at this time was Anicetus, a freedman, who had been tutor to Nero, and had recently advised him how best to make away with his mother Agrippina.¹² At the north-eastern corner of the bay was Neapolis (Newtown) or Naples, and to the west of Naples toward Cape Misenum was another smaller bay, running up northward from the bay of Naples, and of the width only of about five miles.¹³ On the eastern side of it stood Puteoli, and on the western was Baiæ, the fashionable watering-place, the Brighton of Rome; and not far from the sea-shore, between Baiæ and Misenum, was Baulos, the emperor's marine villa—the most lovely spot on the face of the earth, as all who have visited it must acknowledge. Puteoli, or Pozzuoli as it is now called, was originally confined to a narrow rocky promontory, an elevated ridge projecting oppo-



Fig. 272.—View of the bays of Puteoli and Neapolis with Mount Vesuvius. From Admiralty chart.

site Baiæ; but afterwards it extended itself a considerable distance eastward inland and also northwards round the little bay. From a point of the shore about fifty yards to the north of the promontory on which Puteoli had been originally built, and where the sea begins to form an inner bay to the east, was thrown out a mole for protection from the waves, and for the convenience of landing passengers and merchandise. The pier was not a continued solid mass as usually was the case, but stretched itself into the sea upon twenty-five arches, of which the author in 1851 counted thirteen still remaining, the very same number as had been counted by Evelyn more than 200 years before.¹⁴ Puteoli was the great port of the Roman capital. Here voyagers from abroad disembarked, and here persons commencing their travels took ship. Through this gate passed the immense exports and imports to and from the Imperial city. In particular, the corn from Alexandria was conveyed thither, and the wheat ships were allowed the peculiar privilege of entering the bay with all their sails set, while other vessels on rounding Capreæ were compelled to strike their topsails. An Alexandrian vessel could therefore be distinguished at a considerable

¹² Tac. Ann. xiv. 3.

καὶ ἑκοσι. Dion lix. 17.

¹³ Dion makes the distance from Puteoli to Baulos three miles and a quarter: σταδίους ἑξ

¹⁴ Evelyn's Diary.

distance, and as soon as she hove in sight, the herald of a squadron at her wake, a crowd soon gathered on the pier of Puteoli to watch the longed-for arrival.¹⁵

It was about the middle of February, A.D. 61, that the *Castor* and *Pollux* entered the bay of Naples with Paul on board, and we may well suppose that the

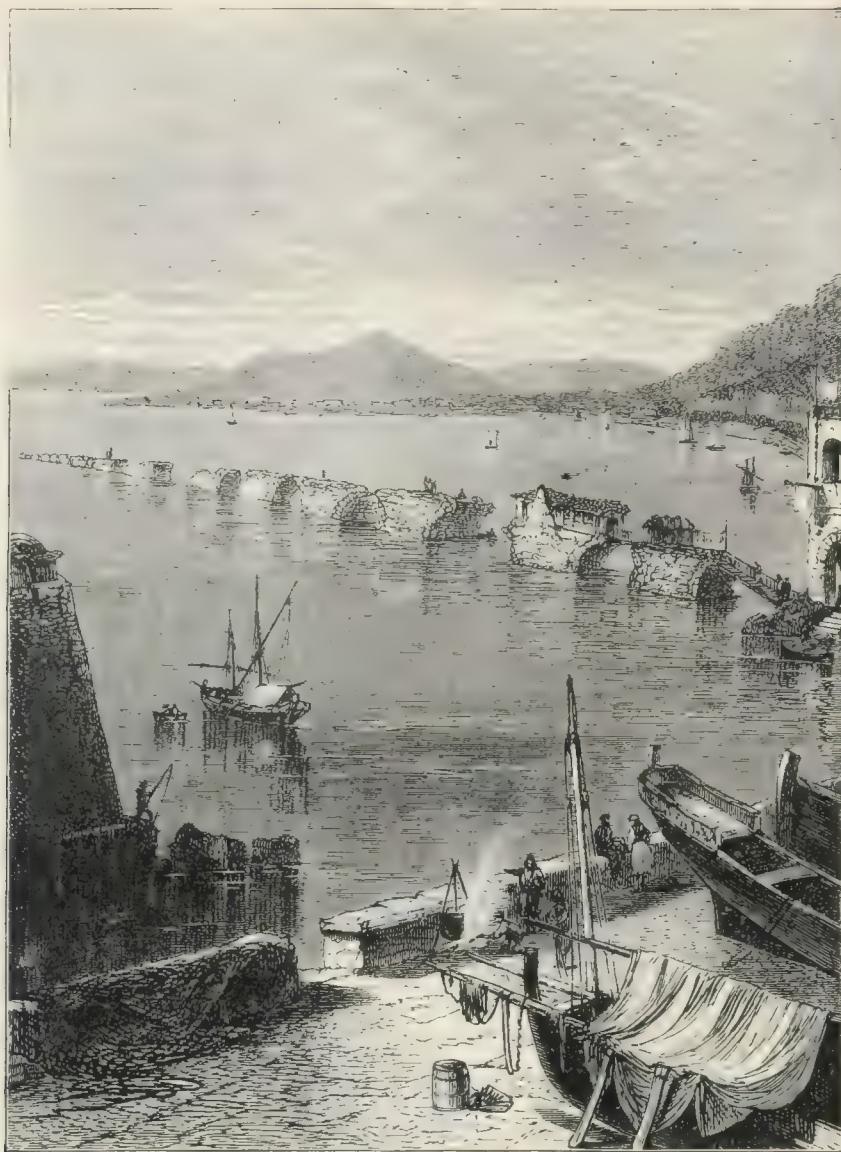


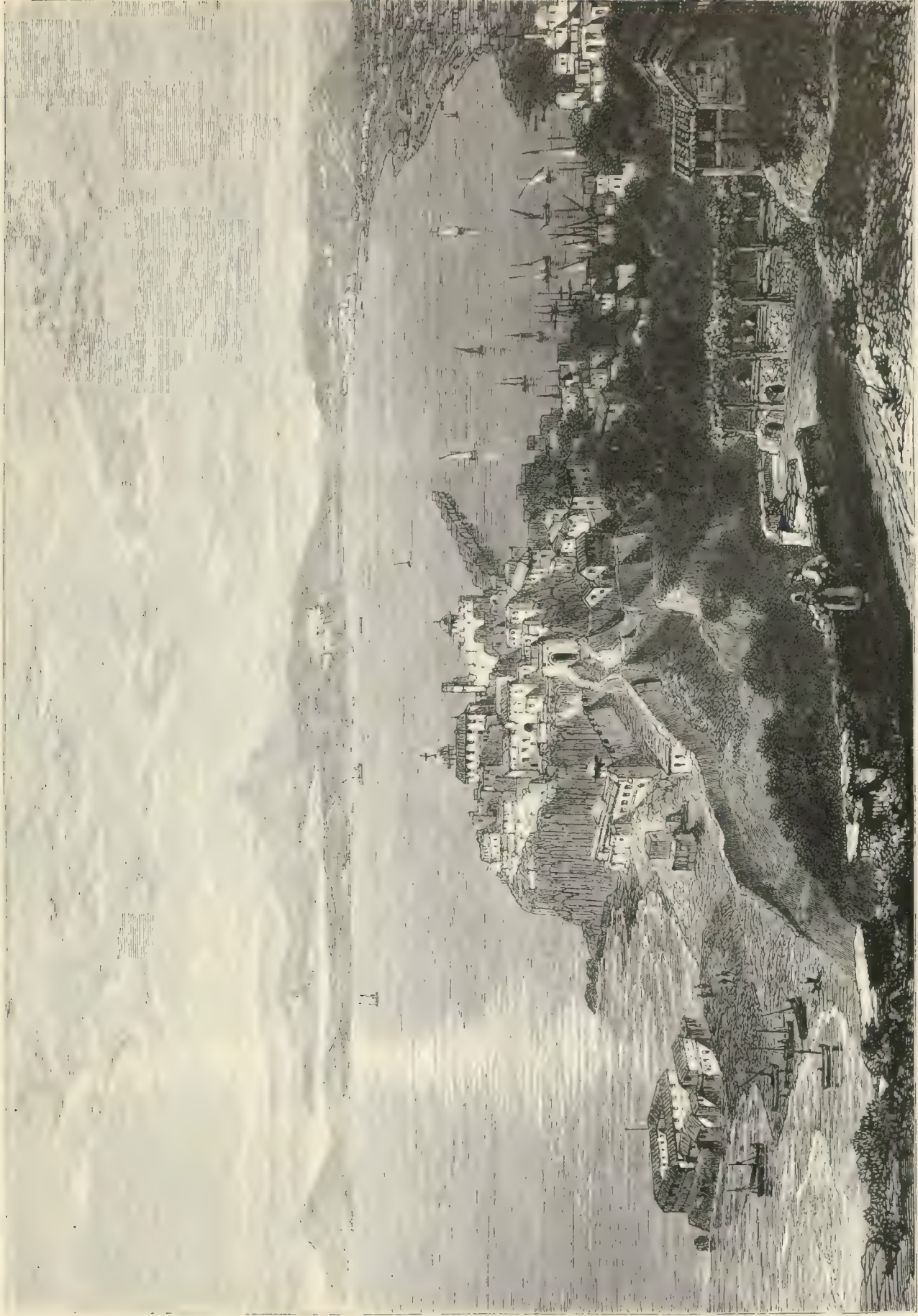
Fig. 273.—The mole of Puteoli. From *Antichità di Pozzuoli*.

The spectator is looking up the bay to the north. It was at this pier that Paul landed when on his way as a prisoner from Casarea to Rome.

Apostle gazed with interest on the scene of transcendent beauty around him. On the left rode in the harbour of Misenum the Imperial fleet; further on glittered the palace of Baulos, and then the gay Baiæ, and opposite to it lay a forest of masts behind the rock and pier of Puteoli. On the right rose Vesuvius, overhung by a

¹⁵ Subito nobis hodie Alexandrinæ naves apparuerunt, quæ præmitti solent et nuntiare secuturæ classis adventum (Tabellarias vocant). Gratus illarum Campaniæ adspectus est; omnis in pilis Puteolorum turba consistit, et ex ipso

genere velorum Alexandrinas quamvis in magna turba navium intelligit. Solis enim licet siparum intendere, quod in alto omnes habent naves, . . . cæteræ velo jubentur esse contentæ: siparum Alexandrinarum insigne est. Senec. Epist. 77.



THE BAY OF PUTEOLI, NOW POZZUOLI.

The spectator is looking north.

From Antichità Pozzuoli.

1^o face Vol. ii. p. 230

perpetual cloud, and at its base stood the ill-fated Pompeii, then in all its pride, a few years after suddenly consigned to the tomb, to be again rescued after the lapse of centuries from its premature grave. The Castor and Pollux now cast anchor at the pier of Puteoli, and Julius landed his prisoners amid the gaze of a thousand idlers, whom curiosity to see the disembarkation had attracted to the spot (fig. 273).



Fig. 274.—In front is the pedestal of a statue erected in the principal thoroughfare of Puteoli in honour of the Emperor Tiberius, to commemorate his benefactions to the cities of Asia which had suffered from the earthquake of A.D. 17 (see *Fasti Sacri*, p. 163, No. 1093). From *St. Non*.

The several cities are personified, and the third from the spectator's left of the front group is Ephesus, the city at which the Apostle had resided for three years. Paul during his week's stay at Puteoli must often have looked with interest on this monument, and have recalled the stirring scenes which he had witnessed a few years before at the capital of Asia.

Julius had throughout the voyage treated Paul with unvaried kindness, and he still exhibited the same humane courtesy. At Puteoli (fig. 274)—as the populous thoroughfare between Rome and all foreign parts—were numerous Jews,¹⁶ and not only so, but a community of Christians¹⁷ also had already been formed. Paul, by the leave of Julius, now opened a communication with them, and so warmly did they welcome him, that (with the permission of the centurion, whose plans required that sojourn) he remained their guest for a week.

¹⁶ Jos. Ant. xvii. 12, 1.

¹⁷ Acts xxviii. 14.

During the delay at Puteoli intelligence had been transmitted to the Christians of Rome that Paul had arrived at the seaport, and that in a few days he would resume his journey to the metropolis. The distance was about a hundred and forty-one miles (fig. 275).

At the expiration of the week, Paul, with a promise of revisiting the Christians of Puteoli at a future day should he obtain his release, bade adieu to his kind friends; and Julius and his soldiers, with their prisoners, set forward on their route. The high road lay through Cumæ and Liternum to Sinuessa, thirty-three miles from Puteoli.¹⁸ Here they found themselves upon the celebrated Via Appia, running from Brundisium through Sinuessa to Rome. The track of the road still remains. It was from thirteen to fifteen feet broad, and the foundation was of concrete, or cemented rubble-work, and the surface was laid with large polygonal blocks of the hardest stone, usually basaltic lava, irregular in form, but fitted together with the greatest nicety. The distances were marked by milestones (fig. 276), and at intervals of about twenty miles were "mansions" or post-stations, where vehicles and horses and mules were provided for the convenience of travellers, and the transmission of Government dispatches.¹⁹

From Sinuessa Paul and his company followed the Via Appia through Minturnæ, Formiæ, and Fundi to Terracina, a distance of forty-seven miles.²⁰ From this point they might either take the more circuitous road by land round the Pontine marshes, or traverse the canal running across the morass in a direct line in a trackboat drawn

¹⁸ The Antonine Itin. gives the distances thus:

Puteoli to Cumæ	.	.	.	millia pas.
	.	.	.	iii
Liternum	.	.	.	vi
Sinuessa	.	.	.	xxiv
				xxxiii

¹⁹ The following account of the Via Appia, and the mode of travelling upon it, is from Sir W. Gell:—"On each side of the road were disposed, at the distance of every forty feet, low columns as seats for the weary, and to assist in mounting on horseback. The road was provided with inns and ornamented with statues—numi viali, Lares viales, or Dei viæi, as they are called by Varro—Mercury, Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, Diana, Janus, and Hercules. At every thousand paces, of five feet each, was a milestone—lapis, lapis milliaris, or columna milliaris. The stages were called mansiones and mutationes, the latter name being derived from the changing of the horses. The carriages in use were cars (birotæ or bigæ) with two wheels and as many horses, waggons (rhedæ and quadrigæ), and coaches drawn by six horses (seijugæ). The post horses were called veredi and the postilions veredarii. It is surprising to observe, upon re-

ferring to the laws, how well everything was regulated. A birota could only carry 200 pounds weight; a rheda might carry 1000; a carrus might be charged with 600 pounds weight. A carpentum was a more ancient vehicle, and carried 1000 pounds; but it could contain only two, or at most three persons. The anagariæ carried 1500 pounds. Carriages might be found at every post, and not less than forty post horses were kept. Saddle horses were called equi cursuales. A rheda had eight mules in summer and ten in winter, and a birota three mules." Gell's *Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, p. 129 (1834); p. 73 (1846).

²⁰ The Antonine Itinerary gives the distances thus:

Sinuessa to Minturnæ	.	.	.	ix
Formiæ	.	.	.	ix
Fundi	.	.	.	xiii
Terracina	.	.	.	xvi
				xlvi

The Jerusalem Itinerary thus:

Sinuessa to Minturnæ	.	.	.	ix
Formiæ	.	.	.	ix
Fundi	.	.	.	xii
Terracina	.	.	.	xiii
				xlvi



THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE VIA APPIA AT THE FIFTH MILE FROM ROME. *From Canina.*



THE FIFTH MILE OF THE VIA APPIA, RESTORED.

From Canina.
To face Vol. ii. p. 222.

by mules.²¹ The latter route has been immortalized by the humour of Horace, in his well-known journey to Brundisium. Which of these two routes Julius adopted we are not informed, but both road and canal met at Appii Forum, a small town eighteen



Fig. 275.—Route of Paul along the Via Appia from Puteoli to Rome through Forum Appii and Tres Tabernæ. From Spruner.

miles from Terracina,²² rife with insolent bargemen and exorbitant victuallers.²³ But Julius was an Imperial officer, and the *parochi* (πάροχοι), or public entertainers, were bound to supply to him and those under his charge *lignumque salemque*, or as we should express it, “bed and board.”

The Christians of Rome were already numerous, being many of them of exalted rank, and having heard from Puteoli of Paul’s expected approach, a body of them, in honour of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and in testimony of their sense of his unparalleled exertions and sacrifices in the sacred cause, now met him²⁴ at Appii Forum, forty-three miles from the capital.²⁵ Amongst them must have been many of

²¹ It would, however, appear from Strabo that the road and canal were parallel, or nearly so: παραβέβληται τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππία διῶρυξ. Strabo, v. 3 (p. 377, Tauch.).

²² Anton. Itin. gives from Terracina to Appii Forum xviii.; the Jerusalem Itinerary gives—

Terracina to Ad Medias	x
Appii Forum	ix
	<hr/>
	xix

²³ Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.

Hor. Sat. i. 5, 4.

²⁴ This was a usual practice. See Jos. Ant. xvii. 12, 1; Suet. Calig. 4; Plut. Anton. 11; Dion lvi. 4; Tac. Ann. iii. 5; Cic. Ep. Fam. xvi. 11: Appian, Bell. Mithrid. 116.

²⁵ The Antonine Itin. gives—

Appii Forum to Tres Tabernæ . . .	x
Aricia	xvii
Rome	xvi
	<hr/>
	xliii

The Jerus. Itin gives—

those whom Paul had saluted in the Epistle to the Romans, and also perhaps Aquila and Priscilla, whom Paul had met at Corinth on the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius, but who had since returned to the Imperial city.²⁶ The sensitive heart of Paul was deeply moved by such affectionate zeal, and he gave God thanks that the persecution which he was enduring for the cross of Christ, instead of operating as a terror to the brethren, should thus have stimulated them to so public a profession of their holy faith.²⁷ The reason of their not advancing *beyond* Appii Forum probably was, that not knowing whether the Apostle would come by the road or the canal, they might possibly miss him by the way.

From Appii Forum the united company advanced along the Via Appia to Tres Tabernæ, or the Three Taverns, a well-known station, distant from Appii Forum ten miles,²⁸ and here another party of Roman brethren, those perhaps of maturer age,²⁹ bade welcome to the Apostle, so that from this point his progress, instead of the forced march of a criminal, was more like a triumphal procession. They next passed through Aricia (now La Riccia), sixteen miles from Rome, a spot still distinguished by some remnants of its ancient celebrity.³⁰

They now descended into the valley of Egeria, and passing the sacred fount on their right, advanced up a gentle rise toward the walls of Rome, through the wood

Appii Forum to Sponsæ . . .	vii
Aricia . . .	xiv
Ad Nonum . . .	vii
Rome . . .	ix
	xxxvii

²⁶ Rom. xvi. 3.

²⁷ Acts xxviii. 15.

²⁸ That Appii Forum and Tres Tabernæ were not far apart appears from Cicero. *Ab Appii Foro horâ quartâ. Dederam aliam paulo ante Tribus Tabernis.* Epist. Attic. ii. 10. The *Acta Petri et Pauli* make Tres Tabernæ thirty-eight miles from Rome. *ἔστω δὲ τὸ διάστημα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἕως Τρίβους Ταβέρνης μίλια τριάκοντα ὀκτώ.* Tischendorf's Apocryph. Act. Apost. s. 20.

There are no remains of the three taverns by that name at the present day, but the site may be placed at or near the modern Cisterna. According to Nibby, who carefully examined the country, the old Via Appia, on which Tres Tabernæ was situate, ran directly from Castella to Terracina, whereas the present road considerably deviates, which is the cause that Tres Tabernæ has been lost sight of. In ancient times the Three Taverns was a central town, and a vast deal of traffic passed through it, as not only did it lie on the great Appian highway, but here also was the junction of the much-frequented road from Antium. This fact is established by a remark of Cicero, who writes

to Atticus: *Emerseram commodè ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tres Tabernas ipsis Cerealibus, quum in me incurrit Româ veniens Curio meus.* Epist. Attic. ii. 12. In the Authorized Version Tres Tabernæ has been translated the Three Taverns, but Luke, though writing in Greek, did not translate Tres Tabernæ into Greek, but speaks of it by its Roman name, as *Τριῶν Ταβερνῶν*. Had Luke, therefore, translated the Acts into English he would have called the place Tres Tabernæ, and not the Three Taverns.

²⁹ Thus, on Pompey's triumphant return from the East, his fellow-citizens, says Appian, *αὐτῷ προσιόντι ἀπήντων κατὰ μέρος, πορρώτάτω μὲν οἱ νέοι, ἐξῆς δὲ ὡς ἡδύναντο καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστοι.* Appian, Mithrid. 116.

³⁰ According to the *Acta Petri et Pauli*, s. 20, the Apostle slept at Aricia. *κινήσαντες δὲ ἐκέλευεν [from Tres Tabernæ], ἐκοιμήθησαν εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Ἀρικήαν.* The book is not authentic, but it is of early date, and is an index to the customs of the time.

The Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries make Aricia 16 miles from Rome, which is probably the correct estimate. Strabo places it 160 stades, or 20 miles, from Rome, and Philostratus, on the contrary, only 120 stades, or 15 miles, while the Peutinger Table places it at still less, viz. 13 miles. Vit. Apoll. iv. 36.

once devoted to the Muses but then occupied by Israelites, the meanest of their race, the pedlar and the fortune-teller. Even for this privilege, the satirist indignantly tells us, a tax was levied by the Imperial government.

“ Here, where of old the godlike Numa paid
Nocturnal visits to his heavenly maid,
The gipsy Jewess plies her trade by day
And sleeps by night upon her wisp of hay!
Her only home the shelter of a tree,
And even for that the State demands a fee.
Shame on my country! Hence, ye Muses, hence!
And yield your grove that Rome may squeeze her pence.”⁸¹

As they approached to Rome the suburbs were lined with the splendid villas of senators and knights, and wealthy commoners, and the tombs of the mighty dead.



Fig. 276.—The first milestone on the Appian Way on quitting Rome by the Porta Capena. From Canina's *Via Appia*.

Just before reaching the gate of the city they passed under the arch of Drusus (fig. 277), erected twenty years before in honour of Drusus, the father of the Emperor Claudius, and who is celebrated by Horace as the conqueror of the Rhæti and

⁸¹ Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judaïs, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.

Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis.
Juv. Sat. iii. 12.

Vindelici.³² The arch still remains, and the spectator gazes with the more interest as he remembers that under this venerable fabric passed 1800 years ago the foot-



Fig. 277.—The arch of Drusus. From a photograph.

The arch stood just without the Porta Capena, and Paul chained to a soldier must have passed under it.

steps of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.³³ They now advanced into Rome itself by the Porta Capena, or Capuan gate, dripping from the leakage of the ancient aqueduct which was carried across it.³⁴

The Apostle was now in the City of the Seven Hills, which for so many years had

³² Hor. Od. iv. 4.

³³ See Rome, a Tour of Many Days. By Sir George Head. 1849. Vol. ii. 413.

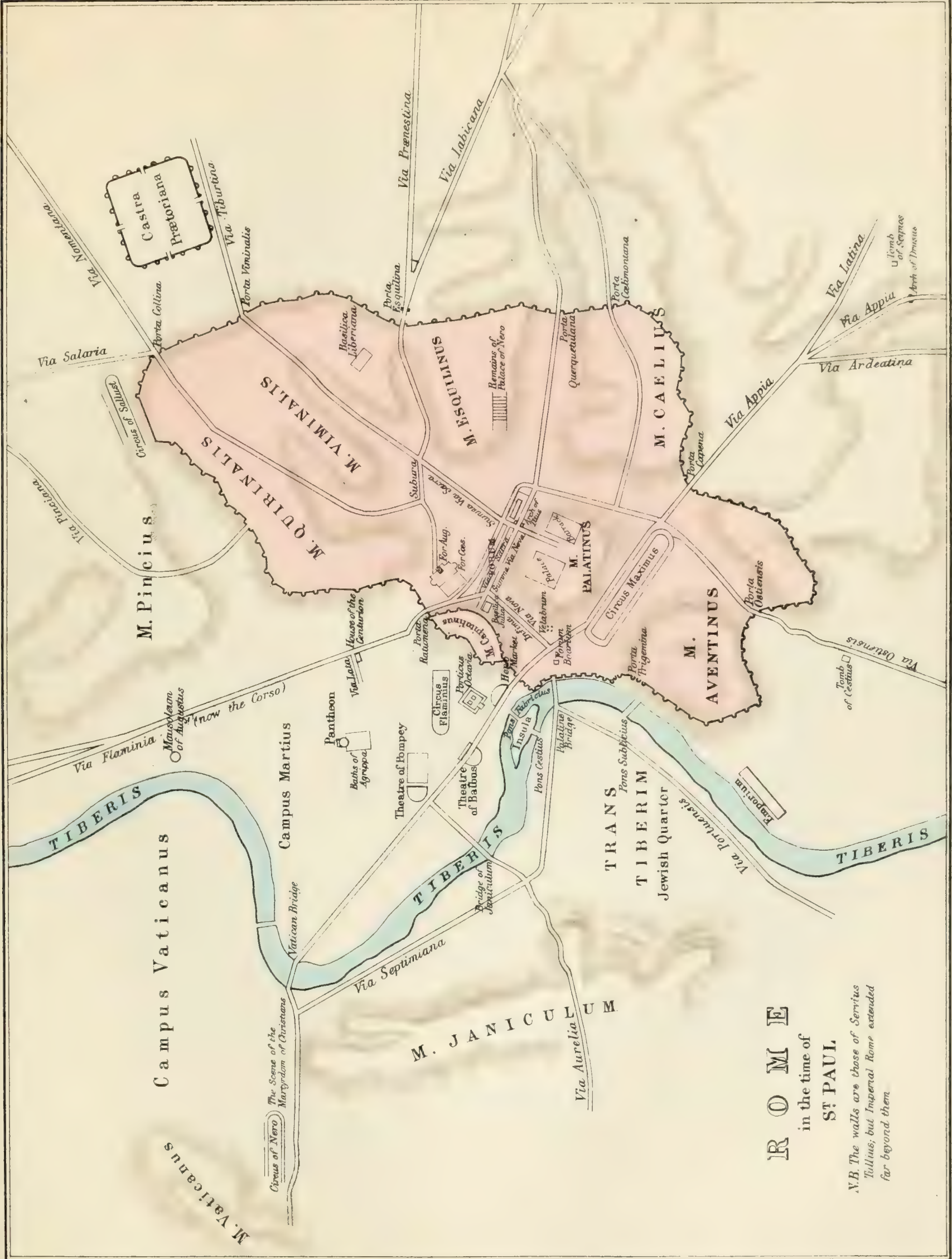
³⁴ Thus—

“Substitit ad veteres arcus nadidamque Capenam.”
Juv. Sat. iii. 11.

“Capena grandi porta quâ pluit guttâ.”
Mart. iii. 47.

Hence the gate in later times, when enclosed within the city, was called Arcus Stillans. Scholiast on Juvenal.

The Via Appia started from this gate, and the miles were measured from it. The fortunate discovery of the first milestone at a little distance outside the present Porta di S. Sebastiano has determined the site of the Porta Capena to



R O M E
in the time of
ST. PAUL.
N.B. The walls are those of Servius
Tullius; but Imperial Rome extended
far beyond them

been the gréat object of his holy aspirations. He was there as a prisoner, but no matter, he was at Rome, and we shall see that the cause of Christianity did not suffer by his chain. Paul's ultimate destination was the Prætorium, or Palace of the Cæsars, and in passing thither he must have gazed with astonishment on the sub-lunary grandeur that surrounded him—the triumphal arches and colonnades, the temples and basilicas that lined the road from the Porta Capena to the Forum.

While the Apostle is on his way to the Palace, let us take a cursory glance at the state of public affairs at this period. The emperor Claudius (fig. 278) who, on the assassination of Messalina (fig. 279) for her debaucheries, had married Agrippina



Fig. 278.—Coin of Claudius. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Claudius with the legend *Ti. Claudius Casar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. P. P.*—Rev. *Ex. S. C. P. P. Ob cives servatos.*

(fig. 280), was about seven years before the arrival of Paul, viz. in October, A.D. 54, taken off by poison administered by the hands of his beloved wife. He left three children, Britannicus (fig. 281), Octavia (fig. 282) (married to Nero), and Antonia. By the artifices of Agrippina he had been induced to pass over his own son Britannicus, and to nominate Nero (fig. 284), the son of Agrippina, as his successor. Nero, who on assuming the purple was a mere stripling of seventeen, soon discovered himself to be a monster, of which, happily, there has never been a parallel. He had passed through the hands of various instructors, and had eventually even fallen under the care of the celebrated Seneca (fig. 283), but the evil seeds previously sown had struck root so deeply, that all the labours of the philosopher could not eradicate the rank vegetation. Amongst other tutors he had been disciplined by a dancing-master, and a barber,³⁵ and his character received a corresponding impress. He had a good figure, but was inclined to corpulency, had handsome features, was of ruddy complexion, with blue eyes, and wore his light hair, like a girl, in tresses, and when he visited Greece it was even bound in a fillet at the back of the head. He was usually attired in the most fantastic dress, and never put on the same robe twice.³⁶ In some respects he was not devoid of talent, for he was a tolerable painter

be at a spot now distinguished by a post with the letters P. C. (Porta Capena), 1480 yards within the Porta di S. Sebastiano, and 300 yards from the entrance to the Via S. Gregorio. Smith's

Greek and Rom. Geogr., art. "Rome," by Dyer, p. 755.

³⁵ Suet. Nero, 6.

³⁶ Suet. Nero, 30, 51.

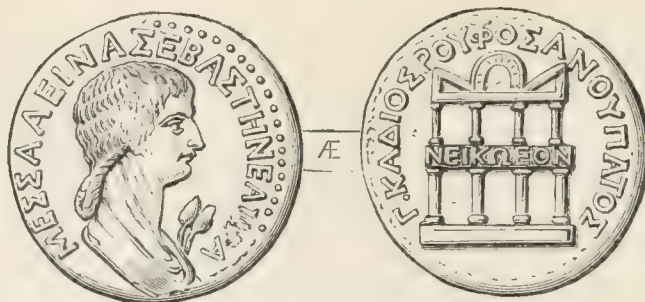


Fig. 279.—Coin of Messalina, wife of Claudius. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Messalina with the legend Μεσσαλεινα Σεβαστη νεα Ηρη (Messalina Augusta. The young Juno).
Rev. Γ. Καδιος Ρουφος Ανθυπατος Νεικωσων (C. Cadius Rufus Proconsul. Of the Niceans). He was Proconsul of Bithynia in A.D. 49, the year in which Paul and Barnabas commenced their second circuit. See Fasti Sacri, p. 290, No. 1794.



Fig. 280.—Coin of Agrippina, wife of Claudius. From the British Museum.

Obv. Portrait of Agrippina with the legend Agrippina M. F. Germanici Caesaris.—Rev. Tl. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. PP.



Fig. 281.—Unique coin of Britannicus, son of Claudius. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Britannicus with the legend T. Claudius Caesar Aug. F. Britannicus.—Rev. The God Mars with the legend S. C. (Senatus Consulto).



Fig. 282.—Coin of Octavia with Nero. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Nero with the legend Νερ. Κλαυ. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερμ. (Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus)—Rev. Head of Octavia with the legend Οκταωνια Σεβαστου (Octavia [wife] of Augustus) LT, i.e. in the third year of the reign of Nero, which places it in A.D. 56, while Paul was at Ephesus.

and sculptor and poet, but his chief passion was to drive the chariot, and sing with a thin, shrill voice to the sound of the guitar.³⁷ Had he merely wasted his time in



Fig. 283.—Bust of Seneca, the brother of Gallio and of Lucan the author of the *Pharsalia*. The tutor of Nero From the Museum at Naples.

such frivolous and unworthy pursuits, he might have ruled the destinies of the world for half a century, but his crimes grew by degrees to such enormity, that human nature could endure the curse no longer.



Fig. 284.—Coin of Nero. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Nero with the legend *Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Tr. P. P. P. Imp.*—Rev. Temple of Janus with the legend *Pace per Terram marique partâ Janum clusit.*

Immediately on his accession he imprisoned Narcissus, the famous freedman, who soon fell a victim to the damps of a dungeon.³⁸ The only reason for this was, that Narcissus, in the intrigues about the Court of Claudius, had not been the partisan of Agrippina and her worthless son. The following year Nero poisoned Britannicus, the son of Claudius, to prevent the possibility of a rivalry,³⁹ and we shall presently

³⁷ The cithara was pronounced *kithara*. Our word 'guitar' is derived from it.

³⁸ *Fasti Sacri*, p. 303, No. 1807.

³⁹ *Fasti Sacri*, p. 304, No. 1820.

have to record a more dreadful deed. His wife Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, a woman of singular virtue, was for that very reason the object of his detestation, and he soon threw himself into the more congenial embraces of Acte, a courtesan, and shortly afterwards lived in adulterous intercourse with the infamous Poppæa, who had been successively the wife of Rufus and Otho, both of whom were still living.⁴⁰

It is almost unnecessary to remark that a voluptuary of this kind was wholly averse to serious business. At first the ambitious Agrippina possessed herself of supreme power, and administered public affairs by the hands of her minion Pallas, the brother of Felix, but jealousy of the influence gained by Acte, and then by Poppæa



Fig. 285.—Coin of Poppæa, with the legend ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. ΛΙ (Poppæa Augusta L 10). The tenth year of the reign of Nero corresponds to the year from 13th October A.D. 63 to 13th October A.D. 64, during which time therefore the coin was struck. This was soon after Paul's liberation from imprisonment in A.D. 63. From the British Museum.

(fig. 285) led to unpleasant altercations, and the mother and son soon became conscious of mutual aversion. Agrippina was driven from the palace, and deprived of her German body-guard,⁴¹ and Pallas was removed from the office which he had so long held of comptroller of the household (*a rationibus*).⁴² The reins of government were now committed to Burrhus and Seneca (fig. 286), the two redeeming statesmen of the age.

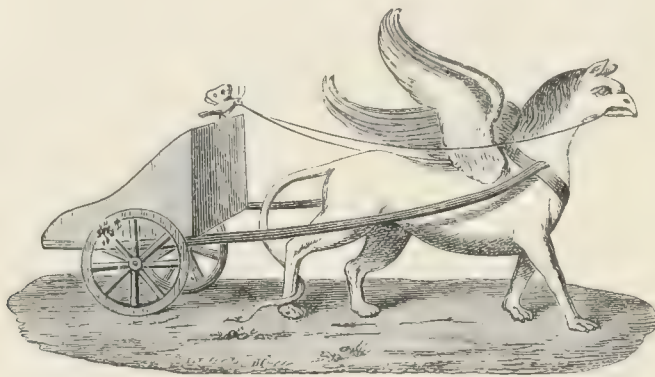


Fig. 286.—Seneca, as tutor of Nero, caricatured as a butterfly driving a dragon. From the Museum at Naples.

They were men of opposite characters, but cemented together by an anxious desire to promote the public welfare. Burrhus was the Prefect of the Prætorians or Imperial Body-guard, a rough soldier, with one hand mutilated from the wars;⁴³ Seneca, pale and meagre from study and spare diet, was withal a courtier of gentle and polished manners. Burrhus could scarcely write at all; Seneca was the most elegant scholar

⁴⁰ Fasti Sacri, p. 304, No. 1819.

⁴¹ Fasti Sacri, p. 304, No. 1821.

⁴² Fasti Sacri, p. 304, No. 1819.

⁴³ Tac. Ann. xiii. 14.

of the day. Both were plain-spoken, and endeavoured, as far as was practicable, to counteract the baneful influences by which the Emperor was hurried to his destruction. They were fortunately many years in power, and the harmony between them was never broken. When one was in danger, the other came to the rescue, and when eventually the fiendish spirit of Nero could bear the one no longer, the fall of the other very soon followed.

In March, A.D. 59, about two years before Paul's arrival, Nero perpetrated the hideous crime of matricide. Poppæa had established her influence over the Emperor the year before, and distrustful of the permanence of her own power so long as Agrippina lived, she had continually instigated him to that inhuman act. Nero, to veil his purpose, proceeded to Baïæ to celebrate there the festival of the Quinquatria, which occurred on the 19th of March. He pretended to be reconciled to his mother, and invited her from Antium in the most affectionate terms. Agrippina was persuaded, and Nero welcomed her with a tender embrace to Baulos. A banquet followed, and Agrippina was placed at the Emperor's side. At night she set out on her return by water to her villa overlooking the Lucrine Lake, which opened into the Bay of Baïæ. Nero attended her himself to the seaside, and as he placed her on board the Imperial yacht, gave her a parting salute. The vessel was, in reality, a decoy ship, built under the directions of Anicetus, the admiral, and so constructed that at any moment it could be made, by mechanical contrivances, to fall to pieces. The galley was put under sail, and the signal was given for sinking her. A blunder, however, was made, or the machinery was imperfect, for though the cabin of Agrippina fell in, and both of her attendants were killed, yet Agrippina herself, not without a wound, threw herself into the sea and swam to a boat, and so escaped to her villa. Nero, dreading the vengeance of the enraged lioness, commanded Anicetus to use violent means, and he, accompanied by two officers, the same night forced his way into the villa, and dispatched Agrippina with the sword.⁴⁴

So horrible a crime could not but shake the nerves of the most hardened reprobate, and Nero for some time was seen rapt in moody reverie, or to start with sudden terror. He dared not return to Rome, but retired to Naples, and then wandered about Campania. At length the servile adulation of the senate and people of Rome, who missed the sunshine of the Imperial presence, reassured him of their faithful allegiance, and he revisited the capital. All restraint upon his conduct being now removed (for Agrippina to the last had exercised a degree of power),⁴⁵ Nero gave free indulgence to every wild whim of the moment. Chariot driving and singing were still the baubles that amused him, and matricide as he was, he was bent upon displaying his acquirements before the public eye.

Burrhus and Seneca could only so far prevail as to confine the disgraceful exhi-

⁴⁴ *Fasti Sacri*, p. 317, No. 1871.

⁴⁵ *Cupientibus cunctis infringi matris potentiam.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 1.

bition within somewhat narrower bounds. A private circus was constructed on the other side the Tiber, in the Vatican Valley, near the site of the modern St. Peter's, and here Nero drove at first in the presence of a select few; but his thirst for applause could not be restrained, and the whole Roman people were soon admitted indiscriminately to the unprecedented spectacle of an Emperor playing the charioteer. He next instituted games called *Juvenilia*, in honour of the first growth of a beard, which he now shaved and dedicated in a golden box to Jupiter Capitolinus. Upon this occasion the noblest Romans were degraded into actors, and Nero himself sang the popular airs of the day to the guitar. Gallio, the late Pro-consul of Achaia, before whose tribunal Paul had been cited some eight years before, was now employed as stage manager, to announce to the delighted audience that *NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR WAS ABOUT TO SING*.⁴⁶ Even Burrhus and Seneca were obliged to witness the performance and lend their applause, though tears the while ran down the cheeks of the honest old soldier, to see his master so disgrace the Imperial purple.⁴⁷ The same games were also made the vehicle of every sensual gratification. The young prodigate thinking to hide his own delinquencies under the general infamy, gave open encouragement to vice by stipendiary payments, and if the passions of men cannot be subdued even by stringent laws, it may well be supposed what licence prevailed when the chief magistrate himself offered a premium to depravity.

Such was Nero, and such, or the like, were the scenes enacted at Rome at the time of Paul's arrival. Burrhus and Seneca were still administering public affairs, the one in the military and the other in the civil department. Nero, now of the age of twenty-three and a few months, was residing with Poppæa, in his princely palace on the Palatine Hill, while Octavia his wife was living in seclusion and almost forgotten.

Julius and his charge arrived at the Palace and delivered up his prisoners to the Prefect of the *Prætorium*, or *Præfectus Prætorio*. The word *Prætorium* signified originally the tent of the *Prætor* or commander-in-chief, and the *Cohors Prætoria* was his body-guard. When Augustus established himself as Emperor he was careful to continue the republican names, and his body-guard, as that of the commander-in-chief, were still called the *Prætoriani*, and their commander bore the title of *Præfectus Prætorio*. The *Prætorians* consisted of nine or ten cohorts of 1000 men each, and in the time of Augustus, and for some years under Tiberius, the *Prætorian* cohorts were dispersed in different quarters through the city and in the suburbs, but in the reign of Tiberius, Sejanus, their Prefect, having ambitious views and knowing "unity to be strength," induced the Emperor to form them into one camp without the city, but immediately adjacent to it.⁴⁸ This camp was called, not the *Prætorium* (which

⁴⁶ Dion Cass. lxi. 20.

⁴⁷ Moerens Burrusac laudans. Tac. Ann. xiv. 15.

⁴⁸ Ad extrema vero tectorum cum castris *Prætoriis* ab eodem milliaro per vicos omnium

viarum mensura colligit paulo amplius septuaginta millia passuum. Pliny N. H. iii. 9. As to the numbers of the *Prætorians*, see Tac. Ann. iv. 5; Dion, lv. 24.

was properly the Emperor's Palace), but the *Castra Prætorianorum* (fig. 287, 288). The spot was on the north-east of the city, just without the gate, on the right of the *Via Nomentana*.⁴⁹ The camp assumed the usual quadrangular shape, and consisted of barracks round an open area. It was strongly fortified, being surrounded by a deep vallum or fosse,⁵⁰ and a wall with four gates.⁵¹ In front of the camp was an open plain or field, in which the troops exercised, and where, a few years before, Claudius had made a show of Caractacus, the captive king of Britain.⁵² The site of



Fig. 287.—View of the present state of the Prætorian camp. From an original sketch.

The spectator is looking north-east, and the boundary walls are the northern, eastern, and southern walls of the camp, with the ramparts and remains of the soldiers' quarters under them. It is now used as an exercising ground for the military.

the camp was what is now the garden of the Jesuits, as ascertained by inscriptions from time to time discovered on the spot.⁵³ This was the camp of the Prætorians

⁴⁹ Suet. Nero, 48.

⁵⁰ Suet. Claud. 10; Tac. Ann. iv. 2.

⁵¹ Plut. Galb. 14; Jos. Bell. ii. 11, 14.

⁵² Tac. Ann. xii. 36.

⁵³ I visited the spot in 1851, and found it occupied by a luxuriant vineyard teeming with clustering bunches of black grapes. Where had been the busy hum of some 9000 or 10,000 warriors, was seen only the ecclesiastic and the solitary traveller. The area measured 470 paces from north to south, and about 400 from east to west. The northern, eastern, and southern sides were defended with strong walls, but the western side was open toward the city. The upper part of the walls is brickwork, and thrown into blind arches; but in many places, from the dilapidations of time or the havoc of war, the curve of the arch has been broken away, and the masonry below has an intercolumnar appearance. The lower part of the ramparts is built of rubble, with some admixture of brick, and apparently is of a more ancient date. There is a terraced walk upon the walls, on which the soldiery could

move easily from one point to another. The lower part on the north side consists of a double range of blind arches one over the other. On the eastern side I found vaulted chambers under the wall, sometimes communicating with each other and sometimes distinct. These must have served for barracks or dormitories for the troops. On the south side I observed stones of larger size, and worthy of the best Roman age. Round the walls at intervals were stairs leading up to the ramparts, and square towers containing stories of two rooms each. The height of the walls in the interior was about 20 feet, but on the exterior 30 feet. The difference is attributable to the accumulation of soil in the camp itself, or to the fosse which ran round the outside. On returning through the vineyard I met with some tessellæ—an indication that the Prætorian officers had fixed residences in the open area.

For a more detailed description of the Prætorian camp, see *Rome, a Tour of Many Days*, by Sir George Head (1849), vol. i. p. 245.

generally. But one of the ten cohorts was always on duty at the Palace, the cohorts relieving each other according to a certain rota.⁵⁴ The barrack of the cohort in attendance was within the Palatine,⁵⁵ and thither prisoners from the provinces were consigned.⁵⁶ The vast range of buildings known as the Palatium was situate on the Palatine, a hill which was in the very heart of Rome, and assumed the figure of a rhomboid or paper kite, the acute angle being the south-eastern point and the obtuse angle the north-western; and if a line were drawn through the two angles and extended northward, it would run along the present Corso. The whole hill was girt in by a

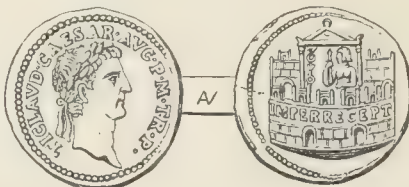


Fig. 288.—An aureus of Claudius. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of the Emperor Claudius with the legend *Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. TR. P.*—*Rev.* Outline of the Prætorian camp.

The reverse at first sight is a little puzzling, but on examination it resolves itself into the following features:

The lower half presents to us the front wall of the Prætorium, constructed of squared stones, with two gateways below, and with the inscription above *Imper. Recept.* (i.e. *Imperator Receptus*), The emperor received. The front wall is surmounted over the inscription by battlements consisting of a series of turrets with small arches.

Within the camp and in the middle of the coin is a pavilion or canopy, under which is seen the emperor helmeted and holding a sceptre, and before him is the standard of the Prætorian guards, who are supposed to be swearing their allegiance. At the top of the pavilion is a garland.

At the two sides of the pavilion, and above the turrets of the front wall, is seen the posterior wall of the Prætorium, also built of squared stones, and with two arched gateways, and also surmounted by battlements with small arched turrets, corresponding to those on the front wall, but of diminished size as seen at a greater distance. The back wall is evidently straight, and differs in this respect from the front wall which is curved.

The explanation of the inscription *Imper. Recept.* is this. When Caligula was assassinated in his palace, Claudius, who was one of the Imperial family and of a timorous temperament, hid himself behind some tapestry, but was discovered by a common soldier and dragged into light and carried off to the Prætorian camp. Here, instead of being put to death as feared, he, being popular with the guards and making large promises, was hailed as emperor, and they took the oath of allegiance to him. It was to commemorate this event that the gold coin of which we have given a facsimile was struck.

solid scarped wall of brickwork,⁵⁷ and was bounded on the south by the Circus Maximus, on the west by the Velabrum, on the north by the Forum, and on the east by a street which continued the Via Appia to the site of the present Arch of Constantine. The Imperial residence itself or *Domus Palatina* comprised, in fact, two piles of buildings—one on the north-western quarter of the hill erected by Augustus, and called the *Domus Augustana*, and the other, behind it on the south-western quarter, erected by Tiberius, and called the *Domus Tiberiana*.⁵⁸ Both palaces, however, were but parts of the same design, interlaced together, and forming together the *Domus Palatina*.⁵⁹ The *Domus Tiberiana* extended in a southern direction to the verge of the Palatine hill, and approached the Circus Maximus, the obstreperous uproar of which so disturbed the slumbers of the tyrant Caligula, that on one occasion he

⁵⁴ Cohortis, quæ in Palatio stationem agebat. Tac. Hist. i. 29.

⁵⁵ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε. Dion liii. 16.

⁵⁶ λαβὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ φονικὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνεπέμψθη εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος τοῖς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόσι. Philos. Vit. Soph. ii. 32. Vincetus

mitti ad præfectos Prætorii mei debet. Plin. Ep. x. 66. And see citations in Biscoe, c. 9, at the end.

⁵⁷ Rome, a Tour of Many Days, by Sir George Head (1849), vol. i. p. 62.

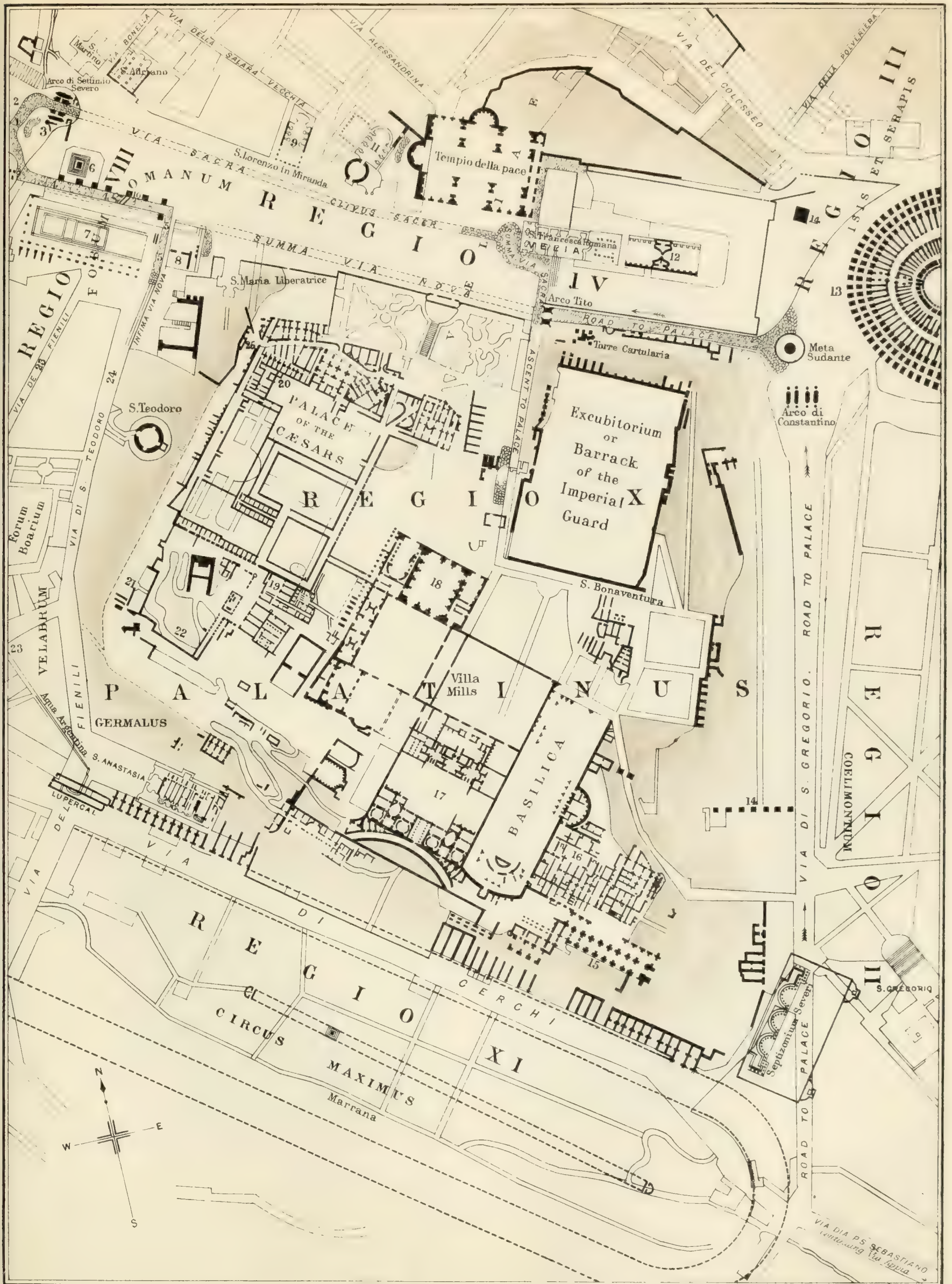
⁵⁸ Tac. Hist. i. 27; Plut. Galb. 24.

⁵⁹ Jos. Ant. xix. 1, 15.

PLAN OF THE PALATINE AND ADJACENT PARTS,

ADAPTED FROM THE PLAN OF FABIO GORI.

To face Vol. 2. p. 234



- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS. | 6 COLUMNA PHOCÆ. | 11 ÆDES VENERIS ET ROMÆ. | 16 DOMUS COMMODIANA | 21 SCALE ET ANTRUM CACI. |
| 2 ÆDES CONCORDIÆ. | 7 BASILICA JULIA. | 12 ÆDES VICTORIÆ ET MINERVÆ. | 17 PELLICUM DIETÆ | 22 CASA ROMULI. |
| 3 ROSTRA | 8 ÆDES CASTORIS ET POLLUCIS. | 13 COLISEUM. | 18 VICTORIA GERMANICIANA | 23 VICUS THUSCUS. |
| 4 VIA NOVA. | 9 TEMPLUM ANTONINI ET FAUSTINÆ. | 14 AQUEDUCTUS. | 19 DOMUS TIBERIANA | 24 VICUS THURARIUS. |
| 5 INFIMA VIA NOVA | 10 LACUS CURTIUS. | 15 PORTICUS. | 20 DOMUS CALIGULÆ | 25 SITE OF PORTA ROMANA. |

Edw. Waller Litho Red Lion

ordered all in the Circus to be well cudgelled and expelled.⁶⁰ The Domus Palatina faced the north,⁶¹ and was surrounded by a palisade decorated with laurel, in token of the Imperial victories;⁶² and at the summit of the Palace was a civic crown, indicating that the Emperor was the saviour of his subjects,⁶³ and Claudius added a naval crown also, in honour of his victory over the ocean by the conquest of Britain.⁶⁴ The libraries and temples and porticoes connected with the Palace reached all the way from the Circus Maximus on the south to the Forum on the north, and it was from the high roof of the Basilica Julia which ran out from the west side of the palace in the direction of the Capitol and overlooked the Forum that the Emperor Caligula was wont to scatter gold and silver pieces amongst the crowd below.⁶⁵ The grand entrance to the Palatine hill was from the Via Sacra,⁶⁶ on the north of the Palatine hill, and about the middle of it by the Temple of Jupiter Stator at the Porta Mugionis, a little to the west of the present Arch of Titus.⁶⁷ There was a way for carriages,⁶⁸ as well as for foot-passengers, and the road was bounded on both sides by lofty, massive walls of ancient brickwork. It is now known as Via Polveriera.⁶⁹ There was another footway from the forum more to the west, leading up directly to the steps of the palace.⁷⁰ Both entrances were guarded by sentinels drawn from the Prætorian cohort in attendance.⁷¹ Caligula indeed was profane enough to form a stately approach from the west through the Temple of Castor and Pollux, who were thus made his door-keepers;⁷² but Claudius restored the Temple to its pristine state.⁷³ The Præfectus Prætorio, or, as Luke designates him, the *στρατοπεδάρχης*, and the cohort under his command, had their barracks (called the Excubitorium, or guard-house) on the north-eastern quarter of the Palatine just east of the Porta Mugionis, so as to be ready at a moment's notice to attend the Imperial summons.

⁶⁰ Suet. Calig. 26.

⁶¹ Thus Otho escaped from the palace to the Velabrum. Tac. Hist. i. 27. And he escaped by the back of the palace—a posticâ parte palatii. Suet. Otho, 6. And the Velabrum was to the west of the Palatine, at the west end of the Circus Maximus, and reached northward to the Forum. Suet. Nero, 25. See Tac. Hist. iii. 84, 85; Plin. N. H. xix. 6.

⁶² Dion lxxvi. 4.

⁶³ Suet. Claud. 17.

⁶⁴ Ib.

⁶⁵ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱστάμενον καὶ δῆμῳ χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου χρήματα διαρρίπτοντα . . . ὑψηλὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ τέγος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φέρον. Jos. Ant. xix. 1, 11. Partem Palatii ad Forum usque [Caligula] promovit. Suet. Calig. 22.

⁶⁶ Thus Vitellius was dragged from the palace into the Via Sacra. Interclusum aliud iter, idque solum, quod in Viam Sacram pergeret, patebat. Tac. Hist. iii. 68. κατήγαγον ἐκ τοῦ

Παλατίου τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντρυφήσαντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ὀδοῦ ἔσυρον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Dion lxx. 20. Viamque Sacram ab domo suâ [Cæsaris] ad clivum usque Capitolinum. Plin. N. H. xix. 6.

⁶⁷ Thus Ovid, in describing a walk from the Forum Romanum up the Via Sacra, writes:

Inde petens dextram porta est, ait, ista Palati,
Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.
Ovid, Fast. iii. 1, 21.

⁶⁸ Dion lxxvi. 4; Suet. Nero, 25.

⁶⁹ Rome, a Tour of Many Days, by Sir George Head (1849), vol. ii. p. 63.

⁷⁰ Pro Palatii gradibus. Suet. Nero, 8. Pro gradibus domus. Tac. Hist. i. 29, iii. 74.

⁷¹ Dilapsis speculatoribus, cætera cohors, &c. Tac. Hist. i. 31. The cohort referred to was that quæ in Palatio stationem agebat. Hist. i. 29.

⁷² Dion lix. 28; Suet. Calig. 22.

⁷³ Dion lx. 6.

Prisoners remitted on appeal to the Emperor, were consigned to the Prefect of the Prætorium,⁷⁴ and were to be kept in safe custody until the case could be brought before the Emperor or his deputy, and the nature of this interim custody varied according to circumstances.⁷⁵ Some were coupled by a slight chain round the right wrist to the left of a soldier, and thus shackled, were allowed to be at large within the palace,⁷⁶ or even, if they could afford it, were at liberty to hire a lodging for themselves without the walls, but within the rules or prescribed limits (fig. 289).

Burrhus at this time was Prefect of the Prætorium, and to him⁷⁷ Julius the centurion resigned the prisoners under his charge.⁷⁸ As Paul entered the barrack of the Prætorian cohort on the Palatine, he might, perhaps, have distinguished some faces not altogether unknown to him; for Felix, before leaving his government, had for some trivial cause sent several Jewish priests thither, and who were not released until three years after this period, and then only by the special interference of Josephus the historian;⁷⁹ a sufficient proof, by the way, how tedious were the delays of the law at Rome, and that Paul's detention there for two years was by no means a solitary instance.

The dispatch of Festus may have been lost in the shipwreck, but it cannot be doubted that Julius, who had taken such an interest about Paul, and paid him the greatest deference during the voyage, now made the most favourable report of his case. Burrhus saw at once that Paul had committed no crime—at least none in the eyes of a liberal-minded Roman—but that he had been made the victim of Jewish persecution. The honest soldier, had he followed his own inclinations, would immediately have set his captive at liberty, but it was necessary that legal forms should be observed, and his accusers had not yet been heard. However, Burrhus exercised all the lenity in his power, and instead of ordering Paul into strict confinement in the barrack (which was probably the course pursued with respect to the other prisoners), the Prefect gave him leave to find a lodging for himself, coupled, indeed, for safe custody, to a soldier, but otherwise free from restraint. He had also permission to see his friends, a privilege not enjoyed without a special order to that effect.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Acts xxviii. 16.

⁷⁵ Drusus was starved to death in a dungeon in imâ parte Palatii. Suet. Tib. 54. But he was regarded as a criminal, and not as awaiting his trial.

⁷⁶ As was Agrippa. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 7. But the palace where Agrippa was arrested was at Tusculum, and therefore Wieseler, Chron. p. 404, is mistaken in supposing that the passage Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε δεθεὶς εἰστίηκει πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου, Ant. xviii. 6, 7, applies to the palace of the Cæsars at Rome. See J. B. Lightfoot on Philippians, p. 101.

⁷⁷ τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ. Acts xxviii. 16. See Fasti Sacri, p. 325, No. 1916. But some critics (as

Lachmann) reject the words τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ as an interpolation.

⁷⁸ ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ. Τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ ἐπετράπη μένειν καθ' ἑαυτόν. Acts xxviii. 16. Bishop Wordsworth assumes that a distinction is here made between the other prisoners, who were handed over to the Prefect, and Paul, who was allowed to live by himself. But surely the meaning is that all were delivered over in the first instance to the Prefect, and then dealt with according to the merits of their respective cases.

⁷⁹ Jos. Vit. 3. See Fasti Sacri, p. 332, No. 1950.

⁸⁰ Jos. Ant. xviii. 6 7.

When Agrippa the elder was four-and-twenty years before in the custody of the Prætorian guard, and chained in like manner to a keeper, his friends made interest with Macro, then Prefect, that the soldier to whom he was coupled should always be a



Fig. 289.—View of Rome from the Campidoglio on the slope of the Capitoline Hill. From a photog. aph.

At the lower left-hand corner is seen part of the arch of Septimius Severus, erected A.D. 203 to commemorate the emperor's victories over the Parthians.

In front of the arch runs an open space with an avenue of trees. This was anciently the famous Roman Forum, and the Via Sacra, or Holy-way, ran along the middle of it through the arch of Severus to the Capitol.

At the end of the avenue on the left is seen the Coliseum, commenced by Vespasian and completed by his son Titus, A.D. 80.

At the bottom of the sketch in the centre is seen the column of Phocas erected A.D. 606. The base stands in a hollow, which has been only recently excavated.

A little farther up the Forum on the right are three columns, still standing, of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, which Caligula profanely turned into a vestibule, or hall of approach to his palace.

A good way farther up the Forum on the right, at the end of the avenue is visible the arch of Titus, to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem, and containing the well-known representation in sculpture of the golden candlestick and the table of shewbread. From the arch of Titus to the temple of Castor and Pollux ran the street called the Summa Via Nova, or upper New-road.

The hill rising to the right and overlooking the Forum is the Palatine, on which was situate the palace of the Casars, Augustus and his successors, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. The palace itself occupied the north west corner of the hill, and the site of it appears in part on the high ground on the right of the plate between the arch of Titus and the three columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux. Caligula in one of his mad freaks connected the palace with the Capitol by a bridge across the Forum, and the remains of it have been recently exposed to view. Tiberius made large additions to the palace at the back, that is, on the south side. But in the time of Nero (with which we are most concerned) the main part of the palace was still on the north-west of the Palatine, bounded on the north and west by the Forum. On the west was the Basilica of Julius Cæsar, which was incorporated into the Forum.

humane person, and not likely to inflict unnecessary annoyance;⁸¹ and it is possible that Burrhus, convinced of Paul's innocence as to any criminal act, was careful that one by birth and education entitled to respect, should not be linked successively to

⁸¹ Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 7.

all the worthless vagabonds of the Prætorian camp. The Apostle, however, would have consoled himself with the reflection, that the more degraded was his companion, the greater the opportunity of doing good.

Paul's friends now procured suitable apartments for the Apostle.⁸² The principal room, we may conjecture, was of sufficient dimensions to enable Paul, in the exercise of his apostolical office, to assemble an audience about him; and the abode must, for the convenience of the Prætorians in relieving guard, have been either within the precincts of the palace itself at the house of one of the officials about the court, or in the immediate vicinity (fig. 290, 291). The pecuniary means for providing a lodging were not improbably furnished by the zealous Roman Christians, who had advanced as far as the Three Taverns and Appii Forum to welcome the Apostle's arrival. He had thrice before accepted a similar bounty from the Philippians, and there was no reason why he should refuse the same at the hands of the Romans. As a prisoner he was disabled from maintaining himself by his usual occupation—at least, in the epistles written from Rome he has never alluded to working with his own hands, though if he possessed the opportunity we may be satisfied that he would have persevered in his usual practice. The day of his arrival and the next day Paul would be fully occupied about his lodging and the reception of his Christian brethren. But on the third day,⁸³ being now quietly settled in his lodging, he began to bestir himself in his sacred calling. His first appeal was, according to his invariable custom, made to his own countrymen.

⁸² There are two views as to the Apostle's abode on his arrival at Rome. One is that Paul transferred himself directly from the barrack to a hired lodging, called by Luke indifferently *ξενία* and *ἴδιον μίσθωμα*; and the other that he was received first into the house of some friend called *ξενία*, and afterwards took a hired lodging called *ἴδιον μίσθωμα*.

1. In favour of the first view—that he at once took a lodging—it may be argued that, immediately on his arriving at Rome (*ἐπετράπη μένειν καθ' ἑαυτόν*, Acts xxviii. 16), it was permitted him to have an abode to himself, which indicates a private residence; and accordingly *after this* mention is made of the *ξενίαν* (v. 23), and again of *ἴδιον μίσθωμα*, which express only what had before been less precisely expressed.

2. In favour of the second hypothesis—that he first went to a friend's house—it may be argued that the Apostle had been met by his Christian brethren at Puteoli (Acts xxviii. 14), and again at Appii Forum and the Three Taverns (ib. v. 15), and that on reaching Rome they would press upon him hospitality at their houses until he could secure a lodging; and that, in fact, the word *ξενία* represents a reception at

a friend's house rather than an abode for hire, and that the expression *ἴδιον μίσθωμα* was meant to be opposed to this gratuitous asylum. The answer is, that though his friends might wish to entertain him and his keeper at their houses, we cannot assume that he availed himself of the invitation without some evidence that the strictness of the military custody was thus far relaxed—besides *ξενία*, instead of indicating hospitality, points rather to a sojourn for hire, as both Hesychius and Suidas define it to be *καταγώγιον* or *κατάλυμα*—again the word *ἴδιον* is not opposed to *ξενία*, since the word *ξενία* is coupled with the preceding statement that Paul was living *καθ' ἑαυτόν*, which means the same thing as *ἴδιον*.

There can be no question that the *ἴδιον μίσθωμα*, in which the Apostle (whether from the first or ultimately) dwelt, was not “his own hired house,” as translated in the authorized version—i.e. not the whole house (*μισθωτὴ οἰκία*. Theophrast. Char. 23), but a suite of apartments only—the Latin ‘meritorium’ or ‘conductum.’ See Wetstein on Acts xxviii. 30.

⁸³ *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*. Acts xxviii. 17.



Fig. 290.—Traditional apartment of the Centurion's house in which Paul is said to have resided, chained by the wrist to a soldier during his first imprisonment at Rome. The site is at the junction of the Via Lata and the Corso under the vestibule of the church of Santa Maria. From an original sketch, but which is so rudely drawn that the details cannot be depended on.

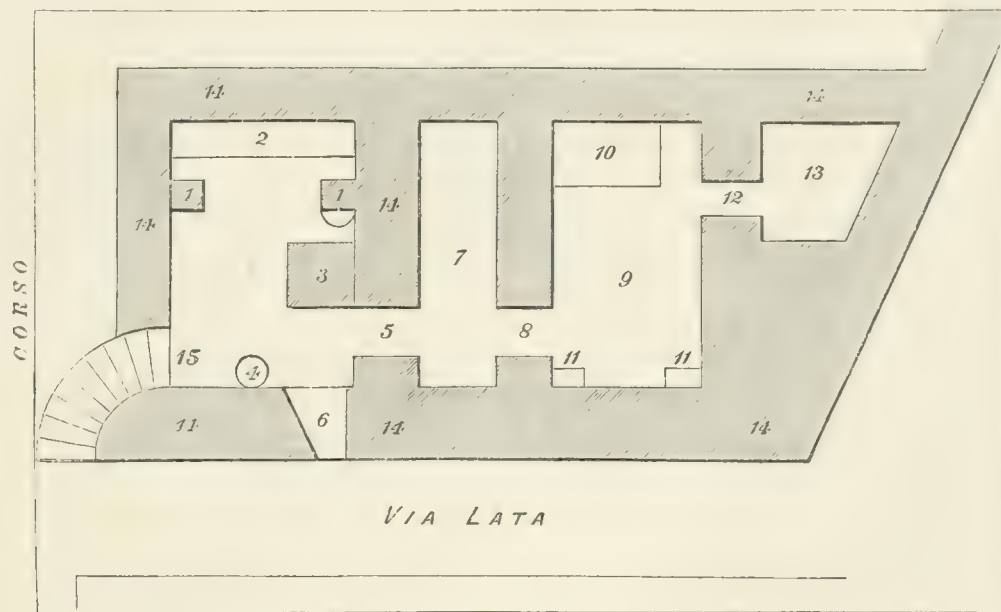


Fig. 291.—Plan of the Centurion's House.

1. Abutments of an arch and adjoining the abutment to the right is the well from which Paul baptized. 2. The altar. 3. Abutment of support. 4. A pilaster surmounted by an urn. 5. Doorway, communicating with a passage said to be the ancient street. 6. An opening through which light is let in through a grating from Via Lata. 7. Ancient street. 8. Doorway leading into the chapel. 9. The chapel with walls decorated with frescoes attributed traditionally to St. Luke. 10. Altar with figures of St. Paul and St. Luke. 11. Abutments of ancient triumphal arch. 12. Doorway leading into inner chamber or sacristy. 13. The sacristy. 14. Boundary walls. 15. Entrance at the bottom of the steps, from which point the view is taken. N.B.—The plan is an outline only from memory and not according to scale.

The Jews then residing at Rome were a vast multitude.⁸⁴ Thus, when a petition against Archelaus, the son of Herod, was sent from Judea to the Emperor, no less than 8000 Jews of Rome supported the memorial.⁸⁵ They resided chiefly in one particular quarter of the city, called the Trans-Tiberine, or Over-Tiber.⁸⁶ Here they were allowed by the Imperial edicts to attend their numerous synagogues,⁸⁷ and even to collect and forward by the *ἱεροπομποὶ*, or sacred envoys, to Jerusalem the annual tribute of two drachmæ (about seventeen pence) per man towards the Corban or Treasury of the Temple.⁸⁸ As they exercised the same privileges at Rome as in other capitals, it may be assumed that they also had their council corresponding to the Sanhedrim, and their Ethnarch or Alabarch or Archon, as the chief magistrate, by whom with the aid of the council all questions touching their own law were determined, with an appeal to the High Priest at Jerusalem.⁸⁹ But in all civil matters they were amenable to the ordinances of their Roman masters.

Paul, as a prisoner, was naturally anxious to clear his own conduct in the eyes of his countrymen, and having done so, he could urge upon them with greater effect the all-important truths with which he had been commissioned. He, therefore, conveyed an intimation to the heads of the nation⁹⁰ that he desired an interview. He had himself been a member of the Sanhedrim,⁹¹ and was therefore looked up to with respect. The request, out of deference to a learned Doctor, was at once accorded, and many of the chief men amongst the Jews waited upon him at his lodging. After the usual courtesies, Paul, with his chain, addressed them as follows:—

“Men and brethren! though I have committed nothing against the people or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans, who, when they had examined me, would have let me go because there was no cause of death in me; but when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar—not that I had ought to accuse my nation of. For this cause, therefore, have I called for you to see you, and to speak with you, because that for the hope of Israel, I am bound with this chain.”⁹²

The account which Paul thus gave of himself was new to their ears, for he had embarked shortly after his appeal,⁹³ and as the vessel in which he sailed had drifted for

⁸⁴ Large bodies of them had been transported thither by Pompey on his conquest of Judea, and others had followed in pursuit of commerce.

⁸⁵ Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 1; Bell. ii. 6, 1. And see Suet. Jul. 84; Tib. 36; Claud. 25; Tac. Ann. ii. 85; Dion lx. 6; Phil. Leg. s. 23.

⁸⁶ Phil. Leg. s. 28.

⁸⁷ That they had many places of public worship may be collected from the line of Juvenal:

Ede ubi consistas, in quâ te quero proseuchâ.

Sat. iii. 296.

⁸⁸ Phil. Leg. s. 23; Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 8.

⁸⁹ Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 2 and 17; xvi. 6, 2; xiv. 5, 2; xix. 6, 3; xx. 1, 2.

⁹⁰ τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους. Acts xxviii. 17. The rulers at Jerusalem are frequently called by Josephus οἱ πρῶτοι, and Luke uses οἱ πρῶτοι, Acts xxv. 2, as equivalent to οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. Acts xxv. 15.

⁹¹ Selden de Synh. 1099, 1360, and ante, Vol. I. p. 14.

⁹² Acts xxviii. 17–20.

⁹³ Before the appeal the matter was confined to Judea, and there could be no reason for writing to Rome about Paul.

a fortnight over a stormy sea, in a wintry month, the passengers by her had outstripped all travellers who had set out for the same destination at the same season of the year. No communication from Judea had, therefore, yet reached them, and they knew only in general that the doctrines of the Nazarenes were everywhere discountenanced. They replied, "We have neither received letters out of Judea concerning thee, neither hath any one who hath come of the brethren shewed or spake any harm of thee; but we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest, for as concerning this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against."⁹⁴ The elders of the Jewish nation having thus professed at least their willingness to give Paul a fair hearing, a day was fixed for the purpose.

At the time appointed, a number of the chief Jews assembled at the Apostle's lodging at an early hour, when Paul, with his characteristic energy and earnestness, argued with them from morning till evening out of the Law and the Prophets, that Jesus was the expected Messiah. The result was what might have been anticipated. Some few believed, but the greater part, blinded by their prejudices, would not be convinced by reasoning which they could not answer. As they turned their backs to depart, Paul followed them with this one admonition—"Well spake the Holy Ghost by Isaiah the prophet, unto our fathers, saying, 'Go unto this people, and say, —Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed, so that they cannot see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and so that they cannot turn, and I should heal them.' (Is. vi. 9.) Be it known, therefore, unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it."⁹⁵

Paul having thus discharged the duty which he owed to his own flesh and blood, now addressed himself to the Gentiles, though still not to the exclusion of the Jews. Day after day, from morning till night, his door was open to all who would lend him

⁹⁴ Acts xxviii. 21, 22.

⁹⁵ Acts 25-28. It has been objected to Luke's account that the Apostle opens the subject of Christianity to his fellow-countrymen of Rome as a novelty, whereas at the date of the Epistle to the Romans, A.D. 58, there was already a flourishing church there, as is evident from the numerous salutations appended to the Epistle. As the Christians of Rome were mainly of the Jewish race, how, it is said, could the Jews of Rome be so ignorant of Christianity as Luke represents them? The argument contains two fallacies. First, the converts at Rome were principally *Greeks*, and not Jews, as will be seen from our notes upon the salutations at the close of the Epistle; and secondly, the Jews of Rome

are not stated by Luke to have been ignorant of Christianity, but just the contrary, for they say, "We know that *everywhere*" (and therefore at Rome also) "it is spoken against." The fact is that the Christians of Rome at Paul's arrival were the domestics about the palace, and others of an inferior grade, chiefly Greeks, with a sprinkling of Jews. As yet Christianity had made no impression on the rulers of the Synagogue, and the heads of the people (τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους, Acts xxviii. 17). Paul, therefore, wished to begin his mission at Rome by an appeal more especially to the higher orders of his own countrymen, of whom scarcely any had yet pronounced in favour of Christianity.

an audience, and it redounds highly to the credit of the Roman policy, that while he laboured incessantly to propagate the kingdom of Christ, not even the most bigoted Jew dared offer him the least molestation.

The effects of Paul's preaching first began to show themselves in the Prætorium, that is, the Prætorian Guard. The constant companionship of one of the soldiers as his keeper brought him into communication with great numbers of them, and the oftener the guard was relieved, the wider was the door opened. "I would ye should understand, brethren," he writes to the Philippians, "that the things which have befallen me have come to pass rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel, so that my bonds in Christ are manifest *in all the Prætorium, and to all others.*"⁹⁶ Yes, to "all others." No long time elapsed before the Gospel had permeated even into the palace itself, as appears by the Apostle's own declaration, "All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of *Cæsar's household.*"⁹⁷ Nor ought it to appear strange that the Apostle should have planted Christianity within the Imperial precincts, for Paul was a Jew, and as such had remarkable facilities for disseminating his doctrines even in the highest quarters. The descendants of Herod had always maintained an intimate footing with the successive Emperors, and very lately Agrippa, King of Trachonitis, and his cousin Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, King of the Lesser Armenia,⁹⁸ had been residing at the Imperial court, and introduced with them many adherents of their own nation. Even Poppæa herself, whom Nero already treated as Empress, though he did not marry her till the next year, was a proselyte to Judaism. Josephus informs us that she was *θεοσεβής*⁹⁹ (not "pious," as some learned men, and Bishop Burgess amongst the rest, have translated it, for Poppæa, possessed of beauty and rank and wealth, "had every recommendation," says Tacitus, "but a virtuous mind"¹⁰⁰), but she had adopted the Jewish faith,¹⁰¹ and worshipped the true God, though her religion bore no practical fruits. However, she protected the Jews, and from time to time conferred upon them the greatest favours. When Josephus the historian, three years after Paul's arrival, presented himself at Rome to procure the discharge of his friends the Jewish priests, to whom we have before alluded, he, through Aliturus, one of Nero's favourite actors, and who was himself a Jew, obtained an introduction to Poppæa, and by her instrumentality succeeded in his mission.¹⁰² Even Nero himself, monster as he was, and holding in contempt all religions,¹⁰³ was conversant enough with the Jewish creed, and when his fall was rapidly approaching, his friends consoled him with the assurance that he was destined by the fates to be King of Jerusalem,¹⁰⁴ a circumstance not a little remarkable, as showing how

⁹⁶ Philipp. i. 12, 13.

⁹⁷ Philipp. iv. 22.

⁹⁸ See Fasti Sacri, p. 305, No. 1823.

⁹⁹ Ant. xx. 8, 11.

¹⁰⁰ Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere præter honestum animum. Tac. Ann. xiii. 45.

¹⁰¹ Accordingly, on her death some years after,

the body was not *burnt* after the Roman custom, but was *buried* after the manner of the Jews. Tac. Ann. xvi. 6.

¹⁰² Jos. Vit. 3.

¹⁰³ Religionum usquequaque contemptor.

¹⁰⁴ Suet. Nero, 40.

widely disseminated were the prophecies of the Old Testament as to the Messiah's kingdom.

When the Jews thus beset the Imperial court, no wonder that Paul, by means of his countrymen, was soon in communication with the palace itself. Indeed, for some years before Paul's imprisonment at Rome, Christianity had begun to make a sensible impression in the leading circles of fashion, for already Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Plautius, who had covered himself with laurels in Britain, had involved herself in trouble by embracing the new faith.¹⁰⁵

We may not pass over in silence the tradition that Seneca himself became a Christian by the preaching of Paul. There are even letters extant which are said to have passed between the Apostle and the philosopher, and which are as ancient as the time of Jerome, but are undoubtedly spurious, though the forgery itself attests the current opinion that Paul and Seneca had exchanged intercourse at Rome. Indeed, it could scarcely be otherwise, for during a period of two years they were both residing in the same capital, and Burrhus, who had the charge of Paul, was the intimate friend of Seneca. The Apostle and the philosopher had also many points to draw them together—they were both well born, both of courteous manners, both of eminent natural abilities, and both men of letters, and familiar with all the masterpieces of eloquence and poetry. There was this difference between them—that Paul had sacrificed honour and wealth for the life to come, while Seneca, with all his philosophy, had accumulated enormous riches, and still continued to increase them by usurious loans to the poor Britons.¹⁰⁶ There is no sufficient ground for saying that Seneca embraced the Gospel, but from the excellent morality inculcated in his writings, he has been deservedly called the Christian philosopher, and it is possible that some of his finest sentiments may have been borrowed from the great Apostle of the Gentiles. If the dissolute Felix could find a pleasure in Paul's society, it is hard to suppose that the treasures of Paul's mind were not duly appreciated by the intellectual Seneca.¹⁰⁷

Unceasing as were the exertions of Paul at Rome, the success of the Gospel there must not be ascribed to his efforts exclusively. He was attended by Luke, who was equally active in the propagation of the faith, and Paul himself in writing from Rome describes him as his "fellow-labourer."¹⁰⁸ He had also the services of Aristarchus, who rejoined him from Thessalonica,¹⁰⁹ and of the faithful Timothy¹¹⁰ (who had in the interval been visiting Ephesus, or the churches in his native country of Lycaonia, or those in Asia or Greece), and of Mark the cousin of Barnabas¹¹¹ (who had formerly incurred the displeasure of Paul, but had now again recommended himself to his

¹⁰⁵ *Superstitionis externæ rea.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 32. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 307, No. 1831.

¹⁰⁶ Dion Cass. lxii. 2; Tac. Ann. xiii. 42.

¹⁰⁷ On the subject of St. Paul and Seneca, see J. B. Lightfoot on *Philipp.* p. 268, where the

question is fully discussed.

¹⁰⁸ *Philemon*, 24.

¹⁰⁹ *Philemon*, 24.

¹¹⁰ *Coloss.* i. 1; *Philemon*, 1.

¹¹¹ *Coloss.* iv. 10; *Philemon*, 24.

especial favour), and also of Tychicus¹¹² (who may have arrived from Ephesus, his native place), and of Demas of Thessalonica.¹¹³ The Roman Christians also, who had before made confession of their faith with fear and trembling, seeing the boldness with which Paul, a prisoner, daily preached the Gospel, took courage themselves, and began to propagate the same doctrine with no little zeal. "Many of the brethren in the Lord," writes Paul to the Philippians, "waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear."¹¹⁴ "Some indeed," he continues, "preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of goodwill—the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds; but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."¹¹⁵ The propagandists above referred to as preaching the gospel "of envy and strife," were the Judaizing party, who at Rome, as they had done at Jerusalem and Antioch, and Galatia and Corinth, were endeavouring to make Christianity a mere graft upon Judaism, and strove to impose upon Gentile converts the necessity of observing the Jewish law. There may also have been many others who taught the Gospel, or rather the semblance of it, to gain their own private ends. Perhaps Simon Magus was thus employed, for he was at Rome about this time, and contrived by his artful sorceries to establish himself with the vulgar as a kind of divinity.¹¹⁶

The sacred historian has informed us that the door of Paul's lodging was open to every comer, and he tells us no more, but curiosity would fain ask many an interesting question as to the personages then at Rome. What was Gallio about, who had known Paul at Corinth, and then "cared for none of those things"? Had he still the same indifference, or under the auspices of his brother Seneca did he now investigate the truth? How did Felix demean himself? Did he renew the intimacy which he had begun at Cæsarea, or had he not the hardihood to look in the face the man whom he knew to be innocent, and ought to have acquitted, but had left bound to serve his own selfish purposes? Where were Caractacus and his family, his wife and daughter and brothers, who had a few years before been prisoners in the Prætorium? Were they still detained at Rome as hostages, and, if so, did a British king ever have an interview with one of the Apostles?

Let us ask, further, what at this time was passing in London? The reader, perhaps, may be startled at the question, as if London were a modern city, and unknown, at least, by that name, in the Apostolic age. Far from it. London, or with the Latin termination, Londinium, had already attained considerable celebrity as an emporium of trade, and was the port through which British commerce was carried on with the

¹¹² Coloss. iv. 7; Ephes. vi. 21.

¹¹³ Coloss. iv. 14; Philemon, 24.

¹¹⁴ Philipp. i. 14.

¹¹⁵ Philipp. i. 15–18.

¹¹⁶ Euseb. E. H. ii. 13 et seq.

continent.¹¹⁷ The vessels, however, at that time, instead of pursuing a circuitous route round the Foreland, the southern lip of the Thames at its embouchure, entered, it is said, an arm of the sea, which opened between Ramsgate and Deal, and sailed southward of the Isle of Thanet, now insular in name only, then divided from Britain by a navigable strait. London was not a Roman colony as was its neighbour Verulamium, now St. Albans, but its convenient situation for shipping had raised it to far higher eminence.

In the year A.D. 61, the date of Paul's arrival at Rome, London was overtaken by a calamity which crippled and well-nigh destroyed her rising energies. The Romans, by the confession of their own historian,¹¹⁸ had recently been committing the most atrocious barbarities amongst the unoffending Iceni, the inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. The free blood of our forefathers could endure it no longer, and while Paullinus, the Prefect of the Province, was engaged at a distance in extirpating Druidism from the Isle of Anglesea, the Iceni, joining with the Trinobantes (now Essex), rose under Boadicea *en masse* against their inhuman masters, surprised the Roman colony of Camulodunum (Colchester), and routed and put to the sword the ninth legion in the act of advancing to the rescue. Paullinus marched with all haste to London, but found the enemy too strong for him, and, notwithstanding the most heartrending supplications from the defenceless inhabitants, abandoned the city to its fate. The tide swept over it, and London was sacked and burnt. Verulamium, now St. Albans, was shortly afterwards involved in the same calamity. It is said that in these two towns not less than 70,000 Romans and their adherents were destroyed, and if the account be not exaggerated, there cannot be a stronger proof of the magnitude, even at that period, of the city, now the capital of the world for population and wealth and commercial enterprise. Paullinus, when he had collected his forces, avenged the blow by overthrowing the enemy in a pitched battle, when 80,000 Britons are said to have fallen. Boadicea, the heroic Queen of the Iceni, and who had led her countrymen to the conflict, survived the defeat, to end her life by poison.¹¹⁹ But we must quit this interesting subject, to resume the progress of the persecuted tent-maker.

It was while Paul was at Rome that he came into contact with Onesimus, a Colossian, the poor slave of Philemon a wealthy Gentile of Colossæ and a disciple. Onesimus had fled from his master and escaped to Rome. From Paul's expression to Philemon, "If he have wronged thee or oweth thee ought,"¹²⁰ it has been surmised that Onesimus was not only guilty of desertion, but had also plundered his master and carried off some booty, but perhaps we cannot imply more than that by some act of negligence, or other dereliction of duty, he had been the occasion of loss, and to

¹¹⁷ Londinium . . . cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copiâ negotiatorum et commeatum maxime celebre. Tac. Ann. xiv. 33.

¹¹⁸ Tac. Ann. xiv. 31.

¹¹⁹ Tac. Ann. xiv. 29, &c.; Dion lxii. 2; &c. See Fasti Sacri, p. 323, No. 1905.

¹²⁰ Philem. 18.

avoid the consequences of Philemon's displeasure, had resolved on seeking safety in flight. How he became acquainted with the Apostle at Rome, we can only conjecture. One of Paul's companions might have accidentally encountered him a beggar and starving in the streets, or possibly Onesimus had seen Paul at Ephesus, and, knowing the respect and veneration entertained for Paul by Philemon, had communicated all the circumstances to the Apostle, and besought him to intercede for his pardon. Howsoever the acquaintance at Rome commenced, Paul saw the opportunity of saving a soul, and the rude slave became a convert to Christianity. Onesimus repaid his debt of gratitude by the most devoted services, and the Apostle on his side took the liveliest interest in the welfare of the humble penitent. We shall see hereafter with what earnestness and warmth of feeling the Apostle pleads for him to his injured master.

About a year and a half after Paul's arrival at Rome, and therefore about the autumn of A.D. 62, another Colossian made his appearance—Epaphroditus, or as he was called familiarly, Epaphras.¹²¹ He had become a disciple many years before, and had ever since attached himself to his benefactor, and even laboured in the vineyard. For we have strong grounds for believing that Epaphras was the missionary whom Paul had sent from Ephesus to Colossæ, and by whom the churches of Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis were first founded.¹²² Epaphras had been dispatched by Paul, probably about a year before, from Rome, to examine into the state of the Colossian church, and was also the bearer of a message concerning Mark, that "if he came to them they should receive him."¹²³ Mark was sometimes attending on Paul and

¹²¹ As Lucas from Lucanus, Silas from Sylvanus, Artemas from Artemidorus, Zenas from Zenodorus, Apollos from Apollodorus, &c.

I have assumed the identity of Epaphroditus and Epaphras, as I see no cogent argument to the contrary. But others are of a different opinion, and suggest that, while Epaphras was a Colossian (Coloss. iv. 12), and always called Epaphras (Coloss. i. 7, iv. 12; Philem. 23), Epaphroditus was a native of Philippi. Philipp. ii. 25. But the latter passage appears to show the contrary, for instead of describing him as τὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν (see Coloss. iv. 12), Paul calls him only ἀδελφὸν and συνεργόν and συστρατιώτην and ὑμῶν ἀπόστολον and λειτουργόν; and while thus urging his several claims to their consideration, he could scarcely have omitted the fact, had it been so, that he was also their fellow-countryman. See J. B. Lightfoot on Philipp. p. 60. The reason for calling him Epaphras to the Colossians and Philemon, and Epaphroditus to the Philippians, was that to the former he was known as a fellow-countryman by the abbreviated and familiar name, but to the Philippians, to whom he was a stranger, he was designated

by the formal name at full length.

¹²² See ante, Vol. I. p. 361. It is uncertain whether Epaphras was engaged in converting the Colossians, Laodiceans, and Hierapolitans, while Paul was resident at Ephesus for the three years of his ministry there, or during the four years and upwards that he was a prisoner first at Cæsarea and then at Rome. The energies of Paul were untiring, and when his enemies succeeded in reducing him to captivity, there can be no doubt that he employed his numerous followers—Timothy, Titus, Luke, Erastus, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Tychicus, Trophimus, the two Gaiuses, and, amongst others, Epaphras—in extending the Christian faith. As Paul, while at Ephesus, appears not to have made any circuits about Asia, Epaphras may well have been employed during the Apostle's imprisonment in forming churches in the principal towns, especially his native Colossæ and the neighbouring cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis; and it is more than probable that these churches were planted while Paul was at Ephesus.

¹²³ Col. iv. 10.

sometimes on Peter, and was now with Paul at Rome,¹²⁴ but intending to make a circuit in Asia Minor, and in his way to pass through Colossæ, with the ultimate view of joining Peter at Babylon, where we afterwards find him.¹²⁵ Epaphras had executed his commission in his native city of Colossæ, and on his way to Ephesus, the port for embarkation, had stopped at Laodicea and Hierapolis also, which lay on his road at a little distance from each other on the opposite banks of the river Lycus, and were churches in which Epaphras, as the original founder of them, took the liveliest interest. "I bear him record," writes Paul to the Colossians, "that he hath a great zeal for you, and *them that are in Laodicea and them in Hierapolis.*"¹²⁶

Epaphras had afterwards sailed from Ephesus northward, for the purpose of taking the overland route to Rome, through Macedonia. On his road he had again halted at Philippi, with which church, though we cannot explain how, he seems to have been intimately connected. He was certainly held in the highest estimation by the Philippians, as will appear from the way in which they availed themselves of his services. We have already remarked the extreme liberality of this community in relieving the Apostle's necessities. Twice they had made a collection for him while he was at Thessalonica, and afterwards, a third time, at Corinth. Paul was now again in distress, as during his imprisonment he could not provide for his own sustentation by the labour of his hands. The Philippian brethren, with their accustomed generosity, and perhaps at the instance of Lydia, Paul's first and influential convert there, now set on foot a voluntary collection, and confided to Epaphras the charge of conveying it to Rome. They had some time before received intelligence of the Apostle's imprisonment, and had been desirous of forwarding relief, but an embassy to Italy was attended with considerable expense, and no opportunity of giving effect to their intention had presented itself until the arrival of Epaphras. This energetic missionary proceeded from Philippi on his journey to Rome, and toward the latter end of A.D. 62, reached his final destination. He made no delay in conveying the Philippian bounty to the Apostle, and at the same time reported the state of the several churches through which he had recently passed.

The account which he gave of the *Colossian* church was, on the whole, highly satisfactory, as we may collect from Paul's commendation of the faith and love that were maintained amongst them, but it was intimated that certain Judaizers and Gnostics were endeavouring to create mischief, the former by insisting that the Gentiles could have no benefit of the new dispensation without circumcision, and the latter by propagating their wild chimeras on the subject of *Æons* and *Emanations*. This intelligence created no little alarm in the mind of the Apostle, lest the church planted by Epaphras might fall away from the truth in the Gospel. Epaphras then recounted the circumstances of the *Laodicean* community, that their faith and love were exemplary on the whole, but that not having received the Christian scheme

¹²⁴ Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24.¹²⁵ 1 Peter v. 13.¹²⁶ Col. iv. 13

from the Apostle himself, they had been exposed to the artful designs of heretical teachers. The Judaizers and Gnostics in particular, who had invaded the church of Colossæ, were also ravaging, as wolves in the fold, the less advanced church of Laodicea. As for the *Philippians*, the bounty they had sent spoke for itself, but a Judaizing party had attempted to gain a footing there also,¹²⁷ and besides, there were personal dissensions amongst some of the members,¹²⁸ and they were still exposed to temptation from the continuance of persecution.¹²⁹

Paul, on this report, dispatched three epistles, viz., 1. An encyclical epistle to the churches of Asia generally, but more particularly to those which had not seen his face (as Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ), containing a compendious exposition of the Christian scheme. 2. A short epistle to the Colossian church, with which he was more closely connected through his friends and fellow-labourers, Epaphroditus, Philemon, and Onesimus, who were all of that city; and 3. An epistle to the *Philippians*, to thank them for the bountiful contribution which they had sent to him by the hands of Epaphroditus. The two first Epistles were forwarded at once, as the matters referred to required immediate attention, and the Epistle to the *Philippians* followed, as we shall see, not very long after.¹³⁰

The encyclical Epistle is that commonly called the Epistle to the Ephesians, a title which is easily accounted for. The letter being a general one, a copy of it would naturally be delivered to each church of Asia through which Tychicus, the messenger, successively passed; and as he landed at Ephesus, that church would receive the first

¹²⁷ Philipp. iii. 2.

¹²⁸ Philipp. iv. 2.

¹²⁹ Philipp. i. 29, 30.

¹³⁰ It may be doubted (and is not material) in what order the Apostle penned the two Epistles, viz. the Epistle called the Ephesians and that to the Colossians—in other words which of the two was first written.

The general opinion is that the Colossians preceded, (1) on the ground that the Christian doctrines set forth in the Colossians are expanded in the Ephesians; and the treatment of a subject more commonly, it is said, enlarges than contracts itself. And (2) because the Apostle in the Ephesians uses the expression “that ye also may know my affairs, and how I am,” &c. (*ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ, κ.τ.λ.*), as much as to say that the Apostle had previously instructed Tychicus to make known his state to the *Colossians*, and now bids him inform the *Ephesians* also. The first argument, however, does not carry much weight, as, if Paul had first written his general exposition of the Christian scheme to the Ephesians, with a direction that it should be read to the Colossians as well as to the other

churches, he would naturally, in the particular Epistle to the Colossians, pass over with brevity the doctrines more fully handled in the general Epistle; and as to the force of the words “that ye also may know,” &c., the Apostle may mean only that, “as I have learnt *your* estate from the mouth of Epaphroditus, so I have sent Tychicus, that *ye also* may learn *my* estate by the mouth of Tychicus.” See the note *infra* on the passage itself.

In the text the Epistle to the Ephesians is placed before that to the Colossians, and the principal reason for this arrangement is that at the close of the Colossians the Apostle tells them to procure the Epistle called the Ephesians from Laodicea. Coloss. iv. 16. So that the Apostle assumes the Ephesians, at the date of the Colossians, to have been already written. Besides, the two Epistles, the Ephesians and Colossians, are to be regarded as one Epistle in two parts; and if so, as the salutations are contained in the Colossians and not in the Ephesians, the presumption is that, as Paul usually closes his correspondence with the salutations, the Epistle to the Colossians was the last composed.

copy, or even the autograph itself. They would call it the Epistle to the Ephesians, and as Ephesus was the capital of Asia, the Epistle would be commonly known by that name. As Tychicus proceeded eastward he left a copy with each church, including the church of Laodicea, the last of the series.¹³¹ Laodicea and Colossæ were situate in sight of each other, and these churches were to interchange their epistles—that is, the encyclical epistle was to be read at Colossæ, and the epistle to Colossæ was to be read at Laodicea.

As the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians contain several pointed allusions to the Gnostic doctrines, we must, before introducing the Epistles themselves, premise a few words as to the leading principles of this once celebrated heresy.

The Gnostics, or men of Knowledge (*Γνωστis*), were so called from their claiming to be the sole depositaries of the knowledge of the true God (fig. 292, 293). They were



Fig. 292.—The Gnostic God Abraxas in the car of Phæbus, with the inscription *Sabao*, for *Sabaoth*. From C. W. King's 'Antique Gems.'



Fig. 293.—The Gnostic God Abraxas, with the inscription *Jao*, *Shemesh Eilam*, i.e. *Jehovah*, the *Eternal Sun*. From C. W. King's 'Antique Gems.'

thus designated, even in the time of the Apostle, as we may surmise from several texts. He bids Timothy "avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of *Knowledge* (*Γνώσεως*), falsely so called;"¹³² and again, "they profess that they *know* God, but in works they deny him."¹³³ The system of the Gnostics was compounded of many heterogeneous ingredients. From the Platonic school it drew the doctrine of *Ideas*, namely, that all created things had their archetypes in the Divine mind, and had thence received their impression. The cabbalistic fables of the Jews, with their legions of angels and ceremonial observances, furnished another and large contribu-

¹³¹ It is observed by Schrader (*Leben d. Apost.*) that the so-called Ephesians could not have been a letter to the Laodiceans exclusively, as the Colossians and Ephesians were certainly written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, and yet the Apostle conveys his salutation to the Laodiceans in the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 15), which he would not have done had he written to the Laodiceans them-

selves at the same time.—But the reason for sending a salutation to the Laodiceans is that the Colossians were to procure the encyclical Epistle from the Laodiceans, and as this favour was asked of the Laodiceans, the request was accompanied with a complimentary salutation.

¹³² 1 Tim. vi. 20.

¹³³ Tit. i. 16.

tion; and from the oriental Philosophy was borrowed the notion of two independent co-eternal principles, God and Matter, the one the author of Good, and the other of Evil. Lastly, to this strange mixture was added no inconsiderable portion of Christianity, into which Gnosticism had been imported by the father of heresy, Simon Magus. The fanciful scheme, as finally elaborated, was this—God dwelt from all Eternity in a Πλήρωμα, or Plenitude of inaccessible Light, and beyond this Plenitude lay Matter originally in a chaotic state, and intrinsically evil. In the course of time, God, called Bythos or Depth, by acting upon his own Mind called Sige or Silence, produced two other beings of different sexes, denominated Æons or Emanations; and from these two, by successive descents, sprang a series of other Æons. It may readily be imagined that when the human intellect attempted by its own efforts to trace the celestial pedigree, there arose infinite disputations as to the number of the Æons, and the order of their procession. It was against these idle speculations that the Apostle so earnestly warned Timothy and Titus. “Neither give heed to *fables and endless genealogies*, which minister questions rather than godly edifying which is in faith.”¹³⁴ “Avoid *foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law*, for they are unprofitable and vain.”¹³⁵

It would be waste of time to set forth in detail the theory of these Divine Intelligences. But, according to the genealogy more commonly received, Bythos was the pre-existent eternal principle, and from him and Sige or Silence, fourteen other pairs of Æons, male and female, emanated thus: ¹³⁶—

Males.					Females.				
Bythos or Depth	Sige or Silence			
Mind	Truth			
Reason	Life			
Man	Church			
Comforter	Faith			
Fatherly	Hope			
Motherly	Charity			
Eternal	Intelligence			
Light	Beatitude			
Eucharistic	Wisdom			
Profundity	Mixture			
Unfading	Union			
Self-born	Temperance			
Only Begotten.	Unity			
Immoveable	Pleasure			

One of the subsequent Æons, and the author of all mischief, was Demiurgus, or the Creator. The last pair of Æons were Christ and the Holy Spirit. They

¹³⁴ 1 Tim. i. 4.¹³⁵ Tit. iii. 9.¹³⁶ King on the Gnostics, p. 38.

conceived that God and these Emanations dwelt together in the Pleroma, or the Plenitude, but that Demiurgus having at one time passed the bounds of the Plenitude, and meeting with Matter, formed the world and created Man. Demiurgus, according to the Gnostics, was the Jehovah of the Old Testament, and had delivered the Law and inspired the Prophets. How was the soul of Man thus knit to Matter, which was essentially evil, to be rescued from this thralldom? Their notion was, that Christ, the last Æon, came into the world to communicate to Man for the first time, the *Knowledge* of the Eternal God, that is, the true God, as opposed to Demiurgus, the Emanation. But how was Christ, a celestial Æon, to be incarnate when *all matter was evil*? They evaded this difficulty by different subterfuges. Some held that Jesus and Christ were two persons—Jesus, who was flesh and blood, and Christ, the Æon, who descended upon Jesus at his baptism, and parted from him at his crucifixion. Others maintained that Jesus Christ was a phantom, and had no real or substantial existence. John, who wrote when the Gnostic heresy was at its height, is constantly pressing upon his converts that Jesus Christ was one and the same person, flesh and blood like other men, and at the same time the Son of God. Thus he writes: “The *Word was made flesh*, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of *the only begotten of the Father*.”¹³⁷ And again: “That which was from the beginning, which we have *heard*, which we have *seen* with our eyes, which we have *looked upon*, and our hands have *handled* of the word of Life (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal Life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us); that which we have *seen* and *heard* declare we unto you.”¹³⁸ And again: “Who is a liar but he that denieth that *Jesus is the Christ*? He is Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.”¹³⁹ “Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is *come in the flesh* is of God, and every one that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is *come in the flesh* is not of God. Whosoever shall confess that *Jesus is the Son of God*, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.”¹⁴⁰ “Many deceivers are entered into the world who confess not that Jesus Christ is *come in the flesh*. That man is a deceiver and an Antichrist.”¹⁴¹ “Whosoever believeth that *Jesus is the Christ* is born of God. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that *Jesus is the Son of God*?”¹⁴² “This is he that came by *water and blood, Jesus Christ, not in the water only, but in water and blood*”—that is, Jesus Christ was one person, and thus Jesus was Christ not by water only, at his baptism by the descent of Christ upon him, but was Christ from his birth, namely, in his flesh and blood.

To pursue the tenets of the Gnostics a little further, they taught that Christ having come into the world, they, who received the Revelation, rose by baptism from the death of ignorance to the life of perfect knowledge; that this was a real resurrec-

¹³⁷ John i. 14.¹³⁸ 1 John i. 1, 2, 3.¹³⁹ 1 John ii. 22.¹⁴⁰ 1 John iv. 2, 3, 15.¹⁴¹ 2 John 7.¹⁴² 1 John v. 1, 5.

tion, or at least, there was no other; that the soul of the perfect Gnostic, when freed from the body or matter, would, without any judgment day, enter into the Plenitude at once, and dwell with God, but that the soul of the Gnostic which had not attained to perfect knowledge, would pass through successive transmigrations until sufficiently purified.

The leaven of the Gnostics, as regards the denial of the resurrection from the dead, had long ago been working in the Corinthian church—"If Christ," wrote the Apostle from Ephesus, "be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is *no resurrection from the dead?*"¹⁴³ This fatal error was counteracted for the time, but as we shall see, it afterwards broke out again at Corinth under the auspices of Hymenæus, and Alexander, and Philetus, the two former of whom were excommunicated by Paul for their impiety. Thus the Apostle, in writing from Corinth to Timothy, bids him "Hold faith and a good conscience, which some having put away concerning faith, have made shipwreck; of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander, *whom I have delivered unto Satan*, that they may learn not to blaspheme."¹⁴⁴ And afterwards the Apostle, in his letter to Timothy from Rome, alludes to the same subject: "Their word will eat as doth a canker, of whom is Hymenæus and Philetus, who, concerning the truth, have erred, saying, that *the resurrection is past already*, and overthrow the faith of some."¹⁴⁵

The practical fruits of Gnosticism were of two very opposite kinds. All of them agreed that matter was intrinsically evil, but some, as the Nicolaitans, resting entirely on the *knowledge* of the true God, thought the indulgence of any carnal appetite to be matter of indifference, while others acted on the notion that as the body was inherently corrupt, they ought to control it and hold it in check by the practice of austerities. By many of them even marriage was forbidden, and divers restrictions were imposed with respect to meats.

Both these classes of Gnostics are frequently alluded to in the New Testament. Thus their doctrine that all the passions might be gratified if only they had knowledge, is thus alluded to by Paul: "They profess that they *know* God; but *in works they deny him*, being abominable, and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate."¹⁴⁶ And again: "Of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, *led away with divers lusts*, ever learning, and never able to come to the *knowledge* of the truth."¹⁴⁷ And so John, "Hereby we do know that we *know* him if we *keep his commandments*."¹⁴⁸

The asceticism of the other school of the Gnostics is also occasionally glanced at by our Apostle. Thus he warns Timothy against them as "*forbidding to marry*, and commanding to *abstain from meats*."¹⁴⁹ And again, "Refuse profane and old wives'

¹⁴³ 1 Cor. xv. 12.¹⁴⁴ 1 Tim. i. 19, 20.¹⁴⁵ 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.¹⁴⁶ Tit. i. 16.¹⁴⁷ 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7.¹⁴⁸ 1 John ii. 3.¹⁴⁹ 1 Tim. iv. 3.

fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness, for *bodily mortification* profiteth little, but godliness is profitable unto all things.”¹⁵⁰

Such is an outline of the leading tenets of the Gnostics. Their baseless visions, the feeble attempts of human reason to solve celestial problems had many years before captivated the minds of some of the Corinthian church, and the heresy was now extending itself in the cities of Asia. Paul, whose views were essentially practical, exerted himself to keep the church clear of these endless and bootless speculations. In the Epistles which were under consideration when we digressed, viz., the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, we find many allusions to the spreading heresy, and it was to enable the reader to understand the full force of these passages that the above observations have been made.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, for example, Paul writes: “He hath put all things under his feet, and hath given him to be the head over all things to *the Church which is his body, the fulness* (τὸ Πλήρωμα) *of him that filleth all in all.* And you hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins; wherein in time past ye walked *according to the course* (the Æon, τὸν Αἰῶνα) *of this world,* according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.”¹⁵¹ Here the Apostle apparently refers to the Gnostic notion, in calling the Church the πλήρωμα, or Plenitude, in which Christ dwells, and in the latter part he speaks of the “Æon of this world,” an expression borrowed from the Gnostic vocabulary.

Again the Apostle prays that the saints of Asia may “know the love of Christ, which *passeth knowledge* (γνώσεως), that ye might be filled with all the *fulness* (πλήρωμα) of God;”¹⁵² where, from the use of the words γνώσεως and πλήρωμα in such close conjunction, it is likely that the Gnostic errors were in the writer’s mind. It was against their seductive fables that he afterwards warns his correspondents to “be no more children, tossed to and fro, *carried about with every wind of doctrine,* by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.”¹⁵³

In the Epistle to the Colossians (penned at the same time with the Ephesians), the Apostle admonishes his converts still more distinctly against Gnostic speculation and the asceticism of its followers, “Beware, lest any man spoil you through *philosophy and vain deceit,* after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the *fulness* (τὸ πλήρωμα) of the Godhead *bodily.*”¹⁵⁴ And again, “Let no man beguile you of your reward in a *voluntary humility and worshipping of angels,* intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind. ‘Touch not! taste not! handle not!’ which all are to perish with the using, after the commandments and doctrines

¹⁵⁰ 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8.¹⁵¹ Eph. i. 23; ii. 1.¹⁵² Eph. iii. 19.¹⁵³ Eph. iv. 14.¹⁵⁴ Col. ii. 8, 9.

of men: which things have indeed a show of wisdom in *will worship*, and *humility* and *penance of the body*, not in any *indulgence* to the satisfying of the flesh.”¹⁵⁵

We now proceed to a brief analysis of the Epistle to the saints of Asia, commonly called the Ephesians. The Apostle, after the usual salutation, developes (i. 3) the Christian scheme as applicable to the Gentile church, viz. the admission of the heathen, equally with the Jews, to the privileges of the Gospel, without the observance of the law, and then (iii. 1) he reminds them by way of apology for addressing strangers, that he had received a call from heaven to preach this great mystery, the adoption of Gentiles and Jews, without distinction, as God’s people, and that he was now a prisoner at Rome from the persecution which this his Gospel had excited amongst his own countrymen. In the second part (iv. 1) he exhorts the brethren to the practice of the various Christian duties, and he subjoins a summary of them, beginning with the necessity of unity as naturally arising out of the union of both Jew and Gentile in Christ. He concludes (vi. 21) by accrediting Tychicus as his agent, who would inform them of the Apostle’s circumstances, and he bestows his benediction not, it will be observed, on any community by name, for he had no personal acquaintance with them, but, “on all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.” The Epistle ran as follows:—¹⁵⁶

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. “PAUL,¹⁵⁷ AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST, BY THE WILL OF GOD, TO THE
2 SAINTS THAT *be*,¹⁵⁸ AND TO THE FAITHFUL IN CHRIST JESUS—GRACE BE TO

¹⁵⁵ Col. ii. 18, 21–23.

¹⁵⁶ The three epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians and to Philemon, may all be placed in the autumn of A.D. 62. That all three were written and dispatched at the same time, and were sent by the same messenger, Tychicus, has been proved to demonstration by Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*. That they were written while Paul was a prisoner at Rome is evident from their contents. Thus, in the Ephesians, ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, iii. 1; πρεσβεύω ἐν Ἀλύσει, vi. 20; and, in the Colossians, μου τῶν δεσμῶν; and in Philemon, δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ver. 1 and 9. And the Epistles were written when Paul was looking forward to his release as likely soon to take place, ετοίμαζέ μοι ξενίαν, ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν, Philem. ver. 22; and yet it was written before the Epistle to the Philippians (which was also penned during his captivity), for, when the Colossians was written, Epaphroditus was at Rome, and sends a greeting, Coloss. vi 12; but the Epistle to the Philippians was sent by the hands of Epaphroditus who had

been lately suffering from sickness, but to which no allusion is made in the Colossians. Philipp. ii. 25.

¹⁵⁷ Timothy here is not joined with Paul, while he is so in the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon written at the same time, nor are there any salutations in this Epistle—a proof that the letter was encyclical and not personal.

¹⁵⁸ The reading of the ancient copies, according to Tertullian, Basil, and Jerome, has been adopted. The words ‘in Ephesus’ have therefore been omitted. The expression τοῖς οὖσι by itself may appear abrupt; but we meet with a similar instance, κατὰ τὴν οὐσαν ἐκκλησίαν. Acts xiii. 1. The generality of the words that follow (καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) exclude the idea that the preceding τοῖς ἁγίοις should be confined to those of Ephesus. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Epistle called ‘The Ephesians’ is identical with that referred to as sent to the Laodiceans. “When this Epistle [he writes to the Colossians] is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the

YOU, AND PEACE, FROM GOD OUR FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

3 “Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed
4 us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places¹⁵⁹ in Christ; according as

Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.” Coloss. iv. 16.

It is certain that a letter to the Laodiceans with others, existed, and if we find it not in the ‘Ephesians’ it has been lost, which is scarcely credible in itself, there being no trace of the disappearance of any other writing of the Apostle. Some think that a letter to the Corinthians also has been lost, but this appears to the author quite untenable. See ante, Vol. I. p. 378. By comparing the Epistle to the Ephesians with that to the Colossians, it may be shown almost to demonstration that the ‘Ephesians’ is the letter which was sent to the Laodiceans at the same time with the Colossians, and is referred to in the above passage. The ‘Ephesians’ has been aptly described as a twin Epistle to the Colossians; for, indeed, they are so mutually dependent, that the one cannot thoroughly be understood without the other, and they were evidently intended to be read together. That both were written almost within a few hours of each other is plain, for whole sentences are expressed precisely in the same language, word for word. Let the reader refer to the parallel passages in the two Epistles as extracted in Paley’s *Horæ Paulinæ*, and he will feel the irresistible force of the argument. Besides, we are informed by the letters themselves that both were committed to the care of the same trusty messenger, viz. Tychicus. Ephes. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7.

Add to this that the ‘Ephesians’ is exactly the kind of letter which the Apostle would have written to strangers in the flesh, though brethren in Christ, and wholly opposite to such as would have been written to the converts of Ephesus, amongst whom Paul had resided for three years. There are no rebukes, no commendations, and indeed no personal allusions whatever from first to last, and the Epistle does not end with the usual personal formula “Grace be with *you*,” but “Grace be with *all* that love the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.” Ephes. vi. 24.

How the words “in Ephesus” came to be in-

serted in the first verse may be thus explained. The original language at the opening of the Epistle was “to the saints that are and to the faithful in Christ Jesus”—viz. all the converts in Asia, of which Ephesus was the capital. On the face of it, therefore, it was inscribed to no church in particular; but it was necessary, for the purposes of citation, to give it a name, and as the first copy, or perhaps the autograph of the Apostle, was delivered at Ephesus, it passed under the name of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The words “in Ephesus” did not appear for many centuries in the text, but the Epistle itself was commonly known as that to the Ephesians. Where none were addressed by name, the Ephesians had as much right as any other church to stamp it with their name. When the circumstances under which it was composed were forgotten, the title at the head of it led copyists to suppose that it was really written to the Ephesians exclusively; and at first the words “in Ephesus” were added at a venture in the margin as a probable suggestion, and afterwards found their way into the text itself. It is readily admitted that in the earliest times the church *called* it by its present title, “The Epistle to the Ephesians,” but it was only after a long lapse of ages that the words “in Ephesus” first invaded the text. The Vatican MS.—the most ancient and valued of all existing MSS.—is a good illustration. In the text itself the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* are wanting, but they have been inserted in the margin; and no doubt many a transcriber, under the full belief that the letter was sent to the Ephesians in particular, was bold enough to carry the marginal reading into the text.

The historical testimonies stand thus. The date of the Epistle is A.D. 62, and Marcion began to flourish, according to Lardner, in A.D. 130—i.e. less than seventy years from the date of the Epistle, and when the autograph of the Apostle must, in all probability, have been still preserved. Now, it will be seen, from the passages of Tertullian which will be cited presently, that

¹⁵⁹ *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*. The Eng. ver. has the marginal reading of ‘things.’ The expression is used by the Apostle five times in this Epistle—i. 3, i. 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12—and not else-

where, and it means generally ‘in relation to the heavenly kingdom,’ as opposed to ‘the kingdom of this world’

he *elected*¹⁶⁰ us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should
 5 be holy and *blameless* before him in love, having predestinated us unto the
 adoption of *sons*¹⁶¹ by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure

it was disputed between the orthodox church and heretics what the Epistle ought properly to be intitled, viz. whether the "Epistle to the Ephesians" or the "Epistle to the Laodiceans." The church traditionally held the former, but Marcion, seeing correctly that it was the Epistle alluded to in the Colossians as that which was to be brought *from* Laodicea, insisted on the title being "The Epistle to the Laodiceans." Each was wrong in part and right in part; it was not intended either for the Ephesians or the Laodiceans exclusively, but for both, with many others. This very controversy shows that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ could not at that time have existed in the text, or the question could not have arisen. It was never doubted to whom the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians and Corinthians and Thessalonians were written, as their names appear in the body of those Epistles themselves; and had this Epistle been addressed expressly to the Ephesians, every mouth would have been stopped; but as no church at all was designated there was the same strife about the Ephesians as there has always been about the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and for the like reason.

Tertullian, to whom we have referred, lived at the end of the second century, or about 140 years after the date of the Epistle; and we meet with two important passages in this ancient father. The first is this: "Prætereo hic et de aliâ Epistolâ quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodiceos." Adv. Marcion, v. 11. "Here also I pass over another Epistle which *we* hold to be inscribed to the Ephesians, but the heretics to the Laodiceans." At this period, therefore, the words "in Ephesus" were still absent from the text, or there could have been no dispute whether the Epistle was properly intitled to the Ephesians or to the Laodiceans. But the same father, on another occasion, is more explicit, and conveys his meaning in much plainer terms. He is controverting Marcion with respect to the "Epistola ad Romanos," "Epistola ad Galatas," "Epistola ad Corinthios Prima" and "Secunda," and "Epistola ad Thessalonicenses," and proceeds thus: "*De*

Epistolâ ad Laodiceos. Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos, sed Marcion ei titulum aliquanto interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator; nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam." Adv. Marcion, v. 17. "Concerning the Epistle to the Laodiceans, in the verity of the church indeed we hold this Epistle to have been sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans; but Marcion has been pleased to tamper somewhat with the title of it, as if he were in this also a most careful investigator. But it matters nothing about the *title*, since the Apostle, in writing to some, wrote to all." Here we are informed, as is admitted, that in the early church the Epistle passed current as "The Epistle to the Ephesians;" and how it came to be so designated has been before explained; and Tertullian charges Marcion, not with corrupting the *text*, but with altering the *title* to this Epistle and calling it "The Epistle to the Laodiceans" instead of to the Ephesians. It is evident, therefore, that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ could not then have existed in the text, or Marcion could not, without corrupting the text, have intitled the Epistle as the Epistle to the Laodiceans. That the Epistle was not addressed either to the Ephesians or to the Laodiceans exclusively, but that both were comprised under the churches of Asia is implied by the language of Tertullian, where he observes that the Apostle, in writing to some (whether the Ephesians or Laodiceans) wrote to all.

Again, Origen, who wrote at the commencement of the third century, comments upon the singularity of this Epistle in being addressed, not to any church by name, but "to the saints that are" ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν Ἐφεσίων εὐρομεν κείμενον τὸ τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσι, &c. Orig. Cat. Cr. Eph. 102, cited by Tregelles.

Basil of Cappadocia lived at the close of the fourth century, and comments thus: Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων ὡς γνησίως ἠνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι δι' ἐπιγνώσεως, ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν εἰπών—Τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ

¹⁶⁰ ἐξελέξατο. In Eng. ver. "he hath chosen."

¹⁶¹ υἱοθεσίαν. In Eng. ver. "children."

6 of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath *been gra-*
 7 *cious to us* ¹⁶² in the beloved [*one*], in whom we have redemption through his
 8 blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace, wherein

ἡμῶν προοδεύωσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὐρήκαμεν. Adv. Eunom. ii. 19. "But (Paul) also in writing to the Ephesians as persons united by knowledge with the 'I am,' named them characteristically 'who are,' saying 'To the saints "who are," and faithful in Christ Jesus.' For so both those before us have handed down and ourselves have found in the ancient MSS." Here, for the first time, we have an allusion to the words "in Ephesus" being found in the text; but he tells us at the same time that the reading, as received by tradition and as established by the more ancient of the MSS. (τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων), was "To the saints 'who are,' and faithful in Christ Jesus." He cites the Epistle, indeed, as that to the Ephesians, by which *title* it was commonly though erroneously known in the church; but he testifies to the omission of the words "in Ephesus" in the text.

Jerome flourished at the close of the fourth century, and in his time there was the double reading, some copies omitting the words "in Ephesus," and some inserting them. Quidam, curiosius quam necesse est, putant ex eo quod Moysi (Exod. iii. 14) dictum est: 'Hæc dices filiis Israel, Qui-est misit me,' etiam eos qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles essentiae vocabulo nuncupatos, ut quomodo a Sancto sancti, a Justo just, a Sapiente sapientes, ita ab eo Qui-est, hi Qui sunt appellantur . . . Alii vero simpliciter non ad eos qui sunt sed qui Ephesi sunt scriptum arbitrantur. Jerom. Comment. Ephes. i. 1. "Some, with more refinement than is necessary, suppose that, because it was said to Moses, 'Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, "I am" hath sent me,' that they also who at Ephesus were holy and faithful were designated by the name of Essence, so that as the holy from the Holy One, the just from the Just One, the wise from the Wise One, so they should be called those 'Who are' from the 'I am.'" Here, though Jerome refers to both readings, he yet seems, from his commentary, to prefer that which omitted the words "in Ephesus."

We shall only add the remark that, as the church intituled the Epistle from the earliest

date as that to the Ephesians, the words "in Ephesus," had they originally existed in it, could never have been discarded; but it is easy to suppose that, if originally absent from the text, they might very well creep in from the force of the title prefixed.

In opposition to these testimonies, a passage is commonly cited from Ignatius, which, when examined, tends rather to confirm our view instead of the contrary. In writing to the Ephesians, he says of Paul ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν, c. 12, which has been translated, "Who in all the Epistle makes mention of you," as if Ignatius referred to the Epistle to the Ephesians, and that it was addressed to them. But the literal and correct translation is, "Who in *every* Epistle makes mention of you," as he does in 1 Cor. xvi. 8, xv. 32; 2 Cor. i. 8; 2 Tim. i. 18, iv. 12; 1 Tim. i. 3. It would be a truism, and unworthy of Ignatius, to say that Paul, in an Epistle written to the Ephesians themselves, made mention of the Ephesians. The fact, therefore, that Ignatius compliments the Ephesians on the recurring references to them in the several Epistles, implies that in Ignatius's opinion the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians was not written to that church, or not to that church exclusively. Otherwise the venerable martyr could scarcely have avoided paying them the much higher compliment that Paul had not only referred to them with credit, but had specially indited a letter to them.

The MSS. now existing have almost universally, or at least very generally, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ; but amongst the exceptions is, as before noticed, the most valuable MS. of all, viz. the Vatican, which omits these words. When we consider, on the one hand, the improbability that the words, if originally inserted in the text, could have fallen out of it, and, on the other hand, the probability of their creeping in from the *title* prefixed, and when, further, we have the express testimony of the most ancient fathers that originally, and for many centuries afterwards, the words were wanting, we must conclude that the Vatican is right, and that the other MSS. generally are in error. [The

¹⁶² ἐχαρίτωσεν. In Eng. ver. "he hath made us accepted."

9 he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure
 10 which he purposed in himself, *unto* the dispensation of the fulness of times *to consummate*¹⁶³ all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which
 11 are on earth; even in him, in whom also we have obtained *a lot*,¹⁶⁴ being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after
 12 the counsel of his will; that we should be to the praise of his glory, who
 13 first *hoped*¹⁶⁵ in Christ; in whom *are* ye also, after that ye heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your salvation: in whom also *having* believed, ye *are*
 14 sealed with that Spirit of promise, *the Holy one*,¹⁶⁶ *who* is the earnest¹⁶⁷ of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise
 15 of his glory. Wherefore I also *having* heard¹⁶⁸ of your faith in the Lord
 16 Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making
 17 mention of you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the
 18 knowledge of him, the eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory
 19 of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power,
 20 which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and *seated* him
 21 at his own right hand in heavenly places,¹⁶⁹ far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in
 22 this world, but also in that which is to come; and "hath put all things under

The following conclusions, then, may be drawn:—

1. That the Epistle was very early *intituled* "The Epistle to the Ephesians," but that the title or heading arose, not from the contents, but from the accident that the first copy of the Epistle or the autograph was given out at Ephesus for the benefit of the church there.

2. That the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* in the text are an interpolation, and were inserted at a venture from the title prefixed.

3. That the Epistle was an encyclical one, intended for all the churches of Asia, but more particularly for those who had not seen or heard the Apostle himself, and to whom, therefore, Paul wished to develop and ratify the Christian scheme as preached by him.

4. That the Epistle referred to in the Colossians, and which the Colossians were to procure from the neighbouring church of Laodicea, is the Epistle now known as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

¹⁶³ ἀποκεφαλαιώσασθαι. In Eng. ver. "gather together in one."

¹⁶⁴ ἐκληρώθημεν. In Eng. ver. "we have obtained an inheritance." The root of the word is κληρος, 'a lot.'

¹⁶⁵ προηλπικότες. In Eng. ver. "first trusted."

¹⁶⁶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ. In Eng. ver. this is made an epithet only—"the Holy Spirit."

¹⁶⁷ ἀρράβων, a part payment as a pledge for the whole, derived by the Greeks from the Hebrew עֲרָבֹן, Gen. xxxviii. 17, 18. See Alford ad loc.

¹⁶⁸ From the Apostle giving thanks on *hearing* of their faith—i.e. of their conversion—it is manifest that he had not converted them himself. See ante, Vol. I. p. 361. This language would be suitably addressed to the Laodiceans and others whom he had never seen, but would be quite inconsistent with the relation in which he stood to the Ephesians, with whom he had resided for three years.

¹⁶⁹ See i. 3, note.

his feet" (*Ps. viii. 6*),¹⁷⁰ and gave him to be the head over all things to the
23 Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

CH. II. "And you [hath he quickened] who were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein
2 in time past ye walked according to the course of this world,¹⁷¹ according to the
prince of the power of the air,¹⁷² the spirit that now worketh in the *sons* of
3 disobedience, among whom also we all¹⁷³ had our conversation *once* in the lusts of
our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the *thoughts*,¹⁷⁴ and were by
4 nature the children of wrath, even as *the rest*,¹⁷⁵ but God, who is rich in mercy,
5 for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in *offences*,
6 quickened us together with Christ (by Grace ye are saved), and raised us up
together [*with him*], and made us sit together [*with him*] in heavenly places¹⁷⁶
7 in Christ Jesus, that in the ages to come he might show the exceeding riches
8 of his grace in his *goodness*¹⁷⁷ toward us through Christ Jesus—for by Grace
are ye saved through Faith,¹⁷⁸ and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of
9, 10 God: not of works, lest any man should boast; for we are his workmanship,
created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God before ordained that we
11 should walk in them. Wherefore remember, that ye being *once* Gentiles in
the flesh, who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called the Circum-
12 cision in the flesh made by hands, that at that time ye were without Christ,
being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers *to* the covenants
13 of *the* promise, having no hope, and without God in the world; but now in
Christ Jesus ye, who *once* were far off, *have been* made nigh by the blood of
14 Christ; for he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the
15 middle wall of partition,¹⁷⁹ having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the
law of commandments in ordinances, *that he might* make in himself of twain
16 one new man, so making peace, and that he might reconcile both unto God in

¹⁷⁰ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. In the LXX. the words are: πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁷¹ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. In αἰῶνα the Apostle may be referring to the *æon* of this world in the Gnostic sense, but the English version is very felicitous.

¹⁷² The prince of sublunary things, as represented by the air which, while in the body, we all breathe, and which was supposed by the ancients to be haunted by evil spirits. τοῦ αἵρος appears to be opposed to ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, where dwell the angels.

¹⁷³ I.e. all we Christians, whether converts from Judaism or heathenism, as opposed to "the rest" mentioned at the end of the verse—viz. those who had not been converted.

¹⁷⁴ τῶν διανοιῶν. In Eng. ver. "the mind."

¹⁷⁵ οἱ λοιποί. In Eng. ver. "others," which does not give the force of the article.

¹⁷⁶ See note, i. 3.

¹⁷⁷ χρηστότητι. In Eng. ver. "kindness."

¹⁷⁸ By Grace, as the efficient cause, through Faith, as the means or instrument, ye "have been saved"—ἔστε σεσωσμένοι. The Apostle, looking to the end, assumes salvation to have been already accomplished.

¹⁷⁹ The Apostle here alludes to the wall of partition in the Temple at Jerusalem, which divided the court of the Gentiles from the court of the Jews, and which if any heathen passed, he was liable (by permission of the Romans themselves) to be put to death. Paul was nearly killed in the outer court for having, as was falsely alleged, taken Trophimus, an Ephesian and heathen, beyond the allowed limits.

17 one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; and came and *brought*
the Gospel of peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh;
 18, 19 for through him we both have access by one spirit unto the Father. Now,
 therefore, ye are no more strangers and *sojourners*, but fellow-citizens with
 20 the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of
 the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone,¹⁸⁰
 21 in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto a holy temple in
 22 the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God through
 the Spirit.

CH. III. "For this cause I, Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles,¹⁸¹
 2 (if *at least* ¹⁸² ye have heard ¹⁸³ of the dispensation of the grace of God which
 3 is given me to you-ward, how that by revelation he made known unto me the
 4 mystery, as I *have written* ¹⁸⁴ afore in *brief*,¹⁸⁵ whereby, when ye read, ye may
 5 understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ, which in other ages was
 not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto the holy
 6 apostles ¹⁸⁶ and prophets ¹⁸⁷ by the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow-
 heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of *the* promise in Christ by the
 7 Gospel, whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of
 8 God given unto me by the *operation* of his power—unto me, who am less than
 the least of all saints, *was* this grace given, that I should *carry the glad tidings*
 9 *of the Gospel of* the unsearchable riches of Christ among the Gentiles, and
enlighten all men what is the *dispensation* ¹⁸⁸ of the mystery, which from
 10 the beginning of the world *was* hid in God, who created all things:¹⁸⁹ to the
 intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places ¹⁹⁰
 11 might be known *through* the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according
 12 to the eternal purpose which he *formed* ¹⁹¹ in Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom

¹⁸⁰ The Apostle alludes to the corner-stones of the Temple, which were of wonderful magnitude. The largest stone now at Jerusalem is that at the south-west corner of the Haram, which measures 30 feet 10 inches in length by 6½ feet in breadth.

¹⁸¹ The preaching of Paul, that salvation was open to the Gentiles without the law of Moses, was the cause of the constant persecution of him by the Jews, and now of his present imprisonment by their procurement.

¹⁸² *εἴγε*. The 'if' of the Eng. ver. does not express the force of the original.

¹⁸³ Such language was properly addressed to the Laodiceans and others who had not seen and did not know Paul, but was very inappropriate to the Ephesians, who were intimately acquainted with him. In other words, the Epistle could not have been written to the Ephesians ex-

clusively.

¹⁸⁴ *προέγραψα*. In Eng. ver. "I wrote," which might lead one to suppose that he was referring to another and different letter.

¹⁸⁵ *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*. In Eng. ver. "in few words."

¹⁸⁶ Paul himself was an Apostle, but he counted himself "less than the least of them" (iii. 8), and speaks of them here as holy—as a body only, and without reference to himself personally.

¹⁸⁷ See Vol. I. p. 391.

¹⁸⁸ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all agree that the true reading is *οἰκονομία*, and not *κοινωνία*.

¹⁸⁹ The words *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* in the Textus receptus are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁹⁰ See i. 3, note.

¹⁹¹ *ἐποίησεν*. In Eng. ver. "purposed."

13 we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him); wherefore
 I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory.¹⁹²
 14, 15 For this cause I *bend*¹⁹³ my knees unto the Father,¹⁹⁴ of whom *all father-*
 16 *hood*¹⁹⁵ in heaven and *on* earth is named, that he would grant you, according
 to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the
 17 inner man, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by Faith, that ye, being
 18 rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what
 19 is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of
 Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye *may* be filled with all the fulness of
 20 God—Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above what we
 21 ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us—unto him be glory
 in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end!
 Amen.

CH. IV. “I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy
 2 of the *calling* wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with
 3 long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, *striving* to keep the unity of
 4 the spirit in the bond of peace. There is one Body,¹⁹⁶ and one Spirit¹⁹⁷ (even
 5 as ye are called in one hope of your calling), one Lord,¹⁹⁸ one Faith, one
 6 Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in
 7 you all.¹⁹⁹ But unto *each* one of us is given grace according to the measure of
 8 the gift of Christ; wherefore he saith, ‘When he ascended up on high, he led
 9 captive captivity,²⁰⁰ and gave gifts unto men.’ (Ps. lxviii. 18.²⁰¹) (*But this* ‘he
 ascended,’ what is it but that he also descended²⁰² into the lower parts of the
 10 earth? he that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all
 11 heavens, that he might fill all things;) and he gave some, apostles; and some,
 prophets;²⁰³ and some, evangelists;²⁰⁴ and some, pastors²⁰⁵ and teachers,²⁰⁶

¹⁹² The Apostle beseeches them not to lose heart because he was suffering imprisonment for believing in Christ—nay, they ought rather to boast of it.

¹⁹³ κάμπτω. In Eng. ver. “bow.”

¹⁹⁴ The words τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the Textus receptus are rejected by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁹⁵ πᾶσα πατριά. In Eng. ver. “the whole family,” by which the reference in πατριά to the preceding πατέρα is lost. The Apostle seems to say that God, as the Father of all, is the prototype of every earthly father.

¹⁹⁶ That is, one body of the Catholic church.

¹⁹⁷ That is, one Holy Ghost, which animates the body of the church.

¹⁹⁸ That is, one Christ, who is Lord and Master of the church, and so its Head.

¹⁹⁹ One God, who, in the character of the

Father, is supreme over all Christians; in the character of the Son is throughout all His church, and one with it; and in the character of the Holy Ghost is present in the hearts of all true believers.

²⁰⁰ ἡχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν—‘captured captives’ or ‘made captives,’ and not “led the captors captive.”

²⁰¹ This agrees with the LXX., except that for ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, the LXX. has ἐλάβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ.

²⁰² The word πρῶτον, ‘first,’ is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²⁰³ See Vol. I. p. 391.

²⁰⁴ That is, preachers of the Gospel.

²⁰⁵ Those who had any cure of souls.

²⁰⁶ Those whose province in particular was religious instruction.

12 for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the *building*
 13 *up* of the body of Christ, till we all *attain unto* ²⁰⁷ the unity of the faith, and
 of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure
 14 of the stature ²⁰⁸ of the fulness of Christ; that we be no more children, tossed
 to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of
 15 men, *by craftiness after the wiliness of deceit*, ²⁰⁹ but speaking the truth in love,
 16 may grow up into him in all things, *who* is the head, even Christ, from whom
 the whole body *compounded* together and compacted by that which every joint
 supplieth, according to the working in the measure of every part, maketh
 17 increase of the body unto the *building up* of itself in love. This I say, there-
 fore, and testify in the Lord, that ye walk *no more*, as *also the* other Gentiles
 18 walk, in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened,
 being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in
 19 them, because of the blindness of their heart, who being past feeling have
 given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with
 20, 21 greediness. But ye have not so learned Christ, if *at least* ²¹⁰ ye have heard
 22 him, and have been taught *in* him, as the truth is in Jesus, that ye put off
 concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according
 23, 24 to the lusts of *deceit*, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and that ye
 put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and holiness
 25 *of the truth*. Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his
 26 neighbour, for we are members one of another. ‘Be angry, and sin not’
 27 (Ps. iv. 4): ²¹¹ Let not the sun go down upon your wrath, neither give place
 28 to the devil. Let him that *stealeth* ²¹² steal no more, but rather let him labour,
 working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to *im-*
 29 *part* to him that needeth. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of
 your mouth, but that which is good *to the building up of what is needed*, that
 30 it may minister grace unto the hearers. And grieve not the holy Spirit of
 31 God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness,
 and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you,

²⁰⁷ καταντήσωμεν. In Eng. ver. “come in.”

²⁰⁸ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας. The same expression, in the sense of stature, is found in Lucian, Imag. 6. τῆς ἡλικίας δὲ τὸ μέτρον, ἡλίκον ἂν γένοιτο, κατὰ τὴν ἐν Κνίδῳ ἐκείνην μάλιστα . . . μεμετρήσθω. Lucian, Imag. 7. See Wetstein. The word ἡλικία, however, signifies also ‘age,’ and the Apostle may mean ‘till we attain to manhood,’ opposed to the ‘childhood’ mentioned immediately afterwards.

²⁰⁹ τὴν μεθοδεῖαν τῆς πλάνης. In Eng. ver. “cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.”

²¹⁰ εἴγε. In Eng. ver. “if so be.” Here again, if the letter was addressed to the Ephesians, how could the Apostle have made it hypothetical whether they had heard the truth in the Gospel?

²¹¹ ὀργίξεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε. The words are taken from the LXX.; and not from the Hebrew, which runs, “tremble [or “stand in awe,” Eng. ver.] and sin not.” Alford.

²¹² ὁ κλέπτων, ‘him that stealeth,’ i.e. him that is guilty of theft. In Eng. ver. ‘him that stole.’

32 with all malice; and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God *in* Christ hath forgiven you.

CH. V. “Be ye, therefore, followers of God, as *beloved* children, and walk in love,
2 as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself *up* for us an offering and
3 a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour. But fornication, and all un-
cleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh
4 saints; *and* filthiness, *and* foolish talking, *and* jesting, which are not *seemly*,
5 but rather giving of thanks. For ye know *assuredly*,²¹³ that no whoremonger,
nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inhe-
6 ritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God; (let no man deceive you
with vain words,) for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon
7 the *sons* of disobedience. Be not ye, therefore, partakers with them; for
8 ye were *once* darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord. Walk as children
9 of light (for the fruit of the *light* ²¹⁴ is in all goodness and righteousness
10,11 and truth), proving what is *well pleasing* unto the Lord; and have no fel-
lowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them,
12 for it is *shameful* ²¹⁵ even to speak of those things which are done of them in
13 secret. But all things that are reprovèd are *shown* by the light, for what-
14 soever is *shown* is light; ²¹⁶ wherefore He ²¹⁷ saith, ‘Awake thou that sleepest,
15 and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.’ ²¹⁸ See, then,
16 that ye walk circumspectly, not as *unwise*, but as wise, redeeming the time,
17 because the days are evil; wherefore be ye not *senseless*,²¹⁹ but understand-
18 ing what the will of the Lord is. And be not drunk with wine *in which* is
19 excess, but be filled with the Spirit, speaking *one to another* ²²⁰ in psalms and
hymns and spiritual songs; singing and making melody in your heart to the

²¹³ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all agree that the true reading is ἵστε γινώσκοντες, and not ἔστε γινώσκοντες.

²¹⁴ φῶτος, and not πνεύματος, is the reading adopted by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²¹⁵ αἰσχρόν. In Eng. ver. “a shame.”

²¹⁶ τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα, ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτός φανεροῦνται. Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον, φῶς ἐστὶ. In Eng. ver. “all things that are reprovèd are made manifest by the light, for whatsoever doth make manifest is light.” The meaning appears to be: Ye are the light of the world, and as such ye ought to reprove the dark practices of the heathen about you. If the deformity of vice is to be shown up at all, it must be by means of the light shining upon it.

²¹⁷ He, i.e. God.

²¹⁸ This seems to be a paraphrase of Isaiah l. 2, which the Jews have always interpreted of the

Messiah. Wetstein. Others think that the Apostle is quoting from a lost Christian hymn, or from some Apocryphal writing, or from some liturgical service. Those who take it for a hymn would write it thus:

Ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
καὶ ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

²¹⁹ ἄφρονες. In Eng. ver. “unwise.”

²²⁰ ἑαυτοῖς. In Eng. ver. “to yourselves.” We have here a trace of the early Christian liturgy, as consisting, in part at least, of sentences and responses. The same custom is alluded to by Pliny in his letter to Trajan: Soliti [Christiani] stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem. Plin. Epist. x. 96 (al. 97). So Nicephorus, Hist. xiii. 8: τὴν τῶν ἀντιφώνων συνήθειαν ἄνωθεν ἀποιντόλων ἡ ἐκκλησία παρέλαβε. Alford.

20 Lord;²²¹ giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the
21 name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another in the
fear of *Christ*.²²²

22 “Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord, for
23 the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the
24 church,²²³ the saviour of the body; *but* as the church is subject unto Christ,
25 so let the wives *also* be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands,
love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it,
26 that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water *in* the
27 Word,²²⁴ that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having
spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without
28 blemish. So ought *husbands* to love their wives as their own bodies. He that
29 loveth his wife loveth himself; for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but
30 nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as *Christ*²²⁵ the church; for we are mem-
31 bers of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. ‘For this cause shall a man
leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two
32 shall be one flesh.’ (*Gen.* ii. 24.)²²⁶ This is a great mystery;²²⁷ but I speak
33 concerning Christ and the church.²²⁸ *But ye also severally*²²⁹ love every one
in particular his wife even as himself; and [*let*] the wife [*see*] that she
reverence her husband.

CH. VI. “Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. ‘Honour thy
2, 3 father and mother’ (which is the first commandment with promise), ‘that it
may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.’ (*Ex.* xx. 12.)²³⁰
4 And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in
the nurture and admonition of the Lord.
5 “Servants,²³¹ be obedient to them that are your masters according to the

²²¹ That is, to Christ, as in Pliny’s letter. See ante, p. 77.

²²² Χριστοῦ is substituted for Θεοῦ by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²²³ The words in the Textus receptus, καὶ αὐτός ἐστι (‘and he is’) are omitted by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²²⁴ ἐν ῥήματι—‘the Word’ emphatically, i.e. the Word of God, or the Gospel—the ῥῆμα Θεοῦ spoken of, post, vi. 17.

²²⁵ Χριστός is substituted for Κύριος by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²²⁶ The only variation from the LXX. is, that for ἕνεκεν τούτου the Apostle substitutes ἀντὶ τούτου.

²²⁷ Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν. The Vulgate

version translates this “Sacramentum hoc magnum est,” and hence the Roman Catholic doctrine (an error from a mistranslation) that marriage is a *sacrament*.

²²⁸ I.e. the mystery to which I refer is the mystical union of Christ with his church.

²²⁹ πλὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς. In Eng. ver. “nevertheless.”

²³⁰ The only variation from the LXX. is, that for ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γενῇ the Apostle reads ἔση μακροχρόνιος.

²³¹ οἱ δοῦλοι—‘slaves’—for at that time slavery was common in every country, and it was Christianity that abolished it, not by any direct precept—for, on the contrary, the Apostle here prescribes the relative duties of master and slave—but the humanising influence of Christianity led to this result.

flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ;
 6 not with eye service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing
 7 the will of God from the heart, with good-will doing service as to the Lord,
 8 and not to men, knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, *that*
 9 shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be *a servant* or free. And, ye
 masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing
 that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with
 him.

10 “*For the rest*, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his
 11 might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against
 12 the wiles of the devil: for *to us the wrestling* ²³² *is* not against flesh and blood,
 but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness,²³³
 13 against spiritual wickedness in *heavenly* places.²³⁴ Wherefore take *up* the whole
 armour ²³⁵ of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having
 14 done all, to stand (fig. 294). Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with
 15 truth,²³⁶ and having “*put on the breastplate of righteousness*” (*Is.* lix. 17),
 16 and your feet shod with the *readiness* of the Gospel of peace;²³⁷ above all,

²³² ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη. In Eng. ver. “we wrestle.”

²³³ The words τοῦ αἰῶνος—‘of the world’—are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

²³⁴ That is, spiritual wickedness in those places where we ought to find heavenly tempers. See note, i. 3.

²³⁵ τὴν πανοπλίαν. So Josephus: τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβόντες, εὐθέως ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἔργον. Ant. iv. 5, 2. And so Ant. xx. 5, 3.

The Apostle, who writes linked by a chain to a Roman soldier, proceeds to describe in detail the accoutrements of one fully armed—the helmet, the breastplate, the girdle, the shield, the sword, and even the shoes. The picture is historically correct, and Josephus portrays the Roman soldier at the outbreak of the Jewish war, not ten years later than the date of the Epistle, in similar terms. οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ θωραξί τε πεφραγμένοι καὶ κράνεσιν καὶ μαχαιροφοροῦντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν, μακρότερον δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ λαιὸν ξίφος πολλῷ· τὸ γὰρ κατὰ δεξιὸν σπιθαμῆς οὐ πλέον ἔχει μῆκος. φέρουσι δὲ . . . ξυστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμήκη, πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν, πρὸς δὲ ἱμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἄλυσιν. Bell. iii. 5, 5. The historian omits the girdle and the shoes, or more properly the sandals (see note ²³⁷), as worn generally, and not confined to the military; but perhaps the girdle is comprised under the ἱμάντα, which may have served the double purpose of a girdle and

a thong. The shoes are afterwards referred to particularly in recounting the exploits of the centurion Julianus, who, from his hob-nailed shoes, slipped on the polished pavement of the Temple and fell—τὰ γὰρ ὑποδήματα πεπαρμένα πυκνοῖς καὶ ὀξέσιν ἡλοῖς ἔχων, κ.τ.λ.—and after laying about him with his sword (ξίφει), and defending himself with his shield (θυρεῷ), and protecting the vital parts as well as he could with his corslet (θώρακι) and helmet (κράνει), at last succumbed. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 8.

It is worthy of remark that the Apostle omits one part of the soldier's armament, viz. the spear; and this, no doubt, designedly, as the Christian is not to use offensive, but only defensive weapons. He is to “stand,” and “having done all, to stand,” but not to advance.

²³⁶ The girdle was an adjunct to the soldier's accoutrements from the time of Homer downwards.

Ἄτρείδης δ' ἐβόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώνωνσθαι ἄνωγεν Ἀργείους.

Iliad, xi. 15.

See Wetstein.

²³⁷ ὑποδησάμενοι, κ.τ.λ. The ὑπόδημα was the thick, nailed sandal worn by the common soldier, as opposed to the calceus or shoe with an upper leather worn by the officers above the rank of a centurion. See Smith's Dict. of Antiq. art. Sandalium. In exhorting Christians to be shod with the readiness of the Gospel, the Apostle alludes to the injunction given to the Israelites

taking up the shield ²³⁸ of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all
 17 the fiery darts ²³⁹ of the wicked one; and take “the helmet of salvation”
 18 (Is. lix. 17), and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, praying



Fig. 294.—Portrait of a Roman soldier, fully armed. From Hope's Costumes.

always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto
 19 with all perseverance and supplication for all saints, and for me, that utterance
 may be given unto me that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the
 20 mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds, that therein
 I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.
 21 “But that ye also ²⁴⁰ may know my affairs, how I do, Tychicus, *the* beloved
 brother and faithful minister in the Lord, *will* make known to you all things;

to be ready to march on the instant “with their loins girded, and their shoes on their feet, and their staves in their hand.” Exod. xii. 11. See Wordsworth.

²³⁸ τὸν θυρεὸν—the ‘scutum,’ or large oblong shield, as opposed to the ἀσπίς—the ‘clypeus,’ or small round buckler. Josephus thus points the distinction. The light-armed body guard carried the λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα—the lance and the buckler; but the legionaries carried the ξυστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν—the spear and the shield. Bell. iii. 5, 5. The θυρεὸν was so called from its resemblance to a door—θύρα. Θυρεὸς est scutum oblongum, ut fores; ἀσπίς rotundum. Intelligitur æreum vel ære obductum, qualia Romanorum et Græcorum scuta erant. Æneas Tact. 107. This and other passages are cited by Wetstein ad locum, which see.

²³⁹ Darts and arrows were made to carry fire

in various ways, as, for example, by a bandage of lighted tow about the point. See the several passages quoted by Wetstein.

²⁴⁰ One explanation of this ‘also’ is as follows: The Apostle wrote at the same time another letter, viz. to the Colossians, and while the letter to the Laodiceans was purely doctrinal, that to the Colossians contained matter of a more familiar and private character; but while the mission of Tychicus was more particularly to the Colossians, he was *also* to communicate by the way with the Laodiceans. Another and better explanation of the word is that, as the Apostle had received intelligence from Epaphroditus of the state of the Laodicean and other churches, and wrote to them in consequence, he now commissions Tychicus, by way of reciprocity, to make known the condition of Paul also to the Laodiceans and others. See next note.

22 whom I have sent unto you for *this very* purpose, that ye *may* know our affairs, and that he *may* comfort your hearts.²⁴¹

23 “Peace be to the brethren,²⁴² and love with faith, from God the Father and
24 the Lord Jesus Christ. GRACE BE WITH ALL THEM THAT LOVE OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IN SINCERITY. AMEN.”²⁴³

The Apostle next proceeded to indite his Epistle to the Colossians. In the first part, after a salutation from himself and Timothy, he expounds, in a summary way (i. 3), the call of the Gentiles (of whom were the Colossians) by the free grace of God, without the adoption of the Law, viz., that both Jews and Gentiles, without distinction, were now one fold in Christ. The impress of the Encyclical Epistle evidently remained on his mind, and he pursues the same line of argument, but he is here more brief, and adapts the exposition to the peculiar circumstances of the Colossian church. In the second part (ii. 1) he warns his converts against the Judaizers and Gnostics, who would impose upon the Gentiles many useless restrictions and bodily mortifications. In the third part (iii. 1) he urges them to the practice of the several Christian virtues, and concludes (iv. 7) with commending to them Tychicus his messenger, and sends various salutations, and finally bestows his benediction. The Epistle itself was as follows:—

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. “PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE WILL OF GOD, AND TIMOTHY
2 OUR BROTHER, TO THE SAINTS AND FAITHFUL BRETHREN IN CHRIST WHICH ARE
AT COLOSSÆ, GRACE BE UNTO YOU, AND PEACE, FROM GOD OUR FATHER AND
THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.
3 “We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying
4 always for you, *having* heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of *your* love
5 to all the saints, for the hope which is laid up for you in heaven (whereof ye
6 heard before²⁴⁴ in the word of the truth of the Gospel, which is come unto

²⁴¹ In that age, when there was no public post for the transmission of letters, the anxiety of persons for the welfare of their absent friends was most intense. This passage in the Epistle reminds us of a similar one in a letter from Cicero to Atticus: Mitte ad nos de tuis aliquem tabellarium, ut et tu quid nos agamus et nos quid tu agas quidque acturus sis scire possimus. Cic. Ep. ad Att. v. 18.

²⁴² To “the” brethren, not *my* brethren, for it has been observed that Paul nowhere throughout the Epistle calls those whom he was addressing *his* brethren. The explanation is, that the Epistle was written to strangers in the flesh, and was purely doctrinal.

²⁴³ The catholic character of the benediction confirms the hypothesis that the opening address was not to any church by *name*, but to “the saints that are, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.” The words in capitals were written with the Apostle’s own hand, to authenticate the letter as coming from him. See Vol. I. p. 284.

²⁴⁴ προηκούσατε. The Gospel, therefore, had been preached to them by Epaphras some time before the date of the Epistle. Their conversion was probably effected by Epaphras while Paul was at Ephesus (A.D. 54–57), and the Epistle was written A.D. 62 (see ante, p. 244); so that an interval of at least five years had elapsed.

you, as it is in all the world, and bringeth forth fruit, *and increaseth*,²⁴⁵ as it doth also in you, since the day ye heard it, and knew the grace of God in 7 truth, as ye²⁴⁶ learned of Epaphras, our dear fellow-servant,²⁴⁷ who is for 8 you²⁴⁸ a faithful minister of Christ, who *hath* also declared unto us your love 9 in the spirit), for this cause we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray for you,²⁴⁹ and to *beseech* that ye *may* be filled with the knowledge of 10 his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding—that ye walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing 11 in the knowledge of God, strengthened with all *strength*,²⁵⁰ according to his 12 glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness, giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet *for the participation* of 13 the inheritance of the saints in light, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of *the Son of his love*,²⁵¹ 14, 15 in whom we have redemption through his blood, the *remission* of sins, who is 16 the *image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation*;²⁵² for by him²⁵³ were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or 17 powers—all things were created by him, and for him, and he is before all 18 things, and by him all things consist, and he is the head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things 19 he *may be first*. For *he* [God] *was* pleased²⁵⁴ that in him should all fulness 20 dwell, and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to recon-

²⁴⁵ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all add the word *αὐξανόμενον* to the Text. recept.

²⁴⁶ In Eng. ver. "as ye *also* learned," &c., but according to the best MSS., which are followed by Scholtz, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, the word *καὶ* is not in the text, which makes it still clearer that Epaphras had been their first teacher. See Alford ad loc.

²⁴⁷ That is, they had heard the truth of the Gospel preached to them by Epaphras, who had been the Apostle's missionary to work their conversion.

²⁴⁸ Lachmann reads *ἡμῶν* for *υμῶν*, and this reading is adopted by Alford. If the true text be 'on our behalf,' it would confirm the view that Epaphras had been a missionary of Paul for the conversion of the Colossians.

²⁴⁹ In the third verse the Apostle, in mentioning his prayers for them, had deviated by way of parenthesis into the subject of their conversion by Epaphras, and he now returns to his prayers for them.

²⁵⁰ *ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι*. In Eng. ver. 'might' instead of 'strength,' to avoid, appar-

ently, the repetition of the same word; but the variation of the phrase, though more elegant, does not correctly represent the original. Here, as elsewhere, the Apostle's "speech is not with enticing words of man's wisdom." 1 Cor. ii. 4.

²⁵¹ *τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγαπῆς αὐτοῦ*. In Eng. ver. "his dear son."

²⁵² *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*—more literally 'born before all creation,' the *πρῶτος* being used in the sense of *πρότερος*. Christ was the first-born of his Father in heaven, as he was the firstborn of his mother Mary on earth. "The expression 'born before anything was created' excludes Christ from the number of created beings, and this priority is proved in ver. 16 by his having created all things. The Gnostics made Christ a later emanation from God." Note by Barton. The word *πρωτότοκος* is not uncommon in the LXX., as, *υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου* Ἰσραήλ. Exod. ii. 22. *τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν πρωτότοκον*. Ib. ii. 23. *πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτὸν ὑψηλόν, κ.τ.λ.* Ps. lxxxviii. 28.

²⁵³ *ἐν αὐτῷ*—literally 'in,' not 'by' him.

²⁵⁴ The words 'the father,' which appear in the Eng. ver., are not in the Greek.

cile all things unto himself—by him [I say] whether they be things in earth,
 21 or things in heaven. And you, that were *once* alienated and enemies in your
 22 mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh
 through death, to present you holy and blameless and unreprieveable in his
 23 sight; if *at least* ²⁵⁵ ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not
 moved away from the hope of the Gospel, which ye have heard, which *hath*
been preached to all the creation, which is under heaven; ²⁵⁶ whereof I *Paul*
 24 *was* made a minister. ²⁵⁷ Now rejoice *I* in my sufferings for you, and fill up
 that which is behind ²⁵⁸ of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's
 25 sake, which is the Church; ²⁵⁹ whereof I *was* made a minister, according to
 the dispensation of God which *was* given to me for you, to fulfil the word of
 26 God, the mystery which *was* hid from ages and from generations, but now
 27 *hath been* made manifest to his saints, to whom God *willed to* make known
 what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which
 28 is Christ in you, the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man,
 and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect
 29 in Christ, ²⁶⁰ whereunto I also labour, striving according to his working, which
 worketh in me mightily.

CH. II. “For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for
 2 them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, ²⁶¹ that
 their hearts *may* be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches
 of the full assurance of understanding, to the *knowledge* ²⁶² of the mystery of
 3, 4 God, ²⁶³ in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. *But* this
 5 I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words; for though I be
 absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your
 6 order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ. As ye therefore received
 7 Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him, rooted and built up in him, and
 stablished in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with
 8 thanksgiving. Beware lest any *one* spoil you, through philosophy and vain
 deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not
 9 after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;

²⁵⁵ εἴγε. The force of this word is omitted in the Eng. ver.

²⁵⁶ That is, not the Jew only, but to the Greeks and to all others, without distinction.

²⁵⁷ Paul here refers to his office of Apostle of the Gentiles as a justification for the writing of this Epistle to the Colossians, who were Gentiles, and whom Paul had not personally visited.

²⁵⁸ τὰ ὑστερήματα—‘the shortcomings,’ or that which is lacking.

²⁵⁹ This verse the Roman Catholics make use of as an argument for their Indulgences. They consider the sufferings of Christ and his Apostles

as an account upon which the church may draw for pardon to sinners. See Alford.

²⁶⁰ All the critics reject the word ‘Jesus,’ which appears in the received text.

²⁶¹ The Apostle, therefore, had never visited either Colossæ or Laodicea.

²⁶² ἐπίγνωσιν. In Eng. ver. “acknowledgment.” The ἐπὶ in the original gives the notion of complete knowledge.

²⁶³ Griesbach, Scholtz, Tischendorf, and Alford omit the words καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, and Lachmann has Χριστοῦ only.

10 and ye are *made full*²⁶⁴ in him, *who* is the head of all principality and power :
 11 in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands,
 in *the* putting off of the body²⁶⁵ of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ,
 12 *being* buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are *raised* with him through
 13 the faith of the operation of God, who raised him from the dead ; and you,
 being dead in your *trespasses*, and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he
 14 quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses, blotting out
 the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us,
 15 and took it out of the way, nailing it to *the* cross—having spoiled²⁶⁶ princi-
 palities and powers, he made a show of them *publicly*,²⁶⁷ triumphing over them
 16 in it. Let no *one* therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a
 17 *feast*,²⁶⁸ or of a new moon, or of sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to
 18 come ; but the body is of Christ. Let no man beguile you, *if he would*,²⁶⁹ of
 your reward, in humility and worshipping of angels,²⁷⁰ intruding into those
 19 things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not
 holding the head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourish-
 ment ministered *to it*, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.
 20 If *therefore* ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as
 21 though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (‘Touch not ! taste
 22 not ! handle not !’ which all are to perish with the using), after the command-
 23 ments and doctrines of men ? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom
 in will-worship,²⁷¹ and humility,²⁷² and *penance*²⁷³ of the body : *not in in-*
*dulgence*²⁷⁴ to the satisfying of the flesh.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁴ πεπληρωμένοι. In Eng. ver. “complete,” which does not carry on the word on which the Apostle was dwelling.

²⁶⁵ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all reject the words τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν—‘of the sins’—which appear in the Textus receptus.

²⁶⁶ ἀπεκδυσάμενος—literally, ‘having stripped’—an allusion to the Roman triumph, in which the captives were stripped and led naked.

²⁶⁷ ἐν παρρησίᾳ. In Eng. ver. “openly.” Another allusion to the Roman triumph, in which the conquered kings and captains were exhibited publicly, and exposed to the gaze and derision of the people that lined the streets.

²⁶⁸ ἑορτῆς. In Eng. ver. “a holyday.”

²⁶⁹ θέλων. In Eng. ver. the word is coupled with humility—“a voluntary humility.”

²⁷⁰ We have noticed before that all divine interference—as the creation of the world, the delivery of the Law, &c.—was ascribed by the Jews to angels, and the abuse of this doctrine led naturally to the worshipping of angels, the ministering spirits, instead of Jehovah, the supreme God. This adoration of angels, which

was closely connected with Gnosticism, was extremely prevalent at Colossæ, and hence the rebuke and caution of the Apostle to that church. It is seldom that history furnishes any clue to the precepts contained in the Epistles, but curiously enough Theodoret, in a passage cited by Alford, makes mention of this heresy as widely spread in this part of Phrygia. ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος [the worshipping of angels] ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ, οὗ δὲ χάριν καὶ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος, κ.τ.λ. Theodoret. on Coloss. ii. See Alford ad locum.

²⁷¹ ἐθελοθρησκεία—‘an affectation of sanctity.’

²⁷² ταπεινοφροσύνη. The “pride that apes humility.”

²⁷³ ἀφειδίᾳ. In Eng. ver. “neglecting.” The literal meaning is, ‘the not sparing.’

²⁷⁴ οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ τινι. In Eng. ver. “not in any honor.” It means, not in any humouring of the body, as opposed to the penance of it mentioned just before.

²⁷⁵ The doctrines of the Gnostics are here referred to. See ante, p. 249.

CH. III. "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above,
 2 where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. *Mind* ²⁷⁶ things above, not
 3 things on the earth; for ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in
 4 God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear
 5 with him in glory. Mortify therefore your members, which are upon the earth
 —fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence and
 6 covetousness, which is 'idolatry'; ²⁷⁷ for which things' sake the wrath of God
 7 cometh on the children of disobedience; in the which ye also walked some-
 8 time, when ye lived in them. But now put ye also *away* all these—anger,
 9 wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy *speaking* out of your mouth. Lie not one to
 10 the other, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have
 put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him
 11 that created him, wherein there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor
 uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all, and in
 12 all. Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of
 13 mercy, ²⁷⁸ kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing
 one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a *complaint* against
 14 any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And above all these things
 15 put on *love*, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of *Christ* ²⁷⁹
 rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body, and be ye
 16 thankful. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching
 and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing
 17 with grace in your hearts to *God*. ²⁸⁰ And whatsoever ye do in word or deed,
 do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God *even* the Father
 by him.

18 "Wives, submit yourselves unto your ²⁸¹ husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.
 19, 20 Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Children, obey
 21 your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing *in* ²⁸² the Lord. Fathers,
 22 provoke not your children, lest they be discouraged. Servants, obey in all
 things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service, as men-
 23 pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing *the Lord*. ²⁸³ Whatsoever ²⁸⁴ ye do,
 24 do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men, knowing that of the Lord
 ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ.
 25 But he that doeth wrong shall receive the wrong which he hath done, and there

²⁷⁶ φρονεῖτε. In Eng. ver. "set your affections on."

²⁷⁷ 'Do not, like the Gnostics, mortify the *body*, but mortify the lusts of the *mind*.'

²⁷⁸ According to all the critics, the word should be in the singular, οἰκτιρμοῦ, and not in the plural οἰκτιρῶν.

²⁷⁹ All the critics adopt Χριστοῦ in the place of Θεοῦ.

²⁸⁰ All the critics read Θεῷ instead of Κυρίῳ.

²⁸¹ All the critics reject the word ἰδίοις, 'own.'

²⁸² The ancient MSS. have ἐν Κυρίῳ.

²⁸³ All the critics have Κύριον instead of Θεόν.

²⁸⁴ καὶ πάν ὅ τι ἐὰν: the critics read ὁ ἐὰν simply.

CH. IV. is no respect of persons. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just
 2 and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven. Continue in
 3 prayer, watching in *it* with thanksgiving, withal praying also for us, that
 God *may* open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ,
 4 for which²⁸⁵ I am also in bonds, that I may make it manifest, as I ought to
 5 speak. Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time.
 6 Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know
 how ye ought to answer every man.
 7 “All my state shall Tychicus²⁸⁶ *make known* unto you, *the* beloved brother,
 8 and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord, whom I have sent unto
 you for *this very* purpose, that he *may* know your estate, and comfort your
 9 hearts, with Onesimus,²⁸⁷ *the* faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you.
 10 They *will* make known unto you all things which are done here. Aristarchus²⁸⁸
 my fellow-prisonér²⁸⁹ saluteth you, and *Mark, the cousin* of Barnabas²⁹⁰
 (touching whom ye received commandments—if he come unto you, receive
 11 him),²⁹¹ and Jesus, *that* is called Justus,²⁹² who are of the circumcision. These

²⁸⁵ The admission of the Gentiles, a doctrine that so provoked the Jews that they never ceased to persecute the Apostle of the Gentiles, and were the cause of his present imprisonment.

²⁸⁶ Tychicus (accompanied by Onesimus) was the bearer of the Epistle.

²⁸⁷ This is, no doubt, the Onesimus the runaway slave of Philemon; and how kindly does the Apostle here commend him to the favourable notice of the Colossians by calling him a “faithful and beloved brother,” and by mentioning that he was “one of them,” i.e. their fellow-countryman!

²⁸⁸ Here begin the salutations, viz. from Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus (called Justus), who are distinguished as “of the circumcision,” i.e. Jews; and then from Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, who were consequently Gentiles.

²⁸⁹ Aristarchus had voluntarily shared the Apostle’s captivity, and was now in attendance upon him, and possibly in the same lodging; or perhaps Aristarchus had been actually incarcerated with Paul in one of the numerous imprisonments referred to at 2 Cor. xi. 23; or perhaps Paul means only that Aristarchus was his fellow-labourer in the Gospel. See note post, on Philem. ver. 23.

²⁹⁰ The Greek word ἀνεψιός signifies, not “sister’s son,” or even “nephew,” but the “cousin” of Barnabas. Mark was the son of Mary (Acts xii. 12), and Mary was probably the

sister of Barnabas’s father or mother. As Paul here speaks of Mark as his fellow-labourer at Rome, it is manifest that at this time Mark, though generally considered the companion of Peter, was attendant upon Paul. He was afterwards again with Peter in Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13); but on the death of Peter, was again with Paul. 2 Tim. iv. 11.

²⁹¹ Why should the Apostle say thus emphatically that they should receive him? It will be recollected that Mark, on Paul’s first circuit, had deserted him in Pamphylia (Acts xiii. 13); and as Pamphylia bordered on Phrygia, it has been surmised that this dereliction of duty on the part of Mark produced an unfavourable impression at Colossæ and the other Phrygian churches. Paul, therefore, who had since frankly forgiven Mark, now writes to the Colossians to accord him a kind reception.

²⁹² It is not known who this Jesus (called Justus) was, unless it was the Justus who had a house next the Synagogue at Corinth, and was a Jewish proselyte. Acts xviii. 7. It is worthy of note that Justus joins in the salutations of this Epistle, but not in the salutations of the Epistle to Philemon, which was despatched at the same time. The other salutations are the same in both Epistles. We should infer, from this distinction, that Justus was not known to Philemon personally.

only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, which have been a
 12 comfort unto me.²⁹³ Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ, salut-
 eth you, always *wrestling*²⁹⁴ fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand
 13 perfect and complete in all the will of God, for I bear him record, that he
 hath *much labour*²⁹⁵ for you, and them that are in Laodicea, and them in
 14 Hierapolis.²⁹⁶ Luke, the beloved physician,²⁹⁷ and Demas,²⁹⁸ *salute* you.²⁹⁹
 15 Salute the brethren which are in Laodicea,³⁰⁰ and Nymphas,³⁰¹ and the church
 16 which is in his house, and when this epistle is read among you, cause that
 it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read
 17 the Epistle from Laodicea.³⁰² And say to Archippus,³⁰³ Take heed to the
 ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it. The salu-
 18 tation³⁰⁴ by the hand of me, Paul. (Remember my bonds.³⁰⁵) GRACE BE WITH
 YOU. AMEN."

²⁹³ That is, 'These three (Aristarchus, Mark, and Justus) are the only *Jews* who have assisted me in preaching the true Gospel. The rest of my *countrymen* are Judaizers, and preach the Gospel for envy and strife only.' See Philipp. i. 15.

²⁹⁴ ἀγωνίζομενος. In Eng. ver. "labouring."

²⁹⁵ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all agree that the true reading is πολὺν πόνον, and not ζῆλον πολύν.

²⁹⁶ It may be reasonably inferred from this passage that Epaphras had been the Christian missionary who had first sown the seeds of the Gospel in these three cities.

²⁹⁷ Paul suffered much from bodily weakness, and Luke, who was of Antioch, was perhaps his medical attendant there; and being a convert, accompanied Paul not unfrequently on his circuit, as was certainly the case on Paul's second circuit. See Vol. I. p. 197.

²⁹⁸ Demas was afterwards a renegade—or at least deserted the Apostle (2 Tim. iv. 10)—and it has been acutely remarked by Alford, that as Demas is the only person here named without some favourable notice, it is not unlikely that the Apostle had already entertained some suspicion of his sincerity.

²⁹⁹ Observe that Philemon, though a Colossian, is not greeted here. Why? Because Paul at the same time writes a letter to Philemon himself.

³⁰⁰ The Epistle to the Ephesians (addressed really to the Laodiceans, with others) and the Epistle to the Colossians were twin Epistles, sent at the same time and by the same messenger; but the Ephesians—i.e. the Epistle to the Laodi-

ceans, with others—being encyclical and purely doctrinal, contains no personal allusions or salutations such as are contained in the Epistle to the Colossians. Even the salutation of the Laodiceans themselves is sent in the Epistle to the Colossians.

³⁰¹ Nymphas (the contraction of Nymphodorus) was the spiritual pastor or bishop of the rising church at Laodicea, and the disciples were wont to assemble at his house for public worship.

³⁰² The Epistle to the Laodiceans called the Ephesians was therefore now in existence, and consequently was written before the Epistle to the Colossians.

³⁰³ From the Epistle to Philemon being addressed to Philemon and Apphia (his wife), and Archippus, and the church in the house of Philemon, we may infer, as the letter was a private one on the subject of domestic matters, that Archippus was the near relative, and probably a son, of Philemon; and as Archippus is warned to "take heed to the ministry which he had received," we may further conclude that he was the pastor of the little flock which met at Philemon's house, and that he had not long before been ordained to the ministry.

³⁰⁴ By the "salutation" is meant the benediction which closed every Epistle, and which was always written by the Apostle's own hand. The Apostle's impaired eyesight obliged him to employ an amanuensis for the body of every Epistle.

³⁰⁵ The Apostle mentions this by way of apology for the brief salutation that follows. The Apostle's *right* hand being chained to a soldier's *left*, he could not use the pen without inconvenience,

These two Epistles were to be conveyed by Tychicus, who, as a native of Asia, was familiarly acquainted with the district to which he was dispatched. Onesimus, the Colossian slave, was his companion. Paul had found his services so useful, that he would gladly have retained him at Rome; but Onesimus was still the property of his master, and Paul could not, consistently with justice, continue to employ him in the ministry without Philemon's consent. That the wealthy Colossian might exercise a free choice in the matter, Onesimus was once more to be placed at his absolute disposal. However, the warmest feelings of the Apostle were awakened in behalf of his attached follower, and he sent with him a letter to Philemon, one of the most touching compositions ever penned. The Apostle begins with the greeting from himself, a *prisoner*, and Timothy, our *brother*, not to Philemon only, but, to enlist them in his favour, to Apphia, the wife, and Archippus, the son of Philemon, and to all the household. He then commends the general benevolence of Philemon, for which he was distinguished in the church, and glancing at his own apostolical authority, by virtue of which he might lay a command, he yet appeals rather to Philemon's love, and moves his kindly feelings by portraying himself as now aged and in bonds. He calls Onesimus his son, nay, "his own bowels," and asks the favour as for himself. It could scarcely be thought that Philemon should require pecuniary compensation for any loss which he had sustained; but to meet even that case, Paul signs a promissory note for the amount whatever it might be—"If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account; *I, Paul, have written it with mine own hand: I will repay it.*" Hitherto he had asked for Onesimus's *pardon*, but he gently insinuates what he would not directly ask, that Philemon should give him his *freedom*—"I know that thou wilt also *do more than I say.*" In conclusion, the Apostle adds weight to his request by salutations from the brethren in Rome, with whom Philemon was acquainted, as Epaphras, Philemon's own countryman, and Mark, who was shortly to visit Colossæ, and Luke, the beloved physician, and Aristarchus and Demas.

We subjoin the Epistle itself, and the reader can scarcely fail to appreciate the warmth of heart and affectionate earnestness, the delicacy of mind and gentlemanly feeling, and withal the dignity, not to say the sublimity, that pervades the whole.

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version.]

1 "PAUL, A PRISONER OF JESUS CHRIST, AND TIMOTHY, OUR BROTHER, UNTO
2 PHILEMON,³⁰⁶ OUR BELOVED AND FELLOW-LABOURER,³⁰⁷ AND TO APPHIA,³⁰⁸ OUR BE-

and so adds but a few words. Alligati sunt etiam qui alligaverunt, nisi tu forte leviozem in *sinistrâ* catenam putes. Seneca de Tranquil. c. 10.

³⁰⁶ Philemon was a wealthy Colossian, at whose house the church met for divine service. Philem. 2.

³⁰⁷ Philemon, therefore, had taken an active part in propagating the Gospel, and perhaps, as well as his son Archippus, was in the ministry.

³⁰⁸ It is not anywhere stated, but it is strongly implied, that Apphia was the wife of Philemon. A private letter of this kind could not have been addressed to anyone not of the same household.

LOVED, AND ARCHIPPUS,³⁰⁹ OUR FELLOW-SOLDIER, AND TO THE CHURCH IN THY
3 HOUSE,³¹⁰ GRACE TO YOU, AND PEACE, FROM GOD OUR FATHER AND THE LORD
JESUS CHRIST.

4, 5 "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, hearing³¹¹
of thy love and *the* faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus and to-
6 ward all saints, that the *communion*³¹² of thy faith may become effectual *in*
7 the *knowledge*³¹³ of every good thing *that* is in *us*³¹⁴ in Christ Jesus; for we
have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints
8 are refreshed by thee, brother. Wherefore, though I might *have* much *boldness*
9 in Christ to enjoin thee that which is *becoming*, yet, for love's sake, I rather
beseech thee, being such a one as Paul the aged,³¹⁵ and now also a prisoner
10 of Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in
11 my bonds, *who* in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee
12 and to me,³¹⁶ whom I have sent *back*; *but do* thou receive him—that is mine
13 own bowels—whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might
14 have ministered unto me in the bonds of the Gospel; but without thy mind
would I do nothing, that thy *goodness*³¹⁷ should not be, as it were, of necessity,
15 but willingly. For perhaps he therefore departed³¹⁸ for a season, that thou
16 shouldest receive him for ever—not now as a servant, but above a servant, a
brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the

³⁰⁹ Archippus was probably the son of Philemon.

³¹⁰ In the infancy of Christianity, before churches were built, the disciples met at private houses. Thus, at Corinth Paul preached in the house of Justus. Acts xviii. 7. At Laodicea the disciples met at the house of Nymphas. Coloss. iv. 15, &c.

³¹¹ ἀκούων. In Ephes. i. 15 and Coloss. i. 4 the tense is different, viz. ἀκούσας. The inference is that the report about the Colossians and Laodiceans, &c., had reached Paul long before the report about Philemon.

³¹² ἡ κοινωνία. In Eng. ver. "communication." The common faith of Paul and Philemon was a bond of union between them, and the Apostle alludes to it, v. 17, "if thou count me therefore a partner [κοινωνόν]," &c.

³¹³ ἐπιγνώσει. In Eng. ver. "acknowledging." See ante, p. 269, note ²⁶².

³¹⁴ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, all read ἡμῖν instead of ὑμῖν.

³¹⁵ πρεσβύτερος. A man, according to Philo, was said to be πρεσβύτερος from the age of forty-nine to fifty-six; and if so, Paul at this time was, say, fifty-three, but, according to another

calculation, sixty. See Vol. I. p. 4. This assumes the true reading to be πρεσβύτερος; but as Paul dictated the Epistle (with the exception of the 19th verse and the concluding benediction), it is probable that the amanuensis wrote πρεσβύτερος, 'aged,' instead of πρεσβεύτερος, 'ambassador,' the word actually uttered. This conjecture receives a strong confirmation from a parallel expression in the Epistle to the Ephesians. It must be kept in mind that the two Epistles to the Ephesians and Philemon were written at the same time and despatched by the same messenger, so that the same thoughts would pervade both, as is obviously the case. Now, in the Ephesians we read ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν αλύσει, vi. 20—"for which [the Gospel of Jesus Christ] I am an ambassador in bonds"—the very counterpart of the passage in Philemon, ver. 9. πρεσβεύτερος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—"the ambassador and now the prisoner of Jesus Christ."

³¹⁶ 'Onesimus' in Greek signifies 'Profitable,' and there is evidently here a play upon the word.

³¹⁷ ἀγαθόν. In Eng. ver. 'benefit.'

³¹⁸ The flight of the slave is here softened into a departure.

17 flesh, and in the Lord? If thou count me, therefore, a partner, receive him
 18 as myself. *But* if he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that *to*
 19 mine account—I, PAUL, HAVE WRITTEN IT WITH MINE OWN HAND, I WILL
 REPAY IT³¹⁹—albeit, I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine
 20 own self besides. Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord:³²⁰
 21 refresh my bowels in the Lord. Having confidence in thy obedience, I *have*
 22 *written* unto thee, knowing that thou wilt do *even* more than I say. *And*
 withal prepare³²¹ me also a lodging, for I trust through your prayers I shall
 23 be given unto you.³²² There salute thee Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner³²³ in
 24, 25 Christ Jesus, *Mark*, Aristarchus, Demas, *Luke*, my fellow-labourers. THE
 GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOUR SPIRIT.”³²⁴

Tychicus and Onesimus now departed from Rome, and entered upon their journey to Colossæ. We would fain know the result of their mission; but in the absence of all direct testimony, we can only surmise that Philemon not only pardoned his slave, but even set him at liberty, and that Onesimus returned with Tychicus to Rome, and restored his services to the Apostle, who had found him so useful. At the date of Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians in A.D. 107, and therefore forty-five years after the events which we are recording, the name of the Bishop of Ephesus was Onesimus, and if the flight of the slave from his master was, as is likely, the unpremeditated act of a stripling in dread of punishment for some youthful and thoughtless indiscretion, Onesimus may have lived long enough to preside over the Ephesian community.

At the commencement of A.D. 63 Paul had been a year and nine months a prisoner

³¹⁹ The Apostle here writes what in plain English we should call a ‘Promissory note.’ The rest of the Epistle, except the final benediction, was written by an amanuensis; but the engagement to pay, the Apostle writes with his own hand, to make himself legally liable.

³²⁰ The Greek is *ὀναίμην*, which some suppose to be an allusion to the name of *Ὀνήσιμος*.

³²¹ As the Apostle was still a prisoner, he appears to mean only, ‘Prepare for the reception of myself also. I have sent Onesimus back to you, but I expect to follow myself, and will abide at Colossæ.’

³²² Paul was at this time a prisoner, as appears from the opening words, but he was in hopes of soon regaining his liberty; and in doing so, it was evidently his intention to visit Colossæ and the churches in the vicinity at Laodicea and Hierapolis, which he had never yet personally visited.

³²³ So called, either as voluntarily sharing the Apostle's captivity by attending upon him,

or because Epaphras had shared in one of the Apostle's former imprisonments—*ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως*—referred to, 2 Cor. xi. 23. Or the word *συναιχμάλωτος* may be interpreted ‘fellow-soldier’ only, as appears to be the case in Rom. xvi. 7, where it is applied to Andronicus and Junias. The latter view is favoured by the following circumstance. The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon were certainly penned at the same time, and it will be found, by comparing the two, that the words ‘fellow-prisoner’ and ‘fellow-servant’ are interchanged as equivalent expressions. Thus Epaphras, in Coloss. iv. 12, is called *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ*, but in Philem. ver. 23, he is called *ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*, and inversely Aristarchus, in Coloss. iv. 10, is called *ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου*, and in Philemon, ver. 24, *ὁ συνεργός μου*.

³²⁴ The closing benediction was, as usual, in the Apostle's own hand, to authenticate the Epistle. See Vol. I. p. 284. All the critics omit the word ‘Amen,’ which appears in the Eng. ver.

at Rome, and since his first apprehension in the Temple at Jerusalem nearly five years had elapsed. A thralldom, however, of five years was little likely to abate his constancy in the Christian cause. He had calculated the cost, and was ready to sacrifice personal comfort, and life itself, for the crown in expectancy. Indeed, he regarded death as the consummation of all his labours, and were it not a desertion of his post, he would gladly have withdrawn from a persecuting world.

But why, it may be asked, had not his appeal at Rome been heard? Possibly the official record of the proceedings forwarded by Festus had been lost in the wreck, and it was necessary to wait for a further communication. Or it may be that Paul's accusers had not arrived, though, after a certain time, if the prosecutor did not appear, the prisoner, by a law of Claudius, would be discharged.³²⁵ Or the delay may have arisen from the great stress of business. Or the accusers might have reached Rome, but have applied for an adjournment on the plea of requiring witnesses to be summoned from distant parts, as from Syria and Proconsular Asia.³²⁶ Paul had arrived in Rome so early as at the beginning of A.D. 61, but this haste was owing to the winter voyage, which led to the wreck, and he had thereby outstripped his accusers, who would not set sail from Judea till the spring of A.D. 61, and would thus arrive some months after the Apostle.

But further, as the charge against Paul was a groundless one, the tact of the Jews was to interpose every obstacle in the way of the hearing. It answered their purpose to keep him in hold, and this they had succeeded in doing during two whole years, under the rule of Felix. They had attempted to extort the life of Paul from Festus, and the consequence of this was that Paul had appealed to Rome, and if the Jews could not succeed in carrying a condemnation before the Procurator, how could they hope to do so before the Emperor? The Jews, therefore, would take advantage of all the delays that the law allowed. In the first place, they would require the official record of the proceedings in Judea to be made up in a formal manner, and when these documents were completed, other grounds for procrastination might be seized upon. Applications for postponement were frequently presented to the judge or his deputy, that the accuser might have an opportunity of collecting his witnesses; and as the charge was that Paul had excited commotions throughout the world,³²⁷ here was ample scope for protracting the trial under pretence of obtaining foreign testimony. Paul himself also had suggested, at the hearing before Felix, that the Jews of Asia, who had created the tumult in the Temple, ought to have been summoned.³²⁸ In a case mentioned by Tacitus in the time of Nero, a year was allowed

³²⁵ ὁ δ' οὖν Κλαύδιος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλῆθος τε δικῶν ἀμύθητον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπνηγνῶν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἔτι, προσδοκῶντες ἐλαττωθῆσθαι, προεῖπε διὰ προγράμματος ὅτι καὶ κατὰ ἀπόντων αὐτῶν ἐντὸς ῥητῆς τινος ἡμέρας δικάσει, καὶ ἐνεπέδωσε τοῦτο. Dion, lx. 28.

³²⁶ Thus, *Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat poscebatque tempus evocandorum testium. Reus illico defendi postulabat.* Tac. Ann. xii. 52.

³²⁷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην. Acts xxiv. 5.

³²⁸ Acts xxiv. 19.

for obtaining evidence,³²⁹ and a longer space might be asked for when the matter in issue lay principally indeed in Judea, but extended itself partially over the whole empire.

When all the pleadings and proofs were ready, it does not follow that the matter would even then receive immediate adjudication, for the day of trial would still depend on the arrears of prior date and the arbitrary will of the Emperor. There was a rota of causes, and, unless specially appointed, they were to be heard in order. Numerous holidays intervened, in which the sittings were suspended, and a long vacation occurred during the winter months, when judges and counsel would be recruiting themselves at Baia.³³⁰ In point of form, all appeals from the provinces were made to the Emperor himself; but as it was absolutely impossible for one man, however energetic, to adjudicate upon such a multitude of cases, the practice was to appoint annually persons of consular dignity (amongst whom the provinces were distributed) to sit as the Emperor's deputies.³³¹ Judea, though governed by an Imperial Procurator, was an appendage to the Prefecture of Syria, and if the causes from Judea were classed with those of Syria, and heard at the same tribunal, it would readily account for a considerable lapse of time before any particular appeal could be brought to a hearing. The Jewish priests, the friends of Josephus, had arrived in Rome some time before Paul, and yet were not liberated until a year after his release, so that the interval in Paul's case, instead of exceeding the ordinary limit, appears to have been unusually short.

Nothing could be more vexatious to the prisoner himself than such a state of suspense, and many an anxious conference may have been held at Paul's humble lodging between himself and Timothy and Luke, and his other friends, as to the best mode of expediting the tedious delays of the law. At length, however, at the beginning of A.D. 63, the light began to dawn, and evidently at no distant day his fate was to be determined.

It was about this time that he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians. Epaphroditus had brought the Philippian collection, and had since been assiduous in waiting upon the Apostle and administering to his wants. In the course of discharging this grateful duty, he was attacked by a dangerous illness. He had arrived at Rome in the autumnal and unhealthy season of the year, and had caught a fever from the

³²⁹ Mox quia inquisitionem *annuam* impetraverunt, brevius visum suburbana crimina incipi, quorum obvii testes essent. Tac. Ann. xiii. 43.

³³⁰ Concessit (Octavianus) ut singulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset, et ut solitæ agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur. Suet. Octav. 32. Rerum actum divisum antea in hibernos æstivosque menses conjunxit. Suet. Claud. 23. Concessum a Claudio beneficium ne hieme initioque anni ad judicandum evocarentur

eripuit. Suet. Galb. 14.

³³¹ Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum præfecto delegabat urbis, at provincialium consularibus viris quos singulos cujusque provinciæ negotiis præposuisset. Suet. Octav. 33. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκέψατο καὶ ἐδίκασεν, τὰς δὲ πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν δῆμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν. Dion, iv. 27.

malaria of a pestilential neighbourhood. He was well when he started from Philippi, and probably when he reached Rome, for the Philippians had *heard* only of his sickness,³³² and we may infer from the Epistle to the Colossians that his usual health had not *then* failed him, for his salutation is sent to the Colossian church without any allusion to his indisposition. He had now recovered, but with a weakened constitution his susceptibilities were keenly alive, and he was labouring under a nervous anxiety lest the Philippians, receiving an exaggerated rumour of his sickness, might suppose that the contribution which they had confided to his care had miscarried. Actuated by a high sense of duty, Epaphroditus himself was desirous of remaining at his post in the Roman capital, but the warm-hearted Paul, ever disregarding personal convenience and consulting only for the welfare of his friends, saw the benefit which Epaphroditus would derive from travel, and to relieve his mind pressed upon him a journey to Philippi, and made him the bearer of a dispatch to that Church. This we may collect from the letter itself. "I have deemed it necessary," he writes, "to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, and minister to my wants; for he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness because ye had heard that he was sick."³³³ It is not unlikely, though the Apostle had no occasion to mention it in his letter, that Epaphroditus, after a convenient sojourn at Philippi, was to extend his journey to his native city Colossæ—at least there is no mention of his immediate return to Rome,³³⁴ nor, on the other hand, is there any indication that he was to continue at Philippi—they are exhorted only to give him a welcome and pay him all due respect. "Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness, and hold such in honour."³³⁵

The Epistle which Paul wrote on the occasion was to this effect. After a salutation from himself and Timothy, and some congratulatory matter, he (i. 12) informs his converts of the great success of the Gospel at Rome, consequent upon his bonds. He then (i. 19) refers to his approaching trial, and tells them that as soon as the result was known he would instantly dispatch Timothy to Philippi, both to communicate the joyful intelligence, and (as Paul did not propose to visit them immediately) to bring back word also what was the state of their church; and he entreats them in the meantime to walk worthily of the Gospel, and more particularly to avoid disputations amongst themselves. He then (iii. 1) warns them against the insidious attempts of the Judaizers, and (iv. 10) makes a graceful acknowledgment of their bounty, and concludes (iv. 21) with certain salutations and his benediction. Such is the general purport of the letter, but the parts are so blended together in the Apostle's peculiar style, that they are not easily to be disentangled. The Epistle

³³² Philipp. ii. 26.

³³³ Philipp. ii. 25, 26.

³³⁴ Had Epaphroditus intended to return to Rome, Paul would scarcely have announced by

the same letter his intention of sending Timothy to Philippi to bring back word of their welfare. Philipp. ii. 19.

³³⁵ Philipp. ii. 29.

is woven from beginning to end without seam, and must be read as a whole. It was as follows:—³³⁶

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. “PAUL³³⁷ AND TIMOTHY, SERVANTS OF JESUS CHRIST, TO ALL THE SAINTS IN CHRIST JESUS WHICH ARE AT PHILIPPI, WITH THE BISHOPS³³⁸ AND 2 DEACONS,³³⁹ GRACE BE UNTO YOU, AND PEACE, FROM GOD OUR FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

3, 4 “I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, always in every 5 prayer of mine for you all³⁴⁰ making *prayer* with joy, for your fellowship³⁴¹ 6 in the Gospel from the first day³⁴² until now: being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the 7 day of Jesus Christ; even as it is *just* for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart, both in my bonds and in the defence and confirmation

³³⁶ This epistle was written during Paul's captivity, *ἐν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου*, Philipp. i. 7; and at Rome, *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς . . . οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οὐκίας*, iv. 22. And Paul had been long enough a prisoner to have produced great effects both in the Prætorium and elsewhere, i. 13. And the long captivity of the Apostle before the date of the letter appears also from this.—The Philippians had heard of his imprisonment at Rome, and had sent him pecuniary relief by the hands of Epaphroditus, i. 7; iv. 18; and Epaphroditus had fallen ill at Rome, ii. 27, and the Philippians had heard of it, and the report to that effect had gone back from Philippi to Rome, ii. 26. In short the epistle was written when Paul was in such confident expectation of his release, that he was making arrangements for his departure, and he tells us that his intentions were immediately on being released to send off Timothy to Philippi to learn their state, and bring back word to Paul in the West, and then both were to sail together to the East, and after some little interval Paul hoped to visit Philippi in person, ii. 19–23. (See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 330, No. 1939.)

³³⁷ Paul for some reason omits to style himself an Apostle, as he does also in the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. The title of Apostle was omitted in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as these were written before the compact at Jerusalem, when Paul and Barnabas were publicly recognised as the Apostles to the Gentiles (see Vol. I. p. 305); and the title of Apostle may have been omitted in the Epistle to the Philippians,

as he writes to them not authoritatively to correct abuses, but *inter familiares*. The omission, therefore, is complimentary to that amiable church.

³³⁸ By bishops are meant the presbyters, for *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* are convertible terms. Thus Paul at Miletus calls thither the ‘presbyters’ of Ephesus, Acts xx. 17, and then addresses them as ‘bishops,’ Acts xx. 28. So Paul directs Titus to ordain ‘presbyters’ in every city, Tit. i. 5, and then points out the qualifications for a ‘bishop,’ ib. i. 7. See the subject more at large in J. B. Lightfoot's *Philippians*, p. 93.

³³⁹ Deacons, therefore, were a recognised order of the clergy, not in Jerusalem only, but in all the churches.

³⁴⁰ It has been well remarked by J. B. Lightfoot, on this passage, that throughout the Epistle there is a studied repetition of the word ‘all,’ i. 2, 7, 8, 25; ii. 17; iv. 21, as if the Apostle were referring to the unhappy divisions at Philippi, iv. 2, and as if he would say, ‘I make no difference between man and man, or between party and party, but my heart is open to all.’

³⁴¹ The Greek word is *κοινωνία*, and the Apostle had in his mind the contribution of the Philippians to his necessities.

³⁴² For it will be recollected that the Apostle when he preached at Philippi for the first time was constrained to become the guest of Lydia, and had afterwards once and again received assistance from them at Thessalonica, and again at Corinth.

8 of the Gospel,³⁴³ *inasmuch as ye all are joint contributors to my bounty.*³⁴⁴ For
 God is my record, how greatly I long after you all in the bowels³⁴⁵ of Christ
 9 Jesus. And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more
 10 in knowledge and in all judgment, so that ye may approve things that
 are excellent, that ye may be sincere and without offence *against* the day of
 11 Christ,³⁴⁶ being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus
 Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.
 12 “But I would ye should *know*, brethren, that the things which happened
 13 unto me have *come to pass* rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel, so that
 my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the *Prætorium*,³⁴⁷ and to all *others*;³⁴⁸

³⁴³ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ βεβαίῳσει τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου. Some think that in this passage and that below, i. 16, the Apostle is referring to his defence before the Roman tribunal, and that he had already pleaded in public (see i. 13) before his judges, and was now awaiting the verdict, and that so soon as it was given (which he was persuaded would be favourable, i. 25), he would himself make a journey to Philippi, ii. 24. But this view seems to press the expression too far, and it is more likely that Paul is referring to his defence of the cause of the Gospel generally by the whole of his ministry. The fact that he was now expecting a speedy release may be very well accounted for by assuming that, after a long delay, his cause was now ripe for hearing, and that either his accusers would not appear, or would fail to substantiate their charge. See Acts xxiv. 13. Paul was a Roman citizen, and at Rome, if anywhere, his rights as such would be respected—nay, the accusation, if a frivolous one, might involve the prosecutors in loss of life, or at least of goods. The laws of Rome may have been those of Venice.

It is enacted by the laws of Venice,
 If it be proved against an alien
 That by direct or indirect attempts
 He seeks the life of any citizen,
 The party 'gainst the which he doth contrive
 Shall seize the one half his goods; the other half
 Comes to the privy coffer of the state;
 And the offender's life lies in the mercy
 Of the Duke only 'gainst all other voice.
 ‘Merchant of Venice,’ act iv. scene 1.

³⁴⁴ συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας. In Eng. ver.: “Ye are all partakers of my grace.” The Apostle here alludes to the great liberality towards him of the Philippian

church, to which he recurs again more particularly in the fourth chapter.

³⁴⁵ “The σπλάγχνα,” observes J. B. Lightfoot (in loc.), “are properly the nobler viscera—the heart, lungs, liver, &c.—as distinguished from the ἔντερα, the lower viscera, the intestines—

σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχνα.
 Æschyl. Agam. 1221.

The σπλάγχνα alone seem to have been regarded by the Greeks as the seat of the affections, as anger, love, pity, or jealousy.”

³⁴⁶ εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ. In Eng. ver. “until” the day of Christ.

³⁴⁷ ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ. In Eng. ver. “In all the Palace.”

The word Prætorium has been variously interpreted.

1. It has been rendered, as in the Authorized Version, ‘the Palace,’ i.e. the Palace of the Cæsars on Mount Palatine, in the heart of the city. It countenances this view that the Apostle sends a salutation from the household of Cæsar *especially*—μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, iv. 22. Why from them especially unless it were that the Apostle was living amongst them, and had greater intercourse with them than with any others? The objection urged against this is, that the Palace of the Cæsars is never designated by the name of Prætorium in classical writers. But the question is, not what a classical writer, but what a captive Jew, writing from Rome, would mean by the term Prætorium; for Paul would naturally carry with him the phraseology of his native country. Mark tells us that the Palace at Jerusalem was called the Prætorium—ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶ Πραιτώριον, xv. 16. The Palace of

³⁴⁸ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν. In Eng. ver. “in all other places,” as if it were governed by the ἐν

before τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ, whereas it is rather governed by the word φανερούς.

14 and *very* many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds,
 15 are much more bold to speak the word without fear. Some, indeed, preach
 16 Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will; the one preach
 17 Christ of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel, but

Herod at Cæsarea, in which Paul was confined for two years, was also known as the Prætorium—ἐν τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ τοῦ Ἡρώδου, Acts xxiii. 35. When, therefore, Paul was transferred from the Palace at Cæsarea to the Palace of the Cæsars at Rome, he might well apply to it the like name of Prætorium. "In the provinces," writes Merivale, "the *Emperor* was known, not as Princeps, but as *Imperator*. In Judea (governed more immediately by him through the Imperial Procurators) he would be more exclusively regarded as a military chief. The soldier to whom the Apostle was attached with a chain would speak of him as his General. When Paul asked the centurion in charge of him, 'Where shall I be confined at Rome?' the answer would be, 'In the Prætorium,' or the quarters of the General. When led, as perhaps he was, before the Emperor's tribunal, if he asked the attending guard, 'Where am I?' again they would reply, 'In the Prætorium.' The Emperor was protected in his Palace by a body-guard lodged in the courts and standing sentry at the gates, and accordingly they received the name of Prætorians." Rom. Hist. vi. p. 268 (1858).

2. Another hypothesis is, that the Apostle thus designates, not the Palace generally, but the barrack of the Prætorian cohort on duty in the Palace. The Prætorians were a numerous body, consisting of nine cohorts of 1000 men each (Tac. Ann. iv. 5), but afterwards increased to ten cohorts (Dion, lv. 24); and one of them was always in attendance at the Palace, the cohorts relieving each other at stated intervals. Tac. Hist. i. 29. The barrack of the cohort in attendance was quartered within the walls of the Palace, and is said to have been called in Greek Στρατήγιον, the Latin for which would be Prætorium. καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεία Παλάτιον . . . ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾧκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ Στρατήγιον εἶχε. Dion, liii. 16. See Wieseler, Chron. p. 403, note 3. J. B. Lightfoot, however, suggests with reason that the sense is hardly local, and that the passage means only where "the Emperor was surrounded by his body-guard, and kept state as a military commander." J. B. Lightfoot on Philippians, p. 99. Besides the assumption

of the barrack being meant cannot well be reconciled with the accompanying words, "the *whole* of the Prætorium"—ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ. The Apostle would scarcely have expressed himself in such large terms in speaking of so limited a force as the barrack of a single cohort.

3. Another opinion is that by the Prætorium is meant the general camp of the Prætorian guard. Originally the Prætorians were dispersed about the city and its suburbs in different quarters, but in the reign of Tiberius they were all drawn together into one permanent camp just without the walls of the city, on the right, as you went out, of the Via Nomentana. But no reason can be assigned why Paul should have designated this camp by a name by which it was never known amongst either Greeks or Romans or Jews. It was always called the Castra Prætoriana (Plin. N. H. iii. 9), or Castra Prætoriana, or Castra Prætorianorum, or Castra Prætorii, but never Prætorium simply.

4. It is contended by others that the Prætorium of the Apostle is not to be taken in a local sense at all, but as designating the whole body of the Prætorian troops, commonly called by their corporate name, the Prætorium. Thus, exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e Prætorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso; ex urbanis cohortibus Æmilius Pacensis; e vigiliis Julius Fronto. Tac. Hist. i. 20. Nuper cujusdam militantis in Prætorio mater vidit in quiete . . . in Iacetaniâ res gerebatur Hispaniæ proximâ parte. Plin. N. H. xxv. 6. Antium coloniam (Nero) deduxit, ascriptis veteranis e Prætorio. Suet. Nero. 9, &c. There is nothing to contradict this view, and indeed it would give full meaning to the Apostle's words, viz. that by the constant change of his keeper from the Prætorian guard, he had been enabled to spread the leaven of Christianity through the mass of the Prætorian soldiery.

The first and fourth interpretations recommend themselves as the most plausible, and of these two the first appears the preferable one, as the most simple. See generally on this subject J. B. Lightfoot on the Philippians.

the other of contention,³⁴⁹ not sincerely, *thinking* to add affliction to my 18 bonds.³⁵⁰ What then? Notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.

19 “For I know that ‘this shall turn *out* to my salvation’ (*Job* xiii. 16)³⁵¹
20 through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, according to my earnest expectation and hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my 21 body, whether by life, or by death; for to me to live is Christ, and to die is 22 gain; but if I live in the flesh, *that to me* is the fruit of labour;³⁵² and what 23 I shall choose I wot not; for I am in a strait betwixt *the* two, having a desire 24 to depart, and to be with Christ, which is *much more the* better; but to abide in 25 the flesh is more needful for you; and this I know *and am persuaded of*,³⁵³ that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of 26 faith, that your *boasting*³⁵⁴ may be more abundant in Jesus Christ *in* me by 27 my coming to you again. Only *demean yourselves*³⁵⁵ *worthily of* the Gospel of Christ; that whether I come and see you, or else *being* absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together 28 for the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing terrified by your adversaries,³⁵⁶ which is to them an evidence of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that 29 *from* God. For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to 30 believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear [to be] in me.³⁵⁷

CH. II. “If there be, therefore, any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, 2 if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies,³⁵⁸ fulfil ye my joy— 3 that ye *think* the same *thing*, being of one *soul*, of one mind. [*Do*] nothing through strife or vain-glory; but in lowliness of mind esteem *each* other better 4 than *yourselves*: look not every man to his own things, but every man also to 5 the things of others. For let this mind be in you, which [was] also in

³⁴⁹ Paul at Rome, as at Corinth, and in Galatia and elsewhere, had always to encounter opposing factions, either clinging to Jewish prejudices or actuated by worldly motives.

³⁵⁰ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all agree that the 16th and 17th verses should stand in this order. In Eng. ver. the order is reversed.

³⁵¹ τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν. The words are quoted verbatim from the LXX.

³⁵² “If I live my life will be one continuous labour, productive of much fruit, keeping me back from my reward, but useful to you.”

³⁵³ πεποιθὼς οἶδα. In Eng. ver. “having this

confidence I know.”

³⁵⁴ καύχημα. In Eng. ver. “rejoicing.”

³⁵⁵ The Greek word is πολιτεύεσθε—‘be citizens.’ See note, iii. 20.

³⁵⁶ The Philippian believers were evidently enduring persecution. See iii. 1, post.

³⁵⁷ The Philippians at Paul’s visit to their city had seen him scourged and cast into prison, Acts xvi. 23, and now they heard of his being in prison at Rome.

³⁵⁸ So Virgil:

Di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
Usquam justitiæ est, et mens sibi conscia recti,
Præmia digna ferant, &c.

Æn. i. 603.

6 Christ Jesus; who, being in the form³⁵⁹ of God, thought it not a prize³⁶⁰ to
 7 be equal with God; but made himself *nothing*,³⁶¹ and took upon him the form
 8 of a servant, *being* made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion³⁶²
 as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death
 9 of the cross; wherefore God also highly exalted him, and gave him a name
 10 which is above every name, that³⁶³ in the name of Jesus 'every knee should
 bow,' of *those* in heaven,³⁶⁴ and *those* on earth,³⁶⁵ and *those* under the earth;³⁶⁶
 11 and that 'every tongue should confess' (*Is.* xlv. 24)³⁶⁷ that Jesus Christ is
 12 Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have
 always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence,
 13 work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which
 14 worketh in you both to will and to *work* of his good pleasured. Do all things
 15 without murmurings and disputings, that ye may be blameless and harmless,
 'the children of God, *unblameable* in the midst of a crooked and perverse
generation' (*Deut.* xxxii. 5)³⁶⁸ among whom ye shine as *luminaries*³⁶⁹ in the
 16 world, holding forth the word of life, *for a boast to me against* the day of
 17 Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain. *But and* if I
 be offered³⁷⁰ upon the sacrifice and service of your faith,³⁷¹ *I rejoice and con-*
 18 *gratulate*³⁷² you all; and for the same cause also do ye *rejoice and congratulate*
 me.

³⁵⁹ ἐν μορφῇ here, and ἐν σχήματι, v. 8. See a disquisition on the relative meanings of these two words in Lightfoot on Philipp. p. 125.

³⁶⁰ ἀρπαγμόν. In Eng. ver. "robbery." The Greek word ἀρπαγμόν answers literally to the English word "prize," as derived from the French "*prise*," a thing to be snatched or caught at, a prize or catch. So οἶον ἀρπαγμά τι τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιησάμενοι. Euseb. de Vit. Constant. ii. 31. τὸν θάνατον ἀρπαγμα θέμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας. Euseb. Hist. Ec. viii. 12. And Josephus repeatedly uses the word περιμάχητον, "a thing to be fought for," in the same sense. See a disquisition upon the word ἀρπαγμόν, by J. B. Lightfoot on Philipp. p. 131.

³⁶¹ ἐκένωσεν. In Eng. ver. "of no reputation." The literal interpretation is "made himself empty."

³⁶² ἐν σχήματι. See note ³⁵⁹.

³⁶³ ἐν. "In," not "at," as in the Eng. ver. The ceremony of bowing at the mention of the name of Jesus is a proper act of reverence in itself, but derives no support (as thought by some) from this text, which means only that all created beings have been made subject to Jesus.

³⁶⁴ ἐπουρανίων, not things, but beings, viz.

angels.

³⁶⁵ Viz. mankind.

³⁶⁶ Viz. the dead.

³⁶⁷ ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ὁμολογεῖται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τὸν θεόν. *Is.* xlv. 23.

³⁶⁸ Τέκνα θεοῦ ἀνόμητα ἐν μέσῳ γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης. In the LXX. the words are, ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητὰ, γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη.

³⁶⁹ φωστῆρες, not φῶτα. In Eng. ver. 'lights.'

³⁷⁰ Literally, 'if I be poured out as a libation.'

³⁷¹ In i. 21 he had adverted to the contingency of his either sealing his life with his blood, or of his acquittal. In ver. 22 he had spoken on the supposition that he might be set at liberty at Rome; he now proceeds to contemplate the possibility of his martyrdom.

³⁷² χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω. In Eng. ver. "I joy and rejoice with you all." The sense of συγχαίρω — 'to congratulate' — is not uncommon. τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν Βουλαίαν συγχαίρειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξέπεμψεν. Æschin. edit. H. Stephani, p. 34, &c. The English version carries with it the air of tautology, for if Paul rejoiced with them, it would follow, of course, that they rejoiced with him.

19 “But I *hope* in the Lord Jesus to send *Timothy* shortly unto you, that I
 20 also may be of good *cheer*, when I know your state; for I have no *one* like-
 21 minded, who will *sincerely*³⁷³ care for your state; for all seek their own, not the
 22 things which are of Christ Jesus; but ye know the proof of him, that, as a
 23 *child* with the father, he hath served with me in the Gospel.³⁷⁴ Him, there-
 24 fore, I hope to send *forthwith*, so soon as I shall see how it *goes* with me;
 25 but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.³⁷⁵ *But I have*
deemed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and *fellow-*
worker, and fellow-soldier, and your messenger³⁷⁶ and *minister* to my wants;³⁷⁷
 26 for he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because ye had heard
 27 that he *was* sick; for, indeed, he was sick nigh unto death, but God had mercy
 on him, and not on him only, but on me also, *that I might not* have sorrow
 28 upon sorrow. I *have* sent him, therefore, the more carefully, that *seeing him*
 29 again, ye *might* rejoice, and that I *might* be the less sorrowful. Receive him,
 30 therefore, in the Lord with all gladness, and hold such in *honour*,³⁷⁸ because
 for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, *having hazarded*³⁷⁹ his life,
that he might supply your lack of service toward me.³⁸⁰

CH. III. “*For the rest*, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.³⁸¹ To write the same
 2 things to you, to me, indeed, is not *irksome*, and for you it is safe.³⁸² Beware
 3 of dogs! beware of evil workers! beware of the concision!³⁸³ for we are the
 circumcision, *who* worship God in the spirit, and *boast ourselves*³⁸⁴ in Christ
 4 Jesus, and *trust not*³⁸⁵ in the flesh; though I might also have *trust* in the
 5 flesh. If any other man thinketh *to* trust in the flesh, I more—circumcised

³⁷³ γνησίως. In Eng. ver. “naturally.”

³⁷⁴ Timothy had at this time faithfully served the Apostle for fourteen years, viz. from A.D. 49 to A.D. 63, and during that period had often laboured amongst the Philippians.

³⁷⁵ Celeriter, ut spero, vos videbo. Cic. Ep. Fam. ii. 15.

³⁷⁶ ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον. But some would render this “your Apostle,” in the sense that Paul had appointed Epaphroditus the bishop of Philippi, but this interpretation does not harmonize with the context, which relates to the relief sent to Paul by the Philippian church.

³⁷⁷ He had brought a collection from the Philippian church for the relief of the Apostle’s necessities at Rome.

³⁷⁸ ἐντίμους. In Eng. ver. “in reputation.”

³⁷⁹ The true reading according to Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, and Alford is παραβουλευσάμενος, and not as Textus receptus παραβουλευσάμενος, and in Eng. ver. “not regarding.”

³⁸⁰ The Philippians could not be personally present at Rome to relieve and comfort him, and

this lack of service (not for want of will, but want of means) Epaphroditus supplied by taking their contribution to Rome, and by personal attendance upon the Apostle.

³⁸¹ This rejoicing is the keynote of the whole Epistle: see ii. 17, 29; iv. 4; and also i. 4, 18, 25; iv. 10.

³⁸² The Philippian church was at this time suffering much persecution; see ante, i. 28; and as the Apostle had before exhorted them not to be “terrified by their adversaries,” so now again he tells them to rejoice at it.

³⁸³ The Apostle bids his converts beware of the Judaizers. The Jews called the Gentiles *dogs* (Matt. xv. 26), and the Apostle now retorts the language upon the Judaizing heretics. “We Christians,” says Paul, “are the true sons of Abraham, and the circumcision; and the unbelieving Jews are the dogs, and are the concision or mock circumcision.”

³⁸⁴ καυχώμενοι. In Eng. ver. “rejoice.”

³⁸⁵ πεποιθότες. In Eng. ver. “have no confidence.”

the eighth day³⁸⁶—of the stock of Israel³⁸⁷—of the tribe of Benjamin³⁸⁸—
 6 a Hebrew of the Hebrews³⁸⁹—as touching the Law, a Pharisee³⁹⁰—concerning
 zeal, persecuting the church³⁹¹—touching the righteousness which is in the
 7 Law, *found* blameless.³⁹² But what things were gain to me, *these I count* loss
 8 for Christ. Yea, *verily*, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of
 the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of
 9 all things,³⁹³ and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be
 found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the Law, but
 that which is through the Faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God
 10 by Faith, that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the
 11 fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death, if by any
 12 means I *may* attain unto the resurrection *from*³⁹⁴ the dead; not as though I
 had already attained, *or* were already perfect; but I *press on*, if that I may
 13 apprehend that for which also I *was* apprehended³⁹⁵ of Christ Jesus. Brethren,
 I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do—forgetting
 those things which are behind, and reaching forth³⁹⁶ unto those things which
 14 are before, I *press on* toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of
 15 God in Christ Jesus.³⁹⁷ Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus
 minded, and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal this
 16 *also* unto you. *But* whereto we have already attained, walk³⁹⁸ *in* the

³⁸⁶ Not a proselyte, and circumcised late in life, but a Jew born.

³⁸⁷ An Israelite descended from Abraham, and not grafted in by the proselytism of myself or my ancestors.

³⁸⁸ Saul, the first king, had belonged to this tribe, which more particularly from that time held the most honourable position.

³⁸⁹ A Hebrew born, both on the father and mother's side.

³⁹⁰ The Pharisees, as opposed to the Sadducees, were the rigid observers of the Law of Moses, and had the character of peculiar sanctity.

³⁹¹ The Apostle, of course, alludes to his persecution of the church in the time of Stephen the Protomartyr.

³⁹² No man had a more keenly sensitive conscience or was more in earnest in matters of religion than Paul. We did not, therefore, want his testimony that before embracing Christianity he scrupulously observed the Law.

³⁹³ *τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην*. Literally, 'I have been mulcted of all.' So that the inference arises that Paul, on embracing Christianity, had suffered the total loss of worldly fortune, which might have been the case either by some public law which made apostasy a forfeiture of all posses-

sions, or privately by the indignation of his parents, who on his becoming a Christian may have cut him off from his natural patrimony. We know that Paul had received the education and acquired the accomplishments of a gentleman, and yet that as a Christian he supported himself by his manual labour, or was maintained by the liberality of the churches which he planted.

³⁹⁴ Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford read *τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, instead of *τῶν νεκρῶν* simply.

³⁹⁵ *κατελήφθην*—'I was laid hold of'—an expression which vividly represents his arrest by Christ, on Paul's mad career from Jerusalem to Damascus.

³⁹⁶ *ἐπεκτεινόμενος*. The word expresses the leaning forward of the body in a rapid race, whether a foot race or a chariot race.

³⁹⁷ Paul writing within the rules of the Palace where he was a prisoner, might well borrow a metaphor from the games, for next the Palace was the Circus Maximus, and the shouts of the spectators must often have rung in the Apostle's ears.

³⁹⁸ The meaning appears to be, 'If at present ye are not so perfect as to *run* (*διώκειν*) on the

17 same.³⁹⁹ Brethren, be followers together of me, and *observe*⁴⁰⁰ *those who* walk so
 18 as ye have us for an ensample (for many walk, of whom I have told you often,
 and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of
 19 Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory
 20 is in their shame, who mind earthly things); for our *citizenship*⁴⁰¹ is in heaven,
 21 from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall
 change our vile body, that it may be *conformed* unto his glorious body,
 according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto
 CH. IV. himself. *Wherefore*, my brethren dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and
 crown, so stand fast⁴⁰² in the Lord, my dearly beloved!

2 "I beseech *Euodia*,⁴⁰³ and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same
 3 mind in the Lord, and I intreat thee also, true yoke-fellow,⁴⁰⁴ help *them*, seeing
 that they have laboured with me in the Gospel,⁴⁰⁵ with Clement⁴⁰⁶ also, and
 4 with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life. Rejoice
 5 in the Lord alway; again I *will* say, rejoice. Let your moderation be known⁴⁰⁷

right road, God in his mercy will at least bring you up to this; and in the mean time, if ye cannot run, at least *walk* (στοιχεῖν) in the right path.'

³⁹⁹ τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν. This is admitted by the latest critics to be the true reading, and not, as in Text. recept., τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, and in Eng. ver. "Let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." The word καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν has crept in from Galat. vi. 16, and τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν from Philipp. ii. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ σκοπεῖτε, look up to them with a view to imitation.

⁴⁰¹ πολίτευμα. In Eng. ver. "conversation." The word "citizenship" was peculiarly appropriate to the Philippians, who, as Roman colonists, prided themselves on their being citizens of Rome, and were continually boasting of it.

⁴⁰² The Philippians were suffering persecution, and the Apostle again exhorts them to steadfastness in the faith.

⁴⁰³ Εὐωδίαν. In Eng. ver. "Euodias," as if the person were a man, but from the words αὐταῖς and αἰτίες, it is evident that both Euodia and Syntyche were women. Both Euodia and Syntyche are found on inscriptions as names of women, but never Euodias or Syntyches as names of men. See J. B. Lightfoot, in loco.

⁴⁰⁴ Σύζυγε γνήσιε. It has been suggested that Σύζυγος may be the proper name of the person addressed, but Syzigus does not appear in history as a name. It simply means yokefellow, but who is intended by that term is doubtful.

Some say that Epaphroditus, the bearer of the Epistle, or Clement, who may have accompanied him, is referred to. Others that Paul was married, and that the injunction is to his wife. A more probable conjecture is that the appeal is to Lydia, and that the Apostle calls her his true yokefellow, as the first convert at Philippi, and the lady at whose house he had resided, and who had since been his great benefactress by forwarding subscriptions for his support both in Greece and at Rome.

⁴⁰⁵ συλλαμβάνον αὐταῖς, αἰτίες, &c. In Eng. ver. "help these women which laboured with me," &c., but the Apostle is evidently referring to Euodia and Syntyche, who had furthered the cause of the Gospel, but were now disagreeing. The women of Philippi appear to have been active in the propagation of the faith, as besides Euodia and Syntyche, we have mention made of Lydia also at the first introduction of Christianity. Acts xvi. 14.

⁴⁰⁶ This may possibly be Clement, afterwards Bishop of Rome, but all is conjecture. If it be Clement of Rome, he may have accompanied Epaphroditus, the bearer of the letter, and in fact he may have been sent with Epaphroditus for the purpose of being a peace-maker, as from his gentleness and conciliatory nature he was afterwards appealed to by the Corinthians to heal their divisions, when he wrote them the well-known Epistle.

⁴⁰⁷ Whatever be the opposition of your adversary, be gentle and patient, for the conflict must

6 unto all men: the Lord is at hand; be *over* careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made
 7 known unto God; and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding.
 8 shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus. *For the rest*, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise,
 9 think on these things.⁴⁰⁸ *What* ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, *that* do, and the God of peace shall be with you.
 10 “But I *rejoice* in the Lord greatly, that now at the last *ye have* flourished again *in thinking of me*,⁴⁰⁹ wherein ye were also *thoughtful*, but ye lacked
 11 opportunity—not that I speak in respect of want, for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content; I know how to be abased, I know how to abound; *in every [thing]* and in all things I am instructed both to be full and
 12 to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need; I can do all things through Christ *who* strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding ye *did* well, *in* that ye communicated with my *distress*.⁴¹⁰ Now ye know also, Philippians, that in the beginning of the Gospel, when I departed from Macedonia,⁴¹¹ no church communicated with me *in the matter of*⁴¹² giving and receiving, but ye only—that
 16, 17 in Thessalonica⁴¹³ *also*,⁴¹⁴ ye sent once and *twice* unto my necessity—not *that*
 18 I desire a gift, but I desire fruit that may abound to your account. But I have all, and abound; I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, ‘an odour of a sweet smell’ (*Gen.* viii. 21),⁴¹⁵ a
 19 sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God: *and* my God shall supply all your

soon be over, for life is short, and the day of judgment when we shall stand before the Lord Jesus is at hand.

⁴⁰⁸ Keep in mind all the Christian virtues above enumerated.

⁴⁰⁹ Viz. that you have again sent me a contribution for my support. The Philippians had sent relief to him more than once at Thessalonica, and again when he was at Corinth. See note ⁴¹⁴.

⁴¹⁰ συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει. In Eng. ver. “in that he did communicate with my affliction.” As the word κοινωνία is used throughout the Epistle in the sense of contribution, θλίψις means his distressed state under imprisonment, during which he could not work as usual.

⁴¹¹ When Paul, on his first circuit in Europe, quitted Macedonia, he passed on to Athens, and thence to Corinth; and while at Corinth, Silvanus and Timothy joined him from Macedonia

(Acts xviii. 5), and brought with them a contribution from Macedonia (2 Cor. xi. 9), which was, no doubt, from Philippi.

⁴¹² ἐν τῷ πράγματι. In Eng. ver. “concerning.”

⁴¹³ From Philippi Paul proceeded to Thessalonica, and the cruel usage he had experienced at Philippi (Acts xvi. 22) seems to have so strongly excited the Philippians’ sympathy that they immediately raised a contribution for his relief.

⁴¹⁴ ὅτι καὶ. The word καὶ is full of meaning, for the Apostle writes, “Not only did ye send me large relief to Corinth, but *also* twice ye sent me temporary relief when I was at Thessalonica.” The Eng. ver., missing the force of the words, renders it “for even in Thessalonica ye sent once again,” as if these were the only two contributions, whereas they were probably small only as compared with the bounty sent afterwards to Corinth.

⁴¹⁵ ὁσμήν εὐωδίας. The words of the LXX.

20 need, according to his riches in glory *in* Christ Jesus. Now unto God and our Father be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

21 "Salute every saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren which are with me *salute*
22 you. All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's household."⁴¹⁶

23 THE GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL."⁴¹⁷

Epaphroditus now set out upon his journey, and as Tychicus had been sent to Colossæ, and Mark, it is likely, had by this time passed into Asia Minor, the only fellow-labourers remaining with the Apostle were the faithful Timothy, and Luke and Aristarchus and Demas.

We now approach the close of Paul's imprisonment. He had been a captive at Rome two whole years, when, about March A.D. 63, the crisis of his fate arrived. We have no particulars, and cannot even say with certainty whether his accusers appeared, or whether, if they did, the appeal was heard by the Emperor or by his Consular Legate.

We have seen that in the Epistle to the Philippians, when the trial was near at hand, Paul, at the same time that he expressed a confident hope that he should be released, yet regarded the sacrifice of his life as by no means improbable, and the circumstances of the case may have furnished just grounds for his apprehension. Poppæa, the Empress, was a Jewish Proselyte, and if she took part with Paul's adversaries, there would be great reason to fear that the judicial sentence might be warped by her secret influence. This would be more particularly the case should the Emperor choose to adjudicate upon the question personally, for though he sat with assessors, corresponding to our jury, he paid no regard to their opinion when they retired to consider the verdict, but delivered the sentence himself, according to the caprice of the moment.⁴¹⁸

It is much more likely, however, that the trial was conducted before one of the Consular Legates, for Nero was a voluptuary, and averse to serious business, and had also been lately suffering from ill-health, the result, no doubt, of his continued debaucheries.⁴¹⁹

If Nero heard the cause, his tribunal would be in the Temple of Apollo attached to the palace on the Palatine Hill. The Temple of Apollo⁴²⁰ was a building united

⁴¹⁶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. So Philo: τὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. Philo in Flaccum, c. 5. Paul had been sent a prisoner to the Prætorium, or Palace, and was chained by the wrist to one after another of the Imperial Guard; and this gave him the opportunity of frequent intercourse with those about the Palace (see ante, p. 281); not only so, but Poppæa in A.D. 62 became the wife of Nero, and now resided in the Palace, and as she was a Jewish proselyte, the Jews had thus peculiar facilities for com-

municating with Cæsar's household. As to Poppæa, see Fasti Sacri, p. 324, No. 1913.

⁴¹⁷ The body of the Epistle was written by an amanuensis, but the benediction at the end, to authenticate the letter, was penned by the Apostle's own hand. See Vol. I. p. 284. Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all omit the word 'Amen,' which appears in the Eng. ver. ⁴¹⁸ Suet. Nero, 15.

⁴¹⁹ Tac. Ann. xiv. 22, 47.

⁴²⁰ Dion, liii. 1; lviii. 9; Suet. August. 29.

to the Greek and Latin library, and the whole surrounded by a splendid portico.⁴²¹ It was in this Temple that Nero usually gave audience, or presided at a trial. If the Consular Legate exercised his jurisdiction, he would hold his court in one of the ordinary Basilicas about the forum (fig. 295). From the groundlessness of the

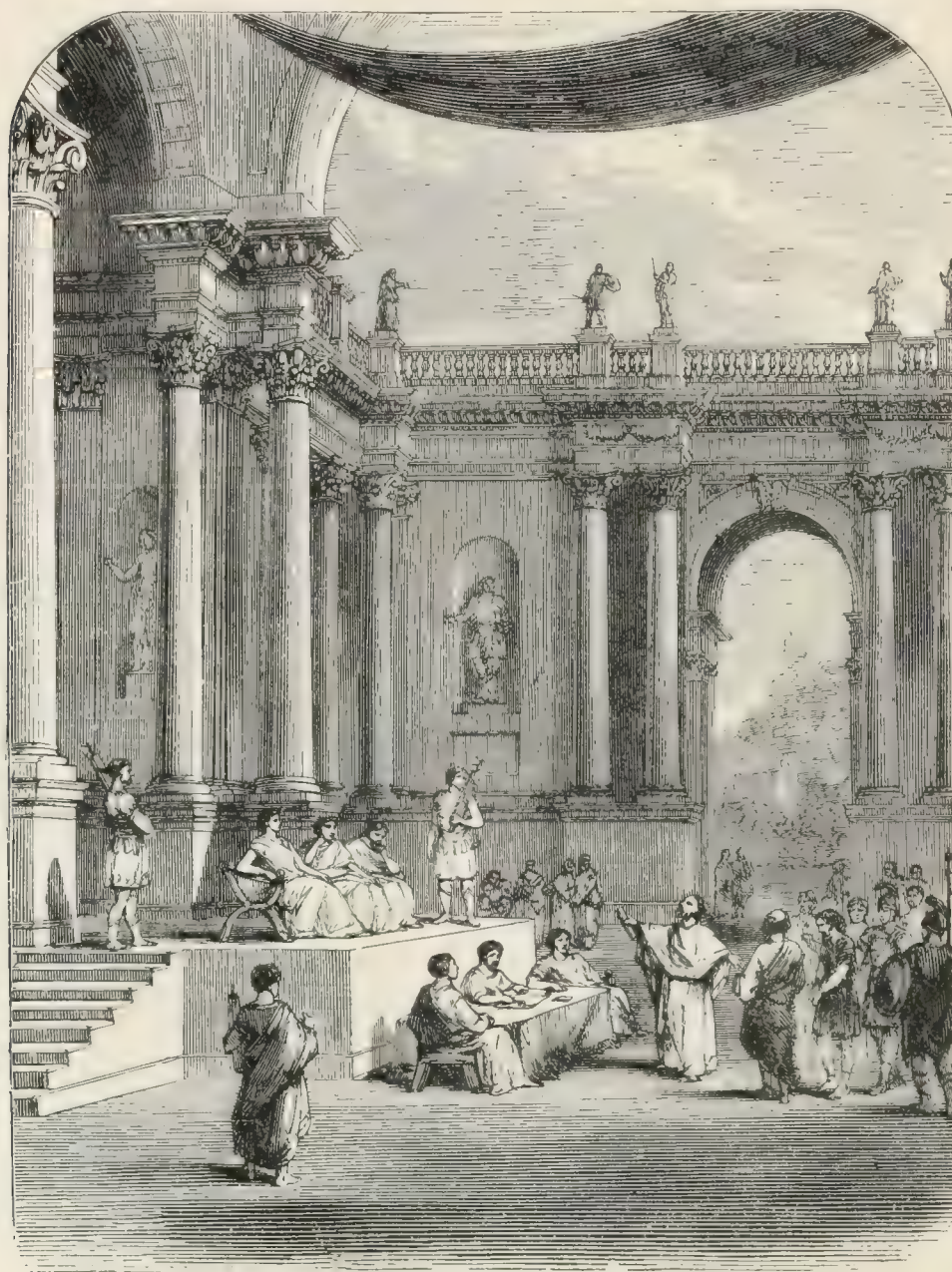


Fig. 295.—Roman basilica or hall of justice. From Cassell's Bible Dictionary.

charges made against Paul, it is likely that his prosecutors did not appear. Agrippa had already pronounced, after the hearing before Festus, that if Paul had not appealed to Cæsar he might have been set at liberty;⁴²² and although legal forms required that he should be transmitted to Rome, to abide the Emperor's pleasure, the accom-

⁴²¹ Suet. Aug. 29.

⁴²² Acts xxvi. 32.

panying dispatch of Festus must have intimated that the charge was in fact a groundless one.

The result of the appeal is left in no doubt. After a five years' unjust detention, partly in Judea and partly at Rome, the Apostle was released.⁴²³

⁴²³ See the date of the release fully discussed, *Fasti Sacri*, p. lxxix.

It is the opinion of some that Paul was never released from imprisonment, but how can such an hypothesis be reconciled with the Epistle to Titus and the two Epistles to Timothy?

The Apostle writes to Titus, "For this cause left I thee in *Crete*," Tit. i. 5. But not only is there no mention in the Acts of the Apostles of any ministry in Crete, but there is no period of the Apostle's life before his imprisonment at Rome during which he could have preached there. He touched, indeed, at Crete on his way to Rome (Acts xxvii. 7); but he appears not to have landed; and if he did, how could he, a prisoner, and chained by the wrist to a soldier, have evangelized the island and planted churches? The time, also, was too short for any such exercise of his vocation. Again, he tells Titus to come to him at Nicopolis, in Epirus, where he proposed to winter. Tit. iii. 12. But how could he have passed any winter at Nicopolis previously to his imprisonment? He first visited Greece in A.D. 52, and the winter of that year and of the next he was at Corinth, where he sojourned (*ἐκάθισε*) for a year and six months and upwards. Acts xviii. 11. From Corinth he sailed to Jerusalem, and was present at the Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 53. Thence he went down to Antioch, where he remained some time (Acts xviii. 23), and thence, in A.D. 54, proceeded through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus, where he stayed for the next three years—i.e. till A.D. 57. Acts xx. 31. Thence he passed through Macedonia to Corinth, where he wintered for three months (Acts xx. 2), and in the spring of A.D. 58 sailed from Corinth to Philippi, and reached it at the passover (Acts xx. 6), and on reaching Jerusalem was arrested and imprisoned for two years at Cæsarea—i.e. till A.D. 60—and was then forwarded as a prisoner to Rome.

If we look to the first Epistle to Timothy, we read at the opening, "As I besought thee to abide at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," &c. 1 Tim. i. 3. But on what occasion could Paul, before his imprisonment, have left Timothy at Ephesus when Paul himself was on his way to Macedonia? He was at Ephesus twice only, viz. first on his way from Greece to Jerusalem, and

therefore not on his road to Macedonia (Acts xviii. 19), and again he sojourned for three years at Ephesus, and then did indeed sail for Macedonia. Acts xx. 1. But he did not leave Timothy *behind*, for, on the contrary, he had sent him away a little before to Macedonia. Acts xix. 22. Nor could Timothy have returned before Paul's departure, and then have been ordered to stay; for when Paul reached Macedonia and wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians, Timothy was with him, and is joined in the salutations. 2 Cor. i. 1. But when the first Epistle to Timothy was written, Timothy was not only at Ephesus, but desired to remain there until Paul returned to him. 1 Tim. iii. 14.

The evidence supplied by the second Epistle to Timothy is still more conclusive of the Apostle's liberation from the first imprisonment and his experience of a second imprisonment. The second Epistle to Timothy was clearly written during *some* imprisonment (2 Tim. i. 8, 16; iv. 6, 16), and this was at *Rome* (i. 17); but how could this be during his first imprisonment? For he writes to Timothy, "Trophimus I left at Miletus sick." 2 Tim. iv. 20. But on his voyage to Rome under the charge of Julius the centurion he did not touch at Miletus. In order to escape this difficulty recourse is had to the most extravagant theories. Some for *ἐν Μιλήτῳ* would read *ἐν Μελίτῃ* (at Malta), but not a single MS. can be found to give the least countenance to such a deviation from the ordinary text. Others suggest that the Miletus alluded to is not the famous city of that name, but one of which the reader probably never heard, situate in Crete. But this would not answer the purpose, for St. Paul on his way to Rome sailed along the south coast of Crete; but this Miletus lay on the north of the island.

Again, Paul tells Timothy that "Erastus abode (remained behind, *ἔμεινεν*) at Corinth." 2 Tim. iv. 20. But Paul, in sailing from Cæsarea to Rome on his first imprisonment, did not pass through Corinth. This passage to Rome, therefore, when he dropped Erastus at his native town, must have been on some subsequent occasion when Paul took the usual winter route from the east to Rome across the Isthmus of Corinth.

Again Paul writes, "The cloak that I left at

Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments." 2 Tim. iv. 13. If this Epistle was penned during Paul's first imprisonment, the date of it must be placed some time between the spring of A.D. 61, when the imprisonment at Rome began, and the spring of A.D. 63, when it ended; and the cloak, &c., must have been left at Troas some little time before the spring of A.D. 61. But Paul had not been at Troas previously to A.D. 61 since A.D. 58, when he touched there on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem. On arriving in Judea he was taken prisoner and kept in bonds at Cæsarea for two years, and then sailed for Rome, which he reached in A.D. 61. If, therefore, the letter was sent towards the close of his imprisonment in A.D. 63, an interval of five years, and if sent at the commencement of his imprisonment, an interval of three years had elapsed since he had left his cloak and books and parchments at Troas. But how improbable is it that Paul should have waited for five, or even three years, for an article

of dress such as a cloak, and for books and parchments which he must have required for constant use, more particularly the parchments, to which the Apostle attached so much importance!

Thus the two Epistles to Timothy and that to Titus cannot be explained except on the assumption that Paul was set free from his first imprisonment, and was a second time incarcerated at Rome. Nor is there any even plausible argument against such second incarceration. On the contrary, it is just what we might expect as a consequence of the Neronian persecution. However, the advocates of the contrary hypothesis, rather than admit that Paul was ever liberated from imprisonment, advance the wild and untenable theory that both the Epistles to Timothy and that to Titus are spurious! However, it is not intended here to urge the genuineness of these Epistles, as no solid or substantial ground has ever been advanced for questioning it; and if every paradox were to be seriously discussed, it would require a life to execute the task.

CHAPTER VII.

*Paul quits Rome for Puteoli, and visits Spain, and writes the Epistle to the Hebrews—
He sails for Judea and goes to Jerusalem, and thence to Antioch.*

A captive to the fowler's artful snare,
Barred from his wonted flights in mountain air,
The eagle folds his wing—Lo! once again
Dawns the bright day of freedom from the chain—
Upward he springs to heaven with new delight,
And soars and soars, till lost to mortal sight.

Anon.

FIVE years before this, Paul, in writing to the Romans, had expressed an intention of passing through Rome to Spain. He was now at liberty, and the question is, Did he carry out his original plan of visiting Spain, or was he obliged by circumstances to abandon that favourite project? On the one hand, the mischiefs which had sprung up during his absence in the Eastern churches called loudly for his personal presence; but on the other hand, a voyage to Spain had been the yearning of his heart for many years, and as he might safely confide the care of the Eastern churches to one or more of his faithful followers and fellow-labourers, what was to prevent the execution of his long-cherished purpose? Paul was a man of great fixedness of resolution. He tells us that "his word was not yea and nay,"¹ that is, he was a man of his word. We know, further, that he had exhausted the parts of Macedonia and Achaia, and as he would not build on another's foundation, Spain was naturally the next province in succession to be evangelized by him.²

The Epistle to the Philippians was written shortly *before* his release, and the Epistle to the Hebrews was written not long *after* his release, and there are intimations in these two Epistles which lead us to infer that Paul did break ground in some new quarter, and that in a westerly direction, and therefore almost necessarily in Spain. He had been two years a prisoner at Rome, in his own hired lodging, with full liberty to see all that sought him, and we cannot, therefore, suppose that when at last he recovered his freedom he would have any occasion to sojourn longer in *Italy*. Whither, then, did he direct his course? Had he proposed to revisit his Eastern churches, he could at once have started off in that direction, and either have taken the Via Egnatia, across Macedonia to Philippi, or have embarked on board some

¹ 2 Cor. i. 18.

² Rom. xv. 23, and compare Hebrews xiii. 23.

vessel bound for the East. Instead of that, he writes to the Philippians that, as soon as ever he knew his fate he would *send Timothy to them* to learn their welfare, and bring a report to himself.³ Paul, therefore, had in contemplation some plan which would separate him from his beloved churches for a considerable interval, so considerable indeed that he could not allow it to elapse without ascertaining by a special messenger what was their spiritual state. Now the distance from Rome to Brundisium, the Italian port, was about 360 miles, and the distance from Dyrrhachium, the Macedonian port, to Philippi, was about 370 miles, making together 730 miles, which, at the ordinary rate of twenty-five miles a day, would be a twenty-nine days' journey, besides another day for crossing from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium.⁴ The absence of Timothy, therefore, if he visited Philippi only, would be upwards of two months, and if he extended his journey to other churches of Greece, as to Corinth, would be about six months. Either, therefore, Paul, on his liberation, was to remain, without any reason, from two to six months in Italy, or he was meditating some intermediate circuit. But further, as Timothy was dispatched eastward to Philippi, it is manifest that Paul, during Timothy's absence (an interval from two to six months), was not intending to bend his own course in that direction; and as Timothy steered eastward, we should naturally conclude that Paul himself was bound for some country westward, and if so, why not to Spain, which he had so long desired to evangelize?

There is also a passage in the Hebrews which refers to this mission of Timothy and may be thought to imply that Timothy was to rejoin the Apostle, not in Italy itself, but in some country to which the Apostle had proceeded, and whither he had been accompanied by certain brethren from Italy. "Know," he writes, "that our brother Timothy has been sent on a mission, with whom, if he come quickly, I will see you. They *from Italy* greet you."⁵ The expression in Greek⁶ is ambiguous, and may mean either "those *of* Italy," *i.e.* Italians, or "those *from* Italy;" and as the Apostle could scarcely say that the Italians generally sent a greeting, the inference is that the salutation was sent by those who had accompanied him *from* Italy. Had the writer been at Rome he would have written, "the saints of *Rome* greet you," and if at Puteoli, he would have written the saints of *Puteoli*, as they only would be present to authorize the message. The Apostle, therefore, when he penned these words, was not in Italy himself, and Timothy was not to rejoin him in Italy, and if not, where else but in Spain, to which the Apostle had projected a visit?

The testimony of the ancients upon the subject under discussion is very meagre, but from the scattered hints that remain to us we may collect that the tradition amongst the earliest fathers was in favour of a journey to Spain;⁷ and as the fact of

³ Philipp. ii. 23.

⁴ See note ante, Vol. I. p. 135.

⁵ Heb. xiii. 24.

⁶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Ib.

⁷ The most ancient writer who may be thought

to allude to Paul's visit to Spain is Clemens Romanus, the contemporary of Paul himself, and supposed to be the person referred to in the Epistle to the Philippians. In his first Epistle to the Corinthians he writes: Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ὁ

a circuit in the peninsula is credible in itself, and indeed highly probable from Paul's known previous intention, and as it harmonizes with all the antecedents and sequel of his eventful life, we may fairly conclude that Paul, at the close of his imprisonment, departed westward for the Province of Spain.

Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖων ὑπέσχετο, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἔλθων καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μεγίστος ὑπογραμμός. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσῶς πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ ζῆλον παθόντες, ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. Clem. Rom. Epist. I, c. 5. Here the expression τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως has been interpreted to mean Spain, as "the boundary of the west." Thus τὰ Γάδαιρα κείται κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα. Philost. Vit. Apoll. v. 4. See J. B. Lightfoot in Clement's Ep. p. 50. At the same time this interpretation is open to question. The writer is evidently using very rhetorical language by saying that Paul had "taught the whole world," which, of course, was not literally true. It will also be observed that the word ἔλθων, though it may signify having *gone*, as in the passage cited infra from Euseb. Demonst. Evang. iii. 3, yet more properly is rendered "having *come* to the boundary of the west," and the writer, we must remember, was at Rome. The "coming to the boundary of the west" is coupled also with the Apostle's martyrdom, καὶ μαρτυρήσας, κ.τ.λ., and he certainly suffered at Rome. Clement had just spoken of Paul having preached in the east and in the west, and τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως may also refer, not to the boundary of the world, but to the limit toward the west of Paul's preaching.

The next authority in point of antiquity is an inscription found in Spain, and if genuine must have been written about A.D. 65 or 66, as it is connected with the clearance of the province from the Christians under the general Neronian persecution. It runs thus: NERONICL. KAIS. AVG. PONT. MAX. OB PROVINC. LATRONIBVS ET HIS QVI NOVAM GEN. HVM. SVPERSTITION. INCVLCAE. PVRGATAM. Gruter, p. 238, No. 9. Here it is implied that Christians were obnoxious for their numbers in Spain in A.D. 65 or 66, and as Paul in A.D. 58 had expressed his intention of planting Christianity there, it is not an unreasonable supposition that he had carried

this design into effect in A.D. 63, two or three years before the date of the monument. If Paul did not preach in Spain, who did?

Another and more important testimony is found in a fragment of the Canon Muratorianus, so called as first edited by Muratori. It is generally admitted to be referable to the second century (say A.D. 170), for it speaks of the publication of Hermas Pastor as still quite recent: Pastorem vero *nuperrime* temporibus nostris in urbe Româ Herma (for Hermas) conscripsit. Reliq. Sacræ, p. 5. The inscription regarding Paul, as corrected by Wieseler (Chronol. Apost. p. 536), runs thus: Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scribta (scripta) sunt. Lucas obtime (optime) Theophilo comprindit (comprehendit) quia (quæ) sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis (omittit). But the learned Professor has, I think, failed to catch the author's meaning, and has inserted the word 'omittit' very unnecessarily. The latter part, as given in Reliq. Sacræ, stands thus: sicuti et semote (for semota) passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed (sed et reposuit, Friendall) profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis. Reliq. Sacræ, iv. 4, where the whole canon will be found. The meaning is that Luke comprised in the Acts those events only which were within his own immediate knowledge (quæ sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur), and by passing over the martyrdom of Peter and the visit of Paul to Spain, Luke plainly implies—argues the canon—that they did not come under his personal notice. The passage, therefore, should be thus rendered: "Luke to the most excellent Theophilus comprises all those things which were enacted under his presence; so that he manifestly declares the martyrdom of Peter and departure of Paul when setting out from the city for Spain, to be matters removed from him," i.e. not enacted under his presence. Whatever be the true interpretation, the fact is transparent that Paul, as was then believed, had on his release sailed from Rome to Spain.

Eusebius, who flourished A.D. 296–340, seems to have overlooked this canon, and to have

In tracing the steps of the Apostle we cannot fail to observe that (with the exception of a very short time at Athens), he never travelled or exercised his ministry singly. From his impaired eyesight he laboured under infirmities himself, and would require the personal attendance of some one, partly as a menial to render him occa-

known nothing of any visit of Paul to Spain; for he tells us, on the authority of Origen (A.D. 220), that Paul preached as far as *Illyricum*, and then suffered martyrdom at Rome in the time of Nero. Euseb. ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος (Παύλου) τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος. E. H. iii. 1.

Epiphanius (who flourished in first part of the fourth century) states that Peter and Paul were the first bishops there, but not permanently resident, as they had to make circuits in distant parts: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παῦλος καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν ἀφικνέεται. Πέτρος δὲ πολλάκις Πόντον τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο. Epiphani. Hæres. xxvii. 6. lib. i. tom. 2, p. 107.

Cyril of Jerusalem who flourished A.D. 335–386, writes: τὸν ποτὲ διώκτην κήρυκα καὶ δοῦλον ἀγαθὸν ἀπειργάσατο Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότα τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, κατηχήσαντα δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλίδαν Ῥώμην, καὶ μέχρι Σπανίας τὴν προθυμίαν τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐκτείναντα. Catechesis, xvii. c. 26.

Chrysostom, on the contrary (who died A.D. 407), assumes that Paul, after his liberation at Rome, did reach Spain; but he adds that it was not known whether he returned thence into the eastern parts. μετὰ μὲν τὸ γενέσθαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν ἀπῆλθεν. Εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μέρη οὐκ ἴσμεν. Comment. on 2 Tim. s. 4; Homil. 10, s. 3. But that Paul, if he went to Spain, did return to the East is evidenced by the Second Epistle to Timothy, as I have shown elsewhere (see p. 291, ante)

Jerome (born A.D. 331, died A.D. 420) agrees that Paul visited Spain, and went thither directly after his release: Sciendum autem . . . Paulum a Nerone dimissum, ut Evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicet. Hieron. de Eccles. Script. c. 5. Paulus apostolus . . . vocatus a Domino effusus est super faciem universæ terræ, ut prædicaret Evangelium de Hierosolymis usque ad Illyricum . . . sed usque ad Hispanias tenderet. Hieron. on Amos, v. 8, 9.

Theodoret also who flourished A.D. 443–450, asserts the same thing more than once: τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκεν.

Theodoret in Psalm. cxvi. ἡνίκα τῇ ἀφέσει χρησάμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Φήστου παρεπέμφθη, ἀπολογισάμενος ὡς ἀθῶος ἀφείθη, καὶ τὰς Σπανίας κατέλαβε, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἔθνη δραμὼν, τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας λαμπάδα προσήνεγκε. Idem, Comm. in 2 Tim. iv. 14, and again Comm. on Philipp. i. 9.

It would be useless to cite any more recent authorities, as they only echo the language of their predecessors.

The discussion of Paul's visit to Spain leads naturally to the question whether Paul ever landed in *Britain*. We regard this as quite impossible. There was no period in which he could have made so distant a voyage. It is hard to find time for a visit of six months to Spain, and *à fortiori* he could not have passed into a country so remote as Britain.

Theodoret (see supra) indeed writes in a rhetorical way that οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἀλιεῖς καὶ οἱ τελῶναι καὶ ὁ σκυτοτόμος (Paul) . . . Βρετανούς, καὶ Κίμβρους καὶ Γερμανούς . . . δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν. Theod. Disputatio, ix. De Legibus ad init. But he evidently is describing the labours not exclusively of the twelve Apostles and Paul, but of the earliest missionaries generally.

In another passage Theodoret is thought to be more precise, for he writes that Paul visited the islands in the sea: εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκεν (Theodor. in Psalm. cxvi.); and this has been commonly interpreted to mean that he passed into Britain; but the words ἐν τῷ πελάγει refer only to the islands in the Mediterranean sea—as Cyprus, Crete, Malta, and perhaps Corsica and Sardinia—and not to the islands in the ocean. Theodoret certainly did not suppose Paul to have preached in Britain, for he tells us that on his liberation from his first imprisonment he sailed to Spain, and returned from Spain to Rome, and then and there suffered martyrdom: δύο ἔτη τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διήνεγκε καθ' ἑαυτὸν, οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ μισθώματι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀπελθὼν καὶ τὸ θεῖον κἀκείνοις προσενέγκων εὐαγγέλιον, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τότε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη. Theod. Comm. on Philipp. i. 25.

The first express mention of Paul's supposed visit to Britain is ascribed to Venantius Fortu-

sional assistance, and partly as an amanuensis to write at his dictation. Others would be employed in baptizing—often a laborious office, from the multitude of converts, for Paul was sent “not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.”⁸ Others would be engaged like Paul himself in discharging the duties of missionaries by public teaching, either in the synagogues of the Jews or in the lecture-rooms of the Gentiles. Others would be ready as envoys to carry the Apostle’s letters and instructions to distant churches, and to act as the representatives of the Apostle in solving their difficulties, reconciling their differences, and superintending generally the religious deportment of the half-formed communities. These fellow-travellers about the Apostle were often numerous. Thus, when he set out from Corinth for Jerusalem, he took with him Luke, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, and perhaps others.⁹ And during his imprisonment at Rome we find waiting upon him Timothy,¹⁰ Tychicus, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Epaphroditus, Jesus called Justus,¹¹ and Onesimus.¹² Of these, Tychicus and Onesimus had been since sent to Colossæ and Epaphroditus to Philippi, and Mark had proceeded eastward;¹³ and on the discharge of Paul from imprisonment Timothy also had been sent to Philippi. But so far as we know, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, and Justus still remained with the Apostle, and some of the others may have returned or their places have been filled up. We may also assume that, during the two years that Paul a prisoner was allowed to preach with full liberty at Rome, many of his hearers and some, perhaps, of the numerous converts saluted by him in the Epistle to the Romans, would attach themselves permanently to the Apostle, and become his fellow-labourers in the vineyard. When, therefore, the Apostle quitted Rome to carry forward the banner of Christ into Spain, we may rest assured that he was accompanied by a band

natus, but who lived 600 years after the Apostolic age. Not only so, but when the whole passage is considered, it seems at least doubtful whether the poet means that Paul himself, or that only his writings had penetrated as far as Britain, for the lines are as follows:—

“Quid sacer ille simul Paulus, tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,
Europam atque Asiam, Libyam, sale, d gmate complens,
Et qua sol radiis tendit, stylus ille cucurrit.
Arctos, Meridies, hinc plenus Vesper et Ortus.
Transit et oceanum vel quâ facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras atque ultima Thule.”

Vit. S. Mart. iii. line 488, &c.

There can be no doubt, however, that Christianity was planted in Britain in the very earliest period. Thus Tertullian (born A.D. 160, died A.D. 240) speaks of Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Tertull. adv. Judæos, c. 7. And Eusebius goes so far as to say that some of the Apostles passed into Britain; for, arguing that the Evangelists must have been

divinely supported, from the great success of their labours, though they were illiterate men, he records that they penetrated into Persia and Armenia and Parthia and Scythia, and others even to Britain. τινὰς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἰνδῶν φθάσαι χώραν καὶ ἐτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους. Euseb. Demonst. Evang. iii. 5. But his argument does not require, and his meaning must not be taken to be, that any of the twelve Apostles or Paul passed over into Britain, but only some of the earliest missionaries, who were in no higher station of life than the twelve Apostles.

⁸ 1 Cor. i. 17.

⁹ Acts xx. 4.

¹⁰ Coloss. i. 1; Philipp. i. 1.

¹¹ Philem. 23; Coloss. iv. 10.

¹² Philem. 11.

¹³ Coloss. iv. 10.

of faithful followers, partly his old companions, and partly new coadjutors adopted at Rome. All those who passed with him into Spain and "went to the work," may have been intended by him under the brief description contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews written from Spain. "They *from* Italy greet you."¹⁴

If we have little light as to Paul's visit to Spain at all, we are absolutely in the dark as to the details of his ministry there. At what port, for instance, did he land? What cities did he evangelize? What was the length of his sojourn? The last question is the most capable of an answer, for as he was released about March A.D. 63, and Timothy was then immediately dispatched to Philippi with an injunction to rejoin the Apostle in the west,¹⁵ and as the mission of Timothy from Rome to Philippi would occupy some months at the least, and as Paul at the date of the Epistle to the Hebrews was expecting the return of Timothy shortly,¹⁶ the ministry in Spain must have continued over midsummer. But as Timothy would naturally stay some time with the Philippians, and might also have been commissioned to visit other churches, we should allow for his absence a period of about six months, which would extend the duration of Paul's ministry in Spain until September, and this would give a meaning to the language in the Hebrews, that if Timothy came *quickly* Paul would sail with him for Judea,¹⁷ for as winter was approaching, Paul, if he waited long, would lose his passage to Judea for that year.

What, again, were the fruits of the Apostle's ministry in Spain? We cannot doubt that the champion who had planted churches in all the principal cities of the East would meet with his usual success in the Peninsula, but the only proof of it is an inscription, if it be genuine, found in Lusitania of Spain, which thanks the Emperor Nero for the execution of his bloody edicts against the unoffending Christians of that province.¹⁸ The date of the inscription is referable to A.D. 65 or 66, and therefore only two or three years from the time of the Apostle's visit. Any severities however which may have been exercised against the Christians had no more effect in Spain than elsewhere, for Irenæus, who wrote in the latter part of the second century, speaks of the Christian community in Spain as then flourishing.¹⁹

It was while Paul was prosecuting his labours in Spain that he was overtaken by a disastrous piece of intelligence from Judea, which obliged him to cut short his circuit in the west and return to Judea. We refer to the martyrdom of James the Just, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the general persecution of the Hebrew church. To understand the posture of affairs in Judea at this juncture, we must recur for a moment to what had been passing there during Paul's long imprisonment at Rome.

When Paul had sailed from Cæsarea in A.D. 60, Festus was Procurator, and had not long arrived in his province, and did not long continue in office, but while his

¹⁴ Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Heb. xiii. 24.

¹⁵ Compare Philipp. ii. 23; Heb. xiii. 23.

¹⁶ Heb. xiii. 23.

¹⁷ Heb. xiii. 23.

¹⁸ See the inscription in note ante, p. 205.

¹⁹ ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις. Irenæus adv. Hæres. i. 3.

rule lasted he seems to have administered the affairs of the province with singular felicity. He displayed considerable energy in clearing the country of banditti, and dispersed a fanatical rabble, who had followed an impostor into the desert. In A.D. 61,²⁰ Agrippa added a story to his palace at Jerusalem, on the N.E. verge of the High Town (now called Sion), so as to command a sight of what was passing in the Temple on Mount Moriah, to the east. The priesthood were indignant that the mysteries of religion should be overlooked, and raised the western wall of the *inner* Temple, so as to shut out the view from the palace of Agrippa, but which also had the effect of shutting out the view from the western *outer* cloister, where the Romans were wont to mount guard to check any sudden outbreak in the crowded area of the Temple. This gave offence to Festus, the Procurator, and the Jews were ordered to demolish the wall. They affected to be horror-struck at the impiety of taking down any part of the sacred edifice, and entreated Festus to allow them to send an embassy to the Emperor. With some difficulty this favour was conceded, and Ishmael, the high priest, with some of the most influential of his countrymen, set sail for Rome. They arrived in the course of the year A.D. 61, and having gained the ear of Poppæa, then the mistress of Nero, and a Jewish proselyte, they succeeded in their mission. Ishmael, however, had so insinuated himself into the good graces of Poppæa, that when the object of the embassy had been attained, Poppæa expressed a wish, amounting to a command, that Ishmael should remain in attendance at the Imperial court. On the news of this detention reaching Judea, and therefore about the close of the year A.D. 61,²¹ Agrippa was under the necessity of appointing a high priest in the place of Ishmael, and he nominated Joseph, the son of Simon.²² At the beginning of A.D. 62, Festus was suddenly snatched away by death, and on the transmission of the intelligence to Rome, Albinus was appointed his successor.²³ About midsummer of the same year, A.D. 62, Agrippa displaced Joseph from the high priesthood, and conferred it upon Ananus, the son of Annas.²⁴

We have already described Ananus as a disinterested patriot, eloquent in speech and fearless in action, but unhappily, like the rest of the Sadducees, warped by an implacable hatred against the Nazarenes. Annas had been mainly instrumental in the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the son now followed in his father's steps, by endeavouring to extirpate the obnoxious Heresy. The present juncture was peculiarly favourable for his purpose, as Albinus not having arrived, the Procuratorship was still vacant, and Agrippa, who though not a Christian, had been almost persuaded to adopt the faith, and might be regarded as friendly to the sect, was at a distance from Jerusalem, either residing in Cæsarea Philippi, the capital of Trachonitis, or engaged with the Romans in the war against the Parthians.²⁵

²⁰ See Fasti Sacri, p. 324, No. 1912.

²¹ See Fasti Sacri, p. 324, No. 1914.

²² Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11.

²³ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1; Bell. ii. 14, 1.

²⁴ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.

²⁵ See Fasti Sacri, p. 327, No. 1931.

The persecution began by the infliction of minor punishments, as confiscation of goods, imprisonment, scourging in the synagogues, and excommunication; and it was at this period that James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, addressed his Epistle to his suffering brethren—at least we trace in it frequent allusions to more than ordinary trials. His first exhortation is this: “My brethren, count it all joy, when ye *fall into divers temptations*; knowing this, that the *trying of your faith* worketh patience; but let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.”²⁶ And again, “Do not rich men *oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seats*? Do not they *blaspheme that worthy name* by the which ye are called?”²⁷ And again, “*Be patient* therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. *Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts*; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh. Grudge not one against another, brethren, lest ye be condemned; *behold, the judge standeth before the door*. Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for *an example of suffering affliction and of patience*. *Behold, we count them happy which endure*. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy.”²⁸

These initiatory inflictions of Ananus passed over with impunity, and his severity now rose with his success, and was directed against higher victims. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and some of the most eminent of the Hebrew church were brought before the Sanhedrim, to be tried for their lives on the charge of Heresy or Blasphemy by the Jewish law. The Sadducee influence prevailed, and they were condemned, and immediately stoned to death. This bloody deed, so barbarous in itself, was wholly illegal, and an open defiance of the Roman authority; for the constitution imposed upon them by their conquerors did not permit the Jews to inflict capital punishment without the sanction of the Roman governor.

So cold-blooded a murder (for it was no less) of innocent and inoffensive men shocked the minds of all the sober part of the community, whatever might be their sentiments as to the merits of the Christian sect. A courier was immediately dispatched to Albinus, who had already reached Egypt on his way to Judea, and another to Agrippa, the King of Trachonitis, by whom Ananus had been appointed High Priest, and both Albinus and Agrippa exerted themselves with great spirit to prevent further bloodshed.

We have an account of these inhuman proceedings from the pen of the Jewish historian, Josephus, and the narrative is so credible in itself, that we cannot doubt its authenticity. “This younger Ananus, who, as we have said just now, was made High Priest, was of a bold temper and exceedingly daring, and moreover he was of the sect of the Sadducees, who, as we also have observed before, are, above all other

²⁶ James i. 2-4.²⁷ James ii. 6, 7.²⁸ James v. 7-11.

Jews, severe in their judicial sentences. This then being the character of Ananus, he, thinking he had a fit opportunity because Festus was dead, and Albinus was yet upon the road, calls a sanhedrim of judges, and bringing before them James, the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, accused them as transgressors of the laws, and had them stoned to death. But such as were reckoned the most moderate men of the city, and were skilful in the laws, were offended at this proceeding; and sent privately to the King (Agrippa) entreating him to send orders to Ananus no more to attempt such things, for neither was his first act justifiable; and some went away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, and put him in mind that Ananus had no right to call a council without his leave. And Albinus, approving of what they said, wrote to Ananus in much anger, threatening to punish him for what he had done. And King Agrippa took away from him the High Priesthood, after he had enjoyed it three months, and put in Jesus, the son of Damnaeus."²⁹

We have also a relation of the martyrdom of James, from Hegesippus, a Christian writer, who lived about A.D. 173; but the details which he has given are so mixed with fable, and so manifestly absurd, that we forbear to insert them. They prove only that legendary fiction, even in that early age, had already begun to germinate.³⁰

It may be readily imagined what was the consternation in the Hebrew church while all this was proceeding. A fearful chasm had been made in their ranks. They had lost their Bishop, and some of the most revered of their spiritual guides. Peter, the great Apostle of the Circumcision, was engaged in Babylon,³¹ or elsewhere in the East, and the remaining Apostles were dispersed over distant regions. The surviving presbyters were faithful to their post, and kept an anxious watch over the flock while the wolves were abroad; but notwithstanding all their zeal, there was just ground for apprehension that the designs of the Sadducees would eventually succeed, and that many of the Christian brethren, with the fear of death before their eyes, might be constrained to renounce (as some, perhaps, had already renounced) their Christian calling.

Intelligence of the martyrdom of James the Just, and the persecution of the Hebrew church, reached Paul while he was prosecuting his ministry in the West, and a wish may have been conveyed to him by the heads of the Hebrew church that he would come to their succour, or if he could not visit them himself, he would address to them an epistle of encouragement. He would gladly have sailed at once to Judea to console his beloved fellow-countrymen under so severe a trial, but he could not disentangle himself at a moment's warning from his engagements in Spain, and he was daily expecting the arrival of Timothy from Philippi, with whose services in the ministry, whether in Spain or Judea, he could not easily dispense. Under these cir-

²⁹ Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.

³⁰ Euseb. Hist. ii. 23; and *Fasti Sacri*, p. 327, No. 1931.

³¹ 1 Peter v.

cumstances, he prepared for a voyage to Jerusalem as soon as Timothy should join him, and if he delayed his coming, he resolved on embarking by himself. Meanwhile he wrote them a letter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the most interesting of all his productions, and we had almost said, the most able; but such is the depth of Paul's mind, that the Epistle last read almost invariably appears the sublimest composition.

His great aim was of course, by every argument that sound reasoning or persuasive eloquence could suggest, to prevent the Apostasy of the Hebrew church. This will be found the key-note of the whole Epistle—the vital principle that animates it from beginning to end. With this view, as the *Law* and the *Gospel* were in open collision at Jerusalem, he contrasts the one with the other, and shows the infinite superiority of the new dispensation over the old; that, in fact, the Law and the Levitical Priesthood were but the type and figure of the Gospel and High Priesthood of Christ. The inference to be drawn was, that the brethren should not worship the shadow and renounce the substance.

In perusing the Epistle the reader will bear in mind not only that a bitter persecution was now raging, or rather was supposed to be still raging, at Jerusalem, but that the Mosaic Dispensation, as having been superseded by the Gospel, was drawing rapidly to an end; Albinus, the next year, was succeeded by Gessius Florus, and his infamous tyranny gave rise, in A.D. 66, to the Jewish war, and in A.D. 70, Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, the daily sacrifice ceased, and Jehovah had no longer a temple upon earth (fig. 296).



Fig. 296.—Coin struck on the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus. From J. Y. Akerman.
Obv. Portrait of Titus with the legend T. CAES. IMP. AUG. P. TR. P. COS. VI. CENSOR.
Rev. Female figure of Judea with the legend JUDAEA CAPTA. S. C.

We now lay before the reader a faint outline of the contents of the Epistle. The Apostle begins (i. 1) by impressing on the Hebrew converts the august majesty of their great *Apostle*, the author of the new dispensation, that as the Son of God and the heir of all things, he was far above all angels or created spirits, as he proves from the prophetic writings relative to the Messiah, and he then warns them of the danger of apostatising from their faith in that Divine Being: "If the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape *if we neglect so great salvation*, which at the first began to be *spoken by the Lord*, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God also

bearing them witness, both with *signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost*, according to his own will.”³²

He next (ii. 5) dwells on the character of Christ as our Great *High Priest*, that, having descended from his lofty sphere to assume the form of man, he had offered himself a sacrifice once for all for the sins of mankind, and that he is now our intercessor in heaven: “For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is *able to succour* them that are tempted.”³³

Having thus portrayed Christ as our Apostle and High Priest, he proves (iii. 1) how immeasurably superior as an *Apostle* or *Lawgiver*, he was to *Moses*, for the latter was faithful as a servant *in* the household of God, whereas Christ, as the Son, was *over his own* household, “Whose household,” he continues, “are we, *if, at least, we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.*” And then, referring to those “whose carcasses fell in the wilderness” for want of faith in *Moses*, he exhorts them to steadfastness in these words: “*Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it.* For unto us are the glad tidings brought, as also unto them; but the word which they heard did not profit them, *not being mixed with faith* in them that heard it;”³⁴ and he tells them in language almost awful, how searching an eye is over them: “Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief; for the word of God is *quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart*; neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and laid open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.”³⁵

He next (iv. 14) compares Christ in his character of *High Priest*, with *Aaron* and the Levitical Priesthood, and evinces from Scripture that Christ, as a Priest, after the order of *Melchisedec*, was in numerous attributes superior to the Priests after the order of *Aaron*, as in being a Priest for ever, &c.; and he introduces parenthetically (from v. 12, to the end of the chapter) some strictures on the backward state of the Hebrew church.

He then (viii. 1) advances a step farther, and shows that the Law and Levitical Priesthood, for which the Hebrews were pressed to renounce their allegiance to Christ, were merely the type of the Christian dispensation, and after citing the words of *Jeremiah*, “Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah;” he adds, “In that he saith, ‘a new covenant,’ he hath made the first old: now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away:” and he proceeds (ix. 1) to point out the several types in the Levitical Priesthood, as that the High Priest once a year offering sacrifice, and then, entering into the Holy of Holies there to intercede for the sins of the people,

³² Heb. ii. 2-4.³³ Heb. ii. 18.³⁴ Heb. iv. 1, 2³⁵ Heb. iv. 11-13.

signified by a figure that Christ should offer himself once for all a sacrifice for the sins of mankind, and then enter into heaven to be our intercessor with his Father.

Thus far the Epistle is doctrinal. In the *second part* (x. 19) he exhorts them to constancy in the faith, by every argument of hope or fear that earnest affection could dictate.

He first (ix. 19) presses upon them the necessary inference from all that had preceded.—Having such a High Priest, “Let us,” he says, “hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, for he is faithful that hath promised;”³⁶ and he again warns them of the fatal consequences of apostasy: “He that despised *Moses’ law* died without mercy under two or three witnesses. Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy *who hath trodden under foot the Son of God*, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the spirit of grace!”³⁷

He next (x. 32) reminds them of the first persecution, in the time of Stephen, and bids them display the same praiseworthy endurance which had then distinguished them. “Call to remembrance *the former days*, in which, *after ye were illuminated*, ye endured a great wrestling with affliction; partly, whilst ye were made a gazing-stock both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly, whilst ye became comforters of them that were so used. For ye had compassion of those in bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your possessions, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring possession.”³⁸

He next (xi. 1) sets before them the examples of the Patriarchs, who, from trust in God, were ready to sacrifice life itself—they had “trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented;”³⁹ nay, he bids them (xii. 2) follow the example of Christ himself. “Look,” he says, “unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him *endured the cross*, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.”⁴⁰ He then (xii. 5) exhorts them to patience, as the adopted sons of God: “For what son is there whom the Father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons. We had then our *fathers of the flesh* which corrected us—shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the *Father of spirits*, and live?”⁴¹

In the *third part* (xii. 14) he proceeds to enforce the duties of religion, and encourages them to the practice of holiness, by pointing out to them the recompense of their reward, even the glories of heaven their inheritance—that the law from Mount Sinai was attended with “blackness and darkness, and tempest, and the sound

³⁶ Heb. x. 23.³⁷ Heb. x. 28, 29.³⁸ Heb. x. 32–34.³⁹ Heb. xi. 36, 37.⁴⁰ Heb. xii. 2.⁴¹ Heb. xii. 7–9.

of a trumpet, which they that heard entreated that the word might not be spoken to them any more ;” but the Gospel led them to “ Mount Sion, and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and an innumerable company of angels, to the general gathering and assembly of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and Jesus the mediator of the new covenant.”⁴² He then (xiii. 1) adverts to the necessity of a charitable spirit, amid the trials and afflictions to which they were now subjected at the hands of their own countrymen : “ Let brotherly love continue.” He bids them also show *hospitality*, a virtue so constantly to be exercised at Jerusalem, to which, at the great festivals, such multitudes of houseless pilgrims were assembled. And he tells them to comfort such as were suffering imprisonment, or fine, or other distress in consequence of the persecution : “ Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them ; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.”⁴³ He then refers to the death of James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and his fellow-martyrs, who, like Stephen in the first persecution, and James the brother of John in the time of the elder Agrippa, had sealed their faith with their blood. “ Keep in mind,” he writes, “ your pastors, who spake to you the word of God, whose faith follow, looking to the end of their conversation.”⁴⁴

It would seem that the Jews had excommunicated the Christians, and would not allow them to join in the Temple sacrifices, and by refusing to hold communion with them would fain drive them from Jerusalem. Paul makes allusion to this, and comforts them by dwelling on the higher privileges of the Gospel, inasmuch as *their city was in heaven*, where was *Christ, their High Priest*, by whom they offered spiritual sacrifices. “ We,” he says, “ have an altar whereof they have no power to eat which serve the tabernacle. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us *go forth therefore unto him without the camp*, bearing his reproach. For *here have we no continuing city*, but we seek one to come. By him, therefore, let us offer the *sacrifice of praise to God continually*, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name.”⁴⁵

He (xiii. 17) inculcates the necessity of obedience to their spiritual rulers, a suitable admonition when the bishop and pastors to whom they had been accustomed had been recently torn from them, and others had been newly appointed. He asks for their prayers on his own behalf (xiii. 18), particularly that he might soon be restored to them ; and knowing that some of the Hebrew church were prejudiced against him as advocating the free admission of the Gentiles without the Law, he defends himself by saying, “ We trust *we have a good conscience*, in all things wishing to live honestly.”

He subjoins an apology for having addressed a church, over which he, as Apostle of the Gentiles, had no jurisdiction : “ And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word

⁴² Heb. xii. 22-24.⁴³ Heb. xiii. 3.⁴⁴ Heb. xiii. 7.⁴⁵ Heb. xiii. 10-15.

of exhortation, for I have written unto you in few words ;”⁴⁶ and then informing them that Timothy had been sent on an errand, viz. to Philippi, and that if he arrived soon, they would visit Jerusalem together, he concludes with a salutation, and the usual benediction, the authentication of every letter. The Epistle ran thus :⁴⁷—

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. “God, *having at divers times and in divers manners*⁴⁸ *spoken* in times past
2 unto the fathers by the prophets, hath *at the extreme of*⁴⁹ these days spoken unto

⁴⁶ Heb. xiii. 22.

⁴⁷ The date of the Epistle may be referred to the year A.D. 63, as follows :—Paul at the date of the Epistle was certainly at liberty, which would not be the case before the *spring* of A.D. 63, and at the date of the Epistle he was expecting Timothy back from the mission to Philippi, “Know that Timothy has been sent on a mission, with whom, if he come quickly, I will see you,” Heb. xiii. 23, whither he had been sent immediately on Paul’s release in the spring, Philipp. ii. 19, 23; and Paul was either still in Italy or in some part to which his Italian followers had accompanied him: “They *of* (or *from*) Italy salute you,” Heb. xiii. 19.

The date of A.D. 63 is also confirmed by the repeated allusions in the Epistle to the recent persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem. In A.D. 62, Ananus, the high priest, had put James the Just, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to death, and was taking violent proceedings against all of the same faith. (See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 327, No. 1931.) The tidings of this persecution had in A.D. 63 reached the western parts of the Empire, and in the 11th and following chapters of the epistle the Apostle refers again and again to these sufferings. The persecution in the writer’s mind was not that in the earliest days of the church, for he exhorts them to the like patience now as had been exhibited by the first martyrs: “Remember the *former* days in which, when ye were *enlightened* (φωτισθέντες) ye endured a great struggle of sufferings,” Heb. x. 32, and the deaths of James the brother of John, and James the Bishop, are referred to in the passage, “Remember your *rulers*, who spake to you the word of life (James, the brother of John, and James the Bishop), whose faith follow, *seeing once and again* (ἀναθεωροῦντες) the end of their course,” Heb. xiii. 7.

⁴⁸ Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως. These words

were a common Greek expression (see Wetstein), and shew in what language the Epistle was written. The word πολυτρόπως answers to the phrases used by Paul elsewhere: πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, Rom. iii. 2; παντὶ τρόπῳ, Philipp. i. 18; διὰ παντὸς ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ, 2 Thess. iii. 16.

Much argument has been employed to prove that this Epistle was not written by Paul. The ‘Hebrews,’ however, contains all the Apostle’s peculiarities.

1. Thus the Apostle usually commences an Epistle with doctrinal matter, and then proceeds to religious reflections, which he follows up with salutations, and concludes with a benediction, “The grace of our Lord be with you;” and all these characteristics will be found seriatim in the Hebrews. With regard to the benediction in particular, it is observable that the other thirteen Epistles of St. Paul end with it, but *none of the other Epistles* (viz., of James, or Peter, or John, or Jude) close in the same manner. Indeed, as St. Paul tells the Thessalonians, the salutation in his own handwriting was the test of the authenticity of every Epistle of himself. 2 Thess. iii. 17. When, therefore, we meet with this test in the Epistle to the Hebrews, how can we refuse to recognize Paul as the writer? This note of authorship must have been familiar to the church, and no other well-intentioned writer would have attempted to impose on the world by using St. Paul’s distinctive mark. Other minor features of resemblance from time to time discover themselves, such as Paul’s asking for their prayers for him, &c. Heb. xiii. 18.

2. There are, besides, the personal relations of the writer, which point clearly to Paul, such as the mention of Timothy as one employed upon missions to the churches (Heb. xiii. 23), the wish of the writer that he may be soon *restored* to the Hebrews (Heb. xiii. 19), which implies, as was

⁴⁹ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, read ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου instead of ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων

us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds, who being the brightness of his glory,⁵⁰ and the express image of his person,⁵¹ and upholding all things by the word of his power,

the case with Paul, that he had been violently separated from them.

3. Paul also was an Hellenist, and the version of the Scriptures used by the Hellenists was the Septuagint, and in the Hebrews, as in the other Epistles of Paul, the citations are invariably, or nearly so, from the Septuagint.

4. We may also remark that we find in the Epistle to the Hebrews the same proportion of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, or words used by Paul once only, or in only one Epistle. The *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in the different Epistles are stated by Forster to be as follows:—

Heb. 151	Col. 35
Rom. 111	1 Thess. 15
1 Cor. 100	2 Thess. 8
2 Cor. 86	1 Tim. 74
Gal. 31	2 Tim. 47
Eph. 38	Tit. 3
Phil. 41	Phil. 6
Total ..	746

In this table the Romans, though longer, contains fewer *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* than the Hebrews; but, on the other hand, 1 Tim., though little more than one-third of the Hebrews, contains 74, and if of equal length, would furnish nearly 220.

5. By Pauline words are meant words used only, or in a peculiar manner, by Paul; and these also occur in about the same proportion in the Hebrews as in the other Epistles. Thus the 10th chapter of Hebrews and the 8th chapter of Romans contain each 39 verses, and in each are exactly 13 Pauline words:

Hebrews.	Romans.
Ἀνάμνησις.	Ἀπεκδέχομαι.
Ἐπισυναγωγή.	Ἀποκαταδοκία.
Ἐφάπαξ.	Ἀπολύτρωσις.
Θεατρίζομαι.	Δουλεία.
Λειτουργέω.	Ἐνίστημι.
Οἰκτιρμός.	Ἐνοικέω.
Ὁμολογία.	Θνητός.
Ὀνειδισμός.	Οἰκέω.

⁵⁰ Ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης. Thus Philo — Τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμυγείον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπάνγασμα. De Mundi Opif. c. 51. And again — Τῆς μακαρίας καὶ τρις-μακαρίας φύσεως ἀπαύγασμα. De Concupis. c. 11. There was a famous Alexandrian school at Tarsus where the works of Philo

Hebrews.
Πληροφορία.
Προσφορά.
Τιμωρία.
Ὑπενάντιος.
Ὑποστέλλω.

Romans.
Προορίζω.
Στενοχωρία.
Συμπάσχω.
Ὑιοθεσία.
Ὑψωμα.

The use of the copulative *τε* is also remarkable. It does not appear in the Septuagint at all, but *καὶ* is invariably employed. It is found in the Hebrews twenty times, and in Paul's other Epistles seven times. With the exception of Luke, all the other writers of the New Testament together vary the copulative *καὶ* for *τε* in eight instances only. The connective *τε* appears to have clung to the author's mind in the Hebrews as the word *πλούτος* in the Ephesians and Colossians.

6. No doubt the style of the Hebrews is not quite consonant with that of Paul's Epistles generally, but the Hebrews is rather a carefully wrought treatise on the most vital points of faith, and addressed to a church over which Paul had no supremacy, and to which he was comparatively a stranger, while the other Epistles were letters to churches with which Paul was familiar, or over which, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, he exercised an allowed authority. The difference of style only shows the wonderful talent of the Apostle, who, while scorning to write in studied language to the Greeks, 1 Cor. ii. 4, could, when occasion called for it, employ a flowing and even ornate style. See Forster on the Hebrews.

7. It has been made an objection to the Pauline authorship of the Epistle, that the Hebrews abounds too much in quotations to have come from the hand of Paul; but on a comparison of it with the Romans, it is found that the latter has 48 while the former has only 34 citations. Certainly, the Romans is the longer Epistle, viz. in the proportion of 14 to 10; but even allowing for this, there is a greater frequency of quotation in the Romans than in the Hebrews.

8. It has been thought singular by some that Paul does not preface his letter with the usual

would be diligently studied, and Paul, as educated and afterwards residing at Tarsus, would be deeply imbued with Philo's style. This will account for Paul's repeated allusions to Philo.

⁵¹ Literally "his substance," τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

when he had by himself *made purgation of* our sins, sat down on the right
 4 hand of the Majesty on high, *having become* so much better than the angels,
 5 *inasmuch* as he hath inherited a more excellent name than they. For unto
 which of the angels said he at any time, 'Thou art my son, this day have I
 begotten thee?' (*Ps. ii. 7.*)⁵² And again,⁵³ 'I will be to him *for* a Father, and
 6 he shall be to me *for* a Son.' (2 *Sam. vii. 14.*)⁵⁴ And again, when he

words, "Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ;" but the obvious explanation of so immaterial a circumstance is, that the writer was unwilling to prejudice his argument by prefixing a name which to *some* members of the Hebrew church (for all the flock were not as clear-sighted as their teachers), would be no recommendation. It had been said to him shortly after his conversion, "Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." Acts xxii. 18. He may also have felt a delicacy in assuming an apostolic authority when addressing a church to which he did not belong, and over which he, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, had no spiritual jurisdiction. This explanation is of the highest antiquity, as Eusebius quotes an old presbyter as saying, διὰ μετρίότητα ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἐγγράφει ἑαυτὸν Ἑβραίων ἀπόστολον, διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἐμὴν, διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν ἐθνῶν κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον. Euseb. E. H. vi. 14.

It was in A.D. 54, at the close of Paul's second circuit, when Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem together, that the solemn compact was made between Paul and Barnabas on the one hand, and the Apostles of Jerusalem on the other, that Paul and Barnabas should be recognized as the Apostles of the Gentiles. In the two Epistles to the Thessalonians written before that time, Paul does not call himself an Apostle, but he does so in all the others which were of a subsequent date, except in the Epistle to the Philippians (which is accounted for from special circumstances), and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where of course he would omit the title as he was not an Apostle of the Hebrews, who were under the jurisdiction of the Apostles of Jerusalem.

9. As to external testimony, Clement of Rome, the disciple of Paul, quotes it repeatedly, which he would not have done had it not been a canonical book. Pantænus, the most learned man of his day, and who flourished about A.D. 180, and was head of the school of Alexandria, speaks of it as from

the hand of Paul. Euseb. vi. 14. Clement of Alexandria, the successor of Pantænus in the same school, assents to the same opinion, but broaches the idea that it was originally written in Hebrew, and translated by Luke. Euseb. vi. 14. Origen, who flourished A.D. 220, considered Paul to have been the author as regards the thoughts, though he leaned to the opinion that Clement or Luke had assisted the Apostle in clothing the ideas in language.) Euseb. vi. 25. (See Stuart on the Hebrews.) In the Western church, however, the Epistle, as is natural, was less known. Irenæus, A.D. 178, denied the Pauline authorship, and Tertullian, A.D. 200, attributed it to Barnabas; and Caius, A.D. 211 and Hippolytus, A.D. 220, did not admit Paul to be the author. (See Davidson's Introduction, vol. iii.) At the present day most of the German critics deny that Paul had any connection with the Epistle, and would ascribe it to Luke, or Barnabas, or Clement, or Apollos, or Sylvanus, or indeed, to any one but the only person who, in the author's opinion, has any just pretensions to it, viz. the Apostle Paul.)

Further arguments in favour of the Pauline claim to the Epistle will be found in several passages commented upon as they occur.

⁵² Υἱός μου εἶ σὺ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. The words are cited exactly from the LXX. Paul applies the same passage in the same manner in Acts xiii. 33; and no other writer of the New Testament has done so.

⁵³ Καὶ πάλιν. This mode of citation is peculiarly Pauline, and occurs nowhere in the New Testament but in his Epistles. In Rom. xv. 10 we have the exact counterpart of the present formula: Καὶ πάλιν λέγει Εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν, Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, &c. Καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει, Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα, &c. So in 1 Cor. iii. 19, 20.

⁵⁴ Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν. These words are cited from the LXX. Besides the passage from 2 Sam. vii. 14, we also find—Οὗτος ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα. 1 Chron. xxii. 10. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα. 1 Chron. xxviii. 6.

bringeth the first begotten into the world, he saith, ‘And let all the angels of
 7 God worship him.’ (*Deut.* xxxii. 43.)⁵⁵ And of the angels he saith, ‘Who
 maketh his angels *winds*,⁵⁶ and his ministers a flame of fire’⁵⁷ (*Ps.* civ. 4); but
 8 unto the Son he saith, ‘Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre
 9 of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom: thou hast loved righteous-
 ness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee
 10 with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’ (*Ps.* xlv. 6.)⁵⁸ And, ‘Thou, Lord,
 in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens
 11 are works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest, and they
 12 all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them
 up,⁵⁹ and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years
 13 shall not fail.’ (*Ps.* cii. 25.)⁶⁰ But to which of the angels said he at any
 time, ‘Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool’? (*Ps.*
 14 cx. 1.)⁶¹ Are they not all ministering spirits,⁶² sent forth to minister for
 them who shall be heirs of salvation?

⁵⁵ Προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. These words are found in the LXX., *Deut.* xxxii. 43, but there is no trace of them in the Hebrew—a strong argument that the Epistle was written in Greek. In *Ps.* xcvi. 7 we have Προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, but even there the Hebrew does not agree, for the text in Hebrew is—“Worship him, all ye gods!”

⁵⁶ πνεύματα. In Eng. ver. “spirits.”

⁵⁷ The citation is exactly from the LXX., except that πυρὸς φλόγα is substituted by the Apostle for πῦρ φλέγον. The Hebrew text runs “who maketh the winds his messengers and flames of fire his ministers.” The Epistle, therefore, was written in Greek, as the LXX. and not the Hebrew is followed. Others, however, maintain, that the LXX. is the true translation of the Hebrew. See Alford’s note.

⁵⁸ The citation is verbatim from the LXX.

⁵⁹ Ἐλίξεις αὐτούς. Some MSS. have ἀλλάξεις, which agrees with the Hebrew, and also with the Alexandrine MS. of the LXX.

⁶⁰ Σὺ κατ’ ἀρχὰς, Κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, &c. In the LXX., Κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν σὺ, Κύριε, ἐθεμελίωσας.

⁶¹ The citation is from the LXX. The parallelism observable between this part of the Epistle and the First Epistle to the Corinthians lends strong support to the view that both emanated from the same hand. Compare the following passages:—

Hebrews.

I. 13. Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

II. 8. Πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα,
 Οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον.

Νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποταγμένα.

Τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ’ ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον,

II. 14. Ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου τοῦτέστι τὸν διάβολον.

The use in both passages of the word καταργεῖν

1 Corinthians.

XV. 25. Δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεῦν ἄχρις οὗ ἂν θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Ἐσχάτος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος. Πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξε ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται.

Δήλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

Ὅταν δὲ ὑποτάγῃ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα,

Τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

⁶² Λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα. So Philo has Ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί, vol. ii. p. 387; de Caritate, c. 3.

CH. II. “Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we
 2 have heard,⁶³ lest at any time we should *fall away*.⁶⁴ For if the word spoken
 by angels⁶⁵ was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a
 3 just recompense of reward, how shall we escape *who have neglected* so great
 salvation, which *having begun* to be spoken by the Lord, *hath been* confirmed
 4 unto us by them that heard?⁶⁶ God also bearing witness, both with signs and
 wonders, and with divers miracles, and *distributions* of the Holy Ghost,
 according to his own will.⁶⁷
 5 “For unto the angels he hath not put in subjection the world to come,
 6 whereof we speak; but one in a certain place testified, saying, ‘What is man,
 that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him?
 7 Thou madest him *for* a little *while*⁶⁸ lower than the angels;⁶⁹ thou crownedst
 8 him with glory and honour;⁷⁰ thou hast put all things in subjection under his
 feet.’ (Ps. viii. 4.)⁷¹ For in that he put all *things* in subjection under him;
 he left nothing that is not put under him; but now we see not yet all things
 9 put *in subjection* under him; but we see Jesus, who was made *for* a little *while*
 lower than the angels, *through* the suffering of death, crowned with glory and
 honour, that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man; for it
 10 became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things,⁷² in bring-

is particularly remarkable, as the term is extremely rare; and though introduced in St. Paul's Epistles twenty-six times, is only once (Luke xiii. 7) employed elsewhere in the whole of the New Testament. See Forster, p. 69. The text in the Hebrews is evidently not a citation of that in the Corinthians, but the operation of one mind working freely, in a similar mode, upon the same materials.

⁶³ This language is thought to be very different from that employed by Paul in his admitted Epistles. But it must be remembered that he is here writing to the Hebrews, who had not derived their knowledge of the Gospel from himself, for he was the Apostle of the Gentiles, but had heard it from the Apostles of the circumcision. The relation between the Apostle and his correspondents is, therefore, not the same in the Hebrews as in the other Epistles. See, however, the use of similar language by the Apostle in writing even to a Gentile church. Ephes. iii. 5.

⁶⁴ παραρρῶμεν. In Eng. ver. “let them slip.”

⁶⁵ That is, the Law of Moses, which, according to Paul, was given by the intervention of angels, διαταγῆς δι' ἀγγέλων. Galat. iii. 19. We have before had occasion to remark that the old Dispensation was attributed to angels. See

Vol. I. p. 350.

⁶⁶ This has been used as an argument by some that Paul did not write the Epistle, as the author of it here speaks of himself and those he was addressing as deriving the Gospel from the Apostles, whereas Paul received it from Revelation. But Paul often identifies himself with his correspondents when the remark could not by any possibility be applied to himself personally. See Vol. I. p. 283, and Note ⁶³ supra.

⁶⁷ We have here as elsewhere the testimony of Paul to the miracles recorded in the New Testament.

⁶⁸ βραχύ τι, as in Acts v. 34. In Eng. ver. “a little lower.”

⁶⁹ In Hebrew the word is מַלְאֲכִים and in the LXX. only is the word “angels.” The Epistle, therefore, was written in Greek.

⁷⁰ The words in the Textus receptus καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, “and didst set him over the works of thy hands,” are doubted by Lachmann, and rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Tischendorf, and Alford.

⁷¹ The same text from the Psalms is also quoted 1 Cor. xv. 27, and Eph. i. 22. The citation is verbatim from the LXX.

⁷² Viz. God the Father.

ing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect
 11 through sufferings; for both he that sanctifieth⁷³ and they *that* are sanctified
 are all of one; for which cause He⁷⁴ is not ashamed to call them brethren,
 12 saying, 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the *con-*
 13 *gregation*⁷⁵ will I sing praise unto thee.' (*Ps.* xxii. 22.)⁷⁶ And again, 'I will
 put my trust in him.'⁷⁷ And again, 'Behold I, and the children which God
 14 hath given me.' (*Is.* viii. 18.)⁷⁸ Forasmuch, then, as the children are par-
 takers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise *partook* of the same, that
 through death he might destroy him that *hath* the power of death, that is, the
 15 devil, and deliver them, *whoever* through fear of death were all their lifetime
 16 *held under* bondage; for verily he *doth not assume* [the nature of] angels, but
 17 he *assumeth* the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behoved him to
 be made like unto his brethren, that he might *become* a merciful and faithful
 18 high priest⁷⁹ in things pertaining to God, to make *atonement* for the sins of
 the people; for in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to
 succour them that are tempted.

CH. III. "Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider
 2 the Apostle and High Priest of our *confession* Jesus,⁸⁰ who was faithful to
 him that appointed him, as also Moses was 'faithful in all his house' (*Num.*
 3 xii. 7);⁸¹ (for this *one* was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch
 4 as he who *framed* the house hath more honour than the house; for every
 5 house is *framed* by some man, but he that *framed* all things is God; and
 Moses, verily, was faithful in all his house, as a servant,⁸² for a testimony of
 6 those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ as a son over his *own*
 house, whose house are we, if *at least* we hold fast the confidence and the *boast*

⁷³ Viz. Christ.

⁷⁴ Viz. Christ.

⁷⁵ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας. In Eng. ver. "in the midst of the church."

⁷⁶ ἀπαγγεῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου, κ.τ.λ. In the LXX., διηγῆσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου, κ.τ.λ.

⁷⁷ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. In the LXX., πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ. The same words are found in 2 Sam. xxii. 3, and the words ἐλπὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν in Ps. xviii. 3.

⁷⁸ The citation is from the LXX. The two passages in this verse follow each other in the LXX., and are one sentence. The words "and again" which here divide them are probably an interpolation. The words should run thus, "I will put my trust in him. Lo! I and the children which God hath given me," and by children must be understood not the children of Christ, but the children of God.

⁷⁹ The doctrine of the high priesthood of Christ is found nowhere in the New Testament but in Paul's Epistles. See Rom. xv. 16; 1 Cor. ix. 13; Eph. v. 2; where the writer glances at the subject, but without the discussion of it, which, perhaps, he reserved to a future opportunity.

⁸⁰ τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν. So Philo calls the high priest ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας. De Somniis, i. c. 38, p. 654. The word Χριστὸν before Ἰησοῦν is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

⁸¹ πιστὸν . . . ὡς καὶ Μωσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ. In the LXX. ὁ θεράπων μου Μωσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ μου πιστός ἐστι.

⁸² ὡς θεράπων. In allusion to the same word in the LXX., quoted above.

7 of the hope firm unto the end.⁸³) Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith,⁸⁴ ‘To-
 8 day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in
 9 the day of temptation in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted me, proved
 10 me, and saw my works forty years: wherefore I was grieved with that genera-
 tion, and said,—They do always err in their heart, and they have not known
 11 my ways; so I swear in my wrath, they shall not enter into my rest’ (Ps.
 12 xcv. 7),⁸⁵ take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of
 13 unbelief, in *apostatizing*⁸⁶ from the living God; but exhort one another daily,
 while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness
 14 of sin; for we are made partakers of Christ, if *so be that* we hold the begin-
 15 ning of our confidence stedfast unto the end, *in that* it is said, ‘To-day if ye
 16 will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation;’ for some,
 when they had heard, did provoke; *but* not all that came out of Egypt by
 17 Moses. But with whom was he grieved forty years? Was it not with them
 18 that had sinned, whose carcasses fell in the wilderness? And to whom swore
 he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that believed not?
 19 So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief.

CH. IV. “Let us, therefore, fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his
 2 rest, any *one* of you should seem to come short of it; for unto us *are* the *glad*
*tidings brought*⁸⁷ *as also* unto them; but the word *which they heard*⁸⁸ did not
 3 profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it.⁸⁹ For we *who*
 have believed do enter into rest, as he said, ‘*So I swear* in my wrath, they shall
not enter into my rest’ (although the works *had been* finished from the foun-
 4 dation of the world, for he spake in a certain place of the seventh day on this
 5 wise, ‘And God did rest the seventh day from all his works’ (Gen. ii. 2),⁹⁰ and
 6 in this place again, ‘they shall *not* enter into my rest’⁹¹). Seeing, therefore,
 it remaineth that some must enter therein, and they to whom it was first

⁸³ Paley has pointed out the peculiarity of St. Paul in “going off at a word.” The reader will observe how the mention of the faithfulness of Moses “in all his house” leads him away from his subject to comment on the idea of “the house.” When he has concluded his parenthetical remarks, he again resumes the train of thought which for a moment he had quitted, “Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith,” &c.

⁸⁴ Therefore David, the author of the Psalm, was divinely inspired.

⁸⁵ The citation is verbatim from the LXX.

⁸⁶ ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι. In Eng. ver. “in departing.”

⁸⁷ ἐσμέν εὐηγγελισμένοι. In Eng. ver. “unto us was the gospel preached.”

⁸⁸ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς. In Eng. ver. “the word

preached.”

⁸⁹ Allusion is here made to the good report of the land of Canaan brought to the Israelites by Joshua and Caleb, but which was not believed.

⁹⁰ καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. In the LXX., καὶ κατέπαυσε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

⁹¹ The argument is that God promised a rest to the Israelites in the wilderness, which must, therefore, be a distinct rest from that at the conclusion of the work of creation; but this rest was not attained in the time of Joshua, for it was still prospective in the time of David, as appears from the passage, “To-day if ye will hear his voice harden not your hearts,” &c., being a promise of rest to such as should hear and believe.

7 preached entered not in because of unbelief, again he limiteth a certain day, saying in David, ‘To-day,’ after so long a time (as *we have* said, ‘To-day, if ye
8 will hear his voice, harden not your hearts’); for if *Joshua*⁹² had given them
9 rest, then would he not afterward have spoken of another day. There re-
10 maineth, therefore, a *sabbath-rest* to the people of God; for *whoso hath* entered
into his rest he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his *own*.
11 Let us *be diligent*, therefore, to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after
12 the same example of unbelief; for the word of God is *lively*, and powerful,
and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder
of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the
13 thoughts and intents of the heart; neither is there any creature that is not
manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and *laid* open unto the eyes of
him with whom we have to do.⁹³

14 “Seeing, then, that we have a great High Priest, that is passed *through*
15 the heavens, Jesus the Son of God,⁹⁴ let us hold fast our *confession*; for we
have not a High Priest which cannot *sympathize* with our infirmities, but
16 *who* was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us, there-
fore, come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and
find grace to help in time of need.

CH. V. “For every High Priest taken from among men is ordained for men in
things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins;
2 who can have compassion on the ignorant and *erring*,⁹⁵ for that he himself
3 also is compassed with infirmity; and by reason hereof he ought, as for the
4 people, so also for himself, to offer for sins. And no man taketh this honour
5 unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron: so also Christ glori-
fied not himself to be made a High Priest; but he that said unto him,
6 ‘Thou art my Son; to-day have I begotten thee’ (*Ps. ii. 7*);⁹⁶ as he saith
also in another place, ‘Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchi-
7 sedec.’ (*Ps. cx. 4*).⁹⁷ Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up
prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able
8 to save him from death, and was heard, *from his devoutness*,⁹⁸ though he

⁹² Ἰησοῦς, the Greek form of Joshua. In Eng. ver. “Jesus,” which is apt to mislead.

⁹³ In this striking passage (which cuts as it speaks), Paul seems to have had Philo in his thoughts: ἵνα τὸν ἀδίδακτον ἐννοῇς Θεὸν, τέμνοντα γὰς τε τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐξῆς ἀπάσας ἡρμόσθαι καὶ ἡνώσθαι δοκούσας φύσεις τῷ τομῇ τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, ὃς εἰς τὴν ὀξύτατην ἀκουηθεὶς ἀκμὴν διαιρῶν οὐδέποτε λήγει τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα, ἐπειδὴν δὲ μέχρι τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ λεγομένων ἀμερῶν διεξέλθῃ, κ.τ.λ. Philo, vol. i. p. 491. Quis

rerum Divin. hæres. c. 26.

⁹⁴ As opposed to Jesus or Joshua, the son of Nun.

⁹⁵ πλανωμένοις. In Eng. ver. “them that are out of the way.”

⁹⁶ The words are taken verbatim from the LXX.

⁹⁷ Verbatim from the LXX.

⁹⁸ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας. In Eng. ver. “in that he feared.”

9 were a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered;⁹⁹ and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them
 10 that obey him; *declared by* God a High Priest after the order of Melchisedec,
 11 of whom we have *much* to say, and hard to be *interpreted*, seeing ye are dull of
 12 hearing (for when, *by reason of* the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God, and are become such as have need of milk, and not of *solid nourishment*;¹⁰⁰
 13 for every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness, for he
 14 is a babe, but *solid nourishment* belongeth to them that are of full age,¹⁰¹ even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good
 CH. VI. and evil. *Wherefore* leaving the *word of initiation*¹⁰² in Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works,
 2 and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of
 3 hands,¹⁰³ and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. And this
 4 will we do, if God permit;¹⁰⁴ for those who *have been* once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and *have been* made partakers of the Holy
 5 Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, it is impossible *when they have fallen* away, to renew again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him
 7 to an open shame. For the *ground* which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth *the* herb meet for them by whom it is dressed,
 8 *partaketh of* blessing from God; but *if it bear* thorns and briars *it* is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned. But, beloved, we are
 10 persuaded better things of you,¹⁰⁵ and things *pertaining to* salvation;¹⁰⁶ for God is not *unjust* to forget your work and *the* love¹⁰⁷ which ye *have* shewed

⁹⁹ ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε τὴν ὑποκοήν. An apparent allusion to the proverb, παθήματα μαθήματα, Herod. i. 207, and therefore an argument that the Epistle was written in Greek. So Philo de Profugis, c. 25, vol. i. p. 566: ἔμαθον μὲν ὁ ἔπαθον.

¹⁰⁰ στερεᾶς τροφῆς. In Eng. ver. "strong meat."

¹⁰¹ πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος ἄπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης, νήπιος γὰρ ἐστὶ, τελείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή. This appears to be drawn from Philo De Agric. c. 2, vol. i. p. 301: νηπίοις μὲν ἐστὶ γάλα τροφή, τελείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ πυρῶν πέμματα, κ.τ.λ.

¹⁰² τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον. In Eng. ver. "the principles of the doctrine."

¹⁰³ That imposition of hands which was practised under the Law and found in some cases its continuance under the Gospel. By laying on of hands the sick were healed (Mark xvi. 18; Acts

xix. 12, xxviii. 8. Cf. 2 Kings vii.; Matt. ix. 18, &c.), officers and teachers of the church were admitted to their calling (Acts vi. 6, xiii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22; Numb. viii. 10, xxviii. 18, 23; Deut. xxxiv. 9), converts were fully admitted into the Christian church after baptism (Acts viii. 17, xix. 6; 2 Tim. i. 6), and there can be little doubt that it is mainly to this last that the attention of the readers is here called. Alford.

¹⁰⁴ εἰάν περ ἐπιτρέπη ὁ Θεός. So the Apostle (1 Cor. xvi. 7) uses the like expression, εἰάν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέπη, a phrase not found elsewhere.

¹⁰⁵ πεπεισμεθα δὲ περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀγαπητοὶ, τὰ κρείσσονα, κ.τ.λ. Are not these words from the same hand as πέπεισμαι δὲ, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ., Rom. xv. 14?

¹⁰⁶ ἐχόμενα τῆς σωτηρίας. In Eng. ver. "things that accompany salvation."

¹⁰⁷ Observe the parallelism between the He-

11 towards his name, in that ye ministered to the saints, and do minister;¹⁰⁸ and we desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end, that ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises. For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself,¹⁰⁹ saying, 'Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee' (*Gen. xii. 17*);¹¹⁰ and so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promise. For men verily swear by the greater; and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all *gainsaying*; wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of the promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath; that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us; which [hope] we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into the interior of the veil;¹¹¹ whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, having become a high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec).¹¹²

CH. VII. "For this Melchisedec, King of Salem,¹¹³ priest of the most high God,

brews and the First Epistle to the Thessalonians:—

Hebrews.	1 Thessalonians.
VI. 10. Οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν, Καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης.	I. 3. Ἀδιαλείπτως μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως, Καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης.

The whole context also in each Epistle is full of the same thoughts, and of words peculiarly Pauline. See Forster. The received text of the Hebrews has the words *τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης*, and if this were the true reading the parallelism would be still more exact; but the words *τοῦ κόπου* are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁰⁸ The Apostle here alludes to the kind offices of the Jewish converts at Jerusalem in ministering to the wants of their fellow-Christians, and more particularly in finding them lodgings during the great feasts (as Mnason took in Paul and his company at the Pentecost, Acts xxi. 17), and in relieving those who were in prison for their faith, as was Paul himself for two years at Cæsarea.

¹⁰⁹ Ἐπεὶ κατ' οὐδενὸς εἶχε μείζονος ὁμόσαι, ὥμοσε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ. The Apostle seems again to refer to Philo, who observes upon the same passage: Ὅρας γὰρ ὅτι οὐ καθ' ἑτέρου ὁμνυε Θεός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρείσσον· ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅς ἐστι πάντων

ἄριστος. Legis Allegor. iii. 72, vol. i. p. 98.

¹¹⁰ Ἡ μὴν ἐὺλογῶν ἐὺλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε. In the LXX., Ἡ μὴν ἐὺλογῶν ἐὺλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου.

¹¹¹ τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος. In Eng. ver. "that within the veil."

¹¹² Another instance of Paul's mode of digressing. Having now run out the parenthesis commencing at chapter v. 12^f, he returns to the subject of Melchisedec.

¹¹³ Salem is generally taken to be the same as Jerusalem. So Josephus: *ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῆς Σόλυμα πόλεως ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Μελχισεδέκης . . . τὴν μέντοι Σόλυμα ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα*. Ant. i. 10, 2, and see Ant. vii. 3, 2. The change from Salem to Jerusalem is said to have arisen from the sacrifice of Abraham on Mount Moriah (placed, in the Second Book of Chronicles, iii. 1, on the mount of the Temple), and as Abraham called the place Jehovah Jireh (*Gen. xxi. 14*), the name of Jireh was added to Salem, and so formed Jerusalem. Others are of opinion that the Salem of Melchisedec was identical with the Salem by Enon, where John the Baptist was baptizing (*John iii. 23*); and this view is adopted by Wordsworth, who argues that the Salem of Melchisedec (*Gen. xiv. 18*) must be the same as the Salem of *Gen. xxxiii. 18*. But the argument is not very cogent, for Melchisedec in the first passage is called "King of Salem," as a

who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings,¹¹⁴ and blessed
 2 him—to whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all (*Gen. xiv. 20*)—first
 being by interpretation¹¹⁵ King of Righteousness;¹¹⁶ and after that also King
 3 of Salem, which is King of Peace¹¹⁷—without father, without mother,¹¹⁸ with-
 out descent,¹¹⁹ having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made
 4 like unto the Son of God—abideth a priest continually. Now consider how
 great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth
 5 of the spoils! And verily they that are the sons of Levi, who receive the
 office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes of the people
 according to the Law—that is, of their brethren, though they come out of the
 6 loins of Abraham; but he whose descent is not counted from them received
 7 tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises, and without all
 8 contradiction the less is blessed *by* the better. And here men that die receive
 tithes; but there he receiveth them, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth;
 9 and as I may so say, Levi also, who receiveth tithes, payed tithes *through*
 10 Abraham, for he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchisedec met
 11 him. If, therefore, perfection were by the Levitical priesthood (for under it
 the people received the Law), what further need was there that another
 priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the
 12 order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity
 13 a change also of the Law. For he of whom these things are spoken pertaineth
 14 to another tribe, of which no *one* gave attendance at the altar, for it is evident
 that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing
 15 concerning priesthood; and it is yet far more evident, for that after the
 16 similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest, who is made, not after
 17 the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life; for

place well known; but in the other passage it is said that “Jacob came to Shalem, a city of *Shechem*, which is in the *land of Canaan*,” and it is not likely, if it were the same Salem, that it should be first assumed to be familiar to the reader, and then afterwards require a particular periphrasis to identify it. See Wordsworth’s note, which contains all that can be said in support of his theory.

¹¹⁴ ὅς συναντήσας ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς τῶν βασιλέων. These are with a slight variation the words of the LXX., but applied to the king of Sodom: ἐξῆλθε δὲ βασιλεὺς Σοδόμων εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ, μετὰ τὸ ὑποστρέψαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς . . . τῶν βασιλέων. *Gen. xiv. 17*. But though it is not expressed in Genesis that Melchisedec also met Abraham, it is implied, for he brought out bread and wine. *Gen. xiv. 18*.

¹¹⁵ As the Apostle interprets the words Melchisedec and Salem, we may conclude that the Epistle was written in Greek.

¹¹⁶ Josephus speaks of Melchisedec in the same terms. Μελχισεδέκης, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς . . . δίκαιος. *Ant. i. 10, 3.* ὁ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσει κληθεὶς βασιλεὺς . . . δίκαιος. *Bell. vi. 10.*

¹¹⁷ So Philo interprets Melchisedec as King of Righteousness and King of Peace: καὶ Μελχισεδέκ βασιλεία τε τῆς Εἰρήνης, Σαλήμ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται, Ἱερέα ἑαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεός, κ.τ.λ. καλεῖται γὰρ βασιλεὺς . . . δίκαιος. *Legis Allegor. iii. c. 25, vol. i. p. 102.*

¹¹⁸ ὥς γὰρ ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ τε γεγώς.

Eurip. Ion 109.

¹¹⁹ No genealogy is given of him in the Old Testament. The word ἀγενεαλόγητος is not found elsewhere.

18 he testifieth, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.' For
 there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weak-
 19 ness and unprofitableness thereof; for the Law made nothing perfect, but *was*
 20 *the introduction of* a better hope, by the which we draw nigh unto God. And
 21 inasmuch as [it was] not without an oath (for those priests were made with-
 out an oath; but this with an oath by him that said unto him, 'The Lord
 sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Mel-
 22, 23 chisedec),¹²⁰ by so much Jesus *became* surety of a better *covenant*.¹²¹ And they
 truly *are* many priests because they *are* not suffered to continue by reason of
 24 death;¹²² but this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable
 25 priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that
 come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.
 26 For such a high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate
 27 from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as
 those high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for
 28 the people's; for this he did once *for all*, when he offered up himself. For
 the Law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the
 oath, which was *after* the Law, maketh the Son, who is *perfected* for ever-
 more.¹²³

CH. VIII. "Now of the things which we have spoken this is the sum: we have such
 a high priest, who is set on the right of the throne of the Majesty in the
 2 heavens—a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord
 3 *hath* pitched, and not man. For every high priest is ordained to offer gifts
 and sacrifices; *whence* it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to
 4 offer; for if he were on earth he *would* not be a priest, seeing that there
 5 are priests that offer gifts according to the Law, who serve unto the example
 and shadow of *the* heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he
 was about to make the tabernacle, for, 'See, saith he, that thou make all things
 according to the pattern *that hath been* showed to thee in the mount' (*Ex.* xxv.
 6 40);¹²⁴ but now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much
 also he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better
 7 promises. For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place
 8 have been sought for the second; for finding fault with them, he saith,
 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will *conclude* a new covenant
 9 with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah—not according to the

¹²⁰ The words "after the order of Melchisedec" are omitted by the Alexandrine and other ancient MSS., and are rejected by Tischendorf and Alford.

¹²¹ διαθήκης. In Eng. ver. "testament."

¹²² There were, according to Josephus, eighty-three priests from Aaron to the destruction of

Jerusalem. Ant. xx. 10, 1.

¹²³ τετελειωμένον. In Eng. ver. "consecrated."

¹²⁴ Ὁρᾶ γὰρ, φήσι, ποιήσης πάντα κατὰ τὸν τυπὸν τὸν δείχθεντά σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει. In the LXX., Ὁρᾶ, φήσι, ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸν τυπὸν τὸν δεδειγμένον σοὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt ; because they continued not in my
 10 covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord—for this is the covenant that I will *covenant* with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord : I will put my laws into their mind, and *on* their hearts *I will* write them, and I will
 11 be to them *for* a God, and they shall be to me *for* a people, and they shall not teach every *one* his neighbour, and every *one* his brother, saying, ‘ Know the
 12 Lord ;’ for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest ; for I will be merciful to their *iniquities*,¹²⁵ and their sins and their *lawlessness*¹²⁶ will I re-
 13 member no more.’ (*Jer.* xxxi. 31.)¹²⁷ In that he saith, ‘ a new [covenant,]’ he hath made the first old ; *but* that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away.

CH. IX. “ Then verily the first covenant had also ordinances of divine service, and *the*
 2 worldly sanctuary.¹²⁸ For there was a tabernacle made—the first, (wherein was the candlestick (fig. 297), and the table, and the showbread) (fig. 298),¹²⁹ which
 3 is called the *Holy* ;¹³⁰ and after the second veil,¹³¹ the Tabernacle which is called
 4 the *Holy of Holies*, which had the golden censer,¹³² and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold, wherein was the golden pot¹³³ that had manna,
 5 and Aaron’s rod that budded,¹³⁴ and the tables of the covenant ;¹³⁵ and over it the cherubim of glory shadowing the mercy seat, of which we cannot now

¹²⁵ ἀδικίας. In Eng. ver. “ unrighteousness.”

¹²⁶ ἀνομιών. In Eng. ver. “ iniquities.”

¹²⁷ The Apostle, in citing the passage from the LXX. (probably from memory), makes some verbal variations, as φήσι for λέγει, and συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον for διαθήσονται τῷ οἴκῳ, and ἐποίησα for διεθέμην, and διδοὺς for διδοὺς δώσω, and ἐπιγράφω for γράψω, and ἀνομίων for ἁμαρτίων, and in one place he omits the word μου.

¹²⁸ A sanctuary of this world as typical of the heavenly.

¹²⁹ As to these three things, see Exod. xxv. 23-40 ; xxxvii. 10-24 ; Lev. xxiv. 5-9. And see Philo, vol. ii. p. 150. Vit. Moys. iii. 9.

¹³⁰ Ἁγία, the holy, to agree with σκηνή : but others, ἅγια, the holy places.

¹³¹ For the first veil, see Exod. xxvi. 36, 37 ; xxxvi. 37. For the second, see Exod. xxvi. 31-33 ; xxxvi. 35.

¹³² χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον. The altar of Incense, (called θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος (Luke i. 11), and sometimes θυμιατήριον simply (Ant. iii. 6, 8),) was *without* the Holy of Holies. Luke i. 9. But the θυμιατήριον, or *censer* spoken of by the Apostle, was *within* the Holy of Holies. The two, therefore, are not to be confounded. The altar of Incense was for *daily* use ; the censer

was only used once in the year, on the great Day of Atonement. Lev. xvi. 12. The altar of Incense was called the Golden (χρυσοῦ θυμιατήριον, Ant. iii. 8, 3), as being overlaid with gold. Exod. xxx. 3. But the censer was solid gold—so, at least, we should infer from the distinction made by the Apostle between the censer and the ark, the former being characterised as χρυσοῦν, and the other as περικεκαλυμμένη χρυσίῳ, Heb. ix. 4. Where the censer was kept is nowhere mentioned, but, as part of the furniture of the Holy of Holies, it was probably preserved in the Holy of Holies until wanted for use. The words σκηνὴ ἔχουσα τὸ θυμιατήριον may either be interpreted as *containing* the censer, or as having the censer *appropriated* to it—i.e. it was used exclusively for the purposes of the Holy of Holies.

¹³³ The LXX. calls the pot golden, but the word is not in the Hebrew, Exod. xvi. 33, another proof that the writer was using the LXX.

¹³⁴ That these two things were placed in the ark in the tabernacle, see Exod. xvi. 34 ; Numb. xvii. 10 ; Deut. xxxi. 26. As to the ark in the temple of Solomon, the case was different. See 1 Kings viii. 9 ; 2 Chron. v. 10.

¹³⁵ Deut. x. 5 ; 1 Kings viii. 9 ; 2 Chron. v. 10.

6 speak particularly. Now these things *being* thus ordained, the priests *enter con-*
 7 *tinually*¹³⁶ into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God; but into
 the second *enters* the High Priest alone once every year,¹³⁷ not without blood,
 8 which he *offereth* for himself, and for the *ignorances*¹³⁸ of the people:¹³⁹ the Holy
 Ghost this signifying, that the way into the *holy places* was not yet made mani-
 9 fest, while the first tabernacle was yet standing (which was a figure for the time
 then *instant*)¹⁴⁰ according to which [*Tabernacle*] are offered both gifts and sacri-



Fig. 297.—The candlestick as sculptured on the Arch of Titus. From Reland.

The woodcut is taken from the old drawing by Reland, as the original has since become much worn.
 The pedestal on which the candlestick stands must have been a substitute by the hands of some Roman artificer, as the sculpture of living creatures would have violated the Jewish law.

10 fices, that *cannot* make him that *serveth* perfect, as *regards* the conscience, *resting*
 only *on* meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed
 11 on them until the time of reformation. But Christ *having arrived* a High
 Priest of good things to come, *through* a greater and more perfect tabernacle,¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ διαπαντός. In Eng. ver. “always.” The Apostle means that the priests were daily and hourly going into the first temple, but into the second once a year only. The “continually” is opposed to the “once,” and the priests without distinction to the high priest.

¹³⁷ So Philo in nearly the same words: εἰς ἃ (the Holy of Holies) ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται, τῇ νηστείᾳ λεγομένη μόνον, ἐπιθυμιάσων. Leg. ad Caium, c. 39. And to the same effect Philo de Monarch. ii. 2, and Jos. Bell. v. 5, 7, and 3 Macc. i. 11. Certain temples amongst the heathen also were entered only once

a year. See Pausan. Eliac. vi. 25, 3; Arcad. viii. 31, 5; viii. 41, 4; viii. 47, 4. Boeot. ix. 25, 3.

¹³⁸ ἀγνοήματων. In Eng. ver. “errors.”

¹³⁹ See Lev. xvi. 15.

¹⁴⁰ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, καθ’ ἣν, &c. So ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ. Jos. Ant. xvi. 6, 2. The reading of the Textus receptus is καθ’ ὅν.

¹⁴¹ I.e. his flesh. (See post, x. 20.) Christ, being God from everlasting, passed through the tabernacle of the flesh by his incarnation, that by the once offering of his blood he might take away our sins.

12 not made with hands, that is to say, not this building, neither by the blood
 of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered in once *for all* into the holy
 13 place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls
 and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to
 14 the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who
 through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your
 15 conscience from dead works to serve the living God? And for this cause he
 is the mediator of *a* new testament, that by means of death, for the redemp-

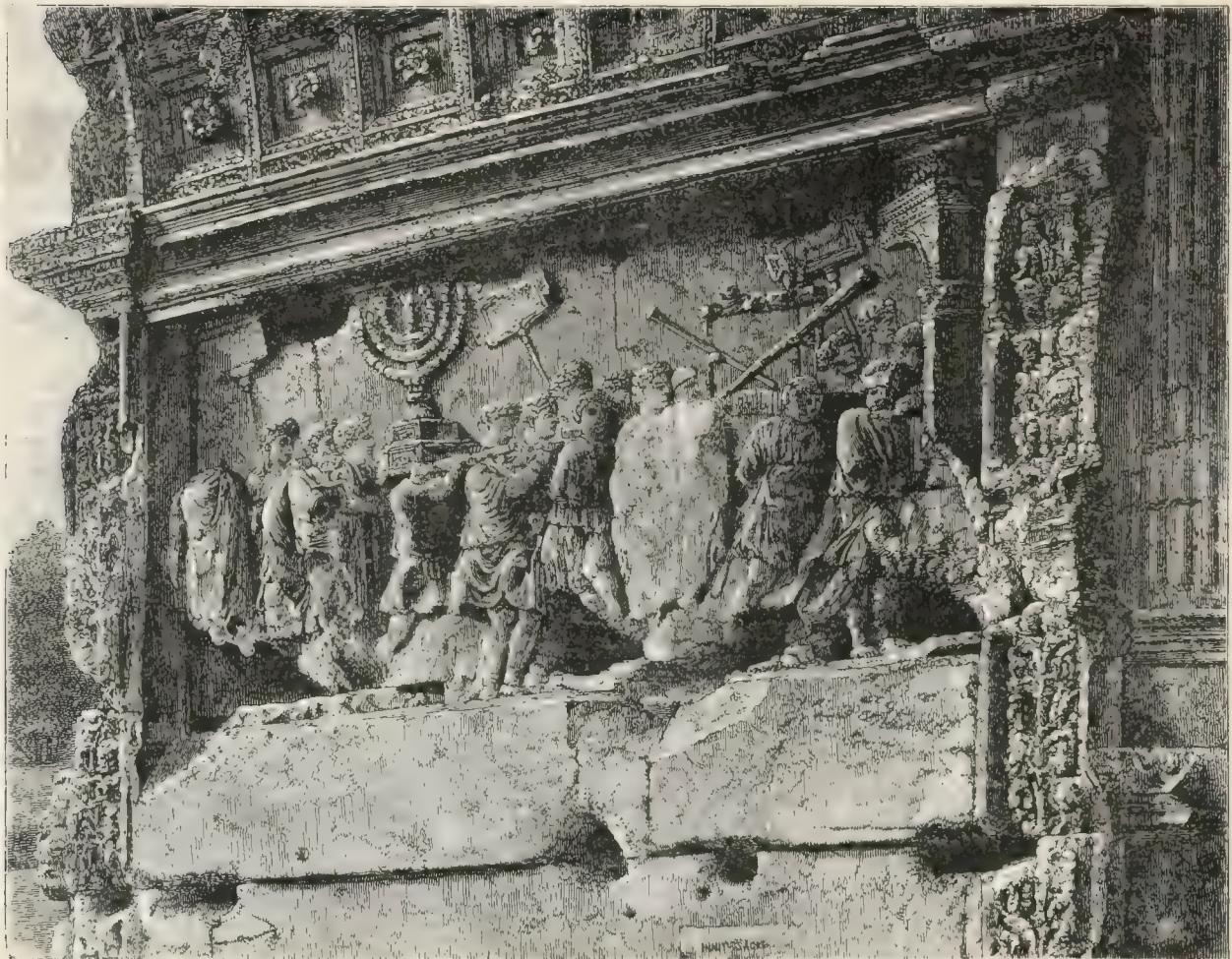


Fig. 298.—The candlestick and table of showbread and trumpet as carried in triumph by Titus at Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. From a photograph of the Arch of Titus.

tion of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are
 16 called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For where a testa-
 ment¹⁴² is, there must also of necessity be *assumed* the death of the testator;

¹⁴² The Apostle reasons here upon the double meaning of *διαθήκη*, which signifies either a covenant or a testament. The corresponding word in Hebrew for 'covenant' is said (but this is disputed) not to bear the same double meaning, and if so the Epistle must have been written

in Greek. In English we have no word which will so far answer to the Greek *διαθήκη* as to signify indifferently a covenant and a testament. The nearest approach to it is the word 'disposition,' which etymologically is the literal translation of *διαθήκη*, and sufficiently represents

17 for a testament is of force after men are dead; *since* it is of no *force* at all
 18 while the testator liveth. *Whence* neither the first testament was *inaugur-*
 19 *rated*¹⁴³ without blood; for when Moses had spoken every precept to all the
 people according to the Law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with
 water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop,¹⁴⁴ and sprinkled both the book *itself*, and
 20 all the people, saying, 'This is the blood of the testament which God hath
 21 enjoined unto you.' (*Ex.* xxiv. 8.)¹⁴⁵ Moreover he *in like manner* sprinkled
 22 with blood both the tabernacle and all the vessels of the ministry;¹⁴⁶ and
 almost all things are by the Law purged with blood, and without shed-
 23 ding of blood is no remission. It was therefore necessary that the *copies*
 of the *heavenly* things should be purified with these, but the heavenly things
 24 themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Christ entered not into holy
 places made with hands which are the *counterparts*¹⁴⁷ of the true, but into
 25 heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us; nor yet that he
 should offer himself often, as the High Priest entereth into the holy place
 26 every year with blood of others, for then must he often have suffered since the
 foundation of the world, but now once *at* the end of the world hath he appeared

dispensation on the one hand, and a testam-
 entary gift on the other. The word *διαθήκη*
 might be rendered 'disposition' throughout the
 Epistle, but the words 'covenant' and 'testa-
 ment' have become so inveterate from long
 usage that it was thought best not to innovate.
 It may appear at first sight to be almost sophis-
 tical to argue, as the Apostle does, from the
 double meaning of the word *διαθήκη*, first in the
 sense of a covenant and then in the sense of a
 testament; but in point of substance they are
 the same thing. As between *man and man*, a
 covenant and a testament differ from each other,
 for a covenant supposes a power in each con-
 tracting party independent of the other, while
 in the case of a will the testator has the absolute
 power in himself. But as between *God and man*,
 there can be no covenant strictly so called, for
 the absolute power is in God, and man can only
 submit. In Scripture, therefore, a covenant
 means nothing more than a manifestation of
 God's will; and thus 'covenant' and 'testa-
 ment' are identical. The Old Covenant and the
 New Testament may be called the old dispensa-
 tion and the new dispensation, or the old *will*
 and the new *will*.

¹⁴³ *ἐγκεκαίνισται*. In Eng. ver. "dedicated."
 The word is literally "renovated," and hence
 came to signify the consecration or dedication of
 a building on its completion, whether originally

or by repair.

¹⁴⁴ *τῶν μόσχων καὶ τράγων μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρίου
 κοκκίνου καὶ ὑσσώπου*. In the Old Testament the
 blood only is mentioned; the other particulars
 are implied or assumed from the usage when
 the Apostle wrote, or derived from some other
 source. We occasionally find Josephus as well
 as Paul introducing slight circumstances which
 are not found in the Old Testament according to
 the existing MSS. See *infra* note ¹⁴⁶, and *Lev.*
xiv. 4-6, 49-52.

¹⁴⁵ *Τούτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετεῖλατο πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός*. In the LXX., *Ἴδου τὸ αἷμα τῆς
 διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο Κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς*.

¹⁴⁶ This is an independent transaction, and
 not connected with the preceding verse; for at
 the time of the dispensation the tabernacle had
 not been erected. The Apostle appears to be
 now citing *Exod.* xl. 9-11: *Καὶ λήψῃ τὸ ἔλαιον
 τοῦ χρίσματος, καὶ χρίσεις τὴν σκηνὴν, καὶ πάντα τὰ
 ἐν αὐτῇ, κ.τ.λ.* Certainly, *oil* only is here men-
 tioned, but Josephus mentions *blood* also. *Jos.*
Ant. iii. 8, 6.

¹⁴⁷ *ἀντίτυπα*. In Eng. ver. "the figures." The
 word in Greek signifies the stamp left by the
τύπος which strikes it. Moses had been com-
 manded to "make all things according to the
 pattern (*τύπον*) that had been shewn to him on
 the mount." *Ante*, viii. 5.

27 *for the putting away of sin* by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed
28 unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ, once offered to
bear the sins of many, shall unto them that look for him appear the second
time without sin unto salvation.

CH. X. “For the Law having a shadow¹⁴⁸ of good things to come, [and] not the
very image of the things, can never *with the same*¹⁴⁹ sacrifices which they offer
2 year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect; for then would
they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshippers once purged
3 should have had no more conscience of sins.¹⁵⁰ But in those sacrifices there is
4 a remembrance again made of sins *year by year*;¹⁵¹ for it is not possible that
5 the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore when He¹⁵²
cometh into the world, he saith, ‘Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but
6 a body hast thou prepared me.¹⁵³ In burnt offerings and *offerings* for sin thou
7 hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it
8 is written of me), to do thy will, O God.’ (Ps. xl. 6.)¹⁵⁴ Above¹⁵⁵ when
he saith, ‘Sacrifice and offering and burnt offerings and offerings for sin thou
wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein;’ which are offered by the law—
9 then said he, ‘Lo, I come to do thy will.’¹⁵⁶ He taketh away the first, that he
10 may establish the second: by the which ‘will’ we are sanctified through the
11 offering of the ‘body’ of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest¹⁵⁷ stand-
eth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can
12 never take away sins; but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins,

¹⁴⁸ σκιάν . . . τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν. In Coloss. ii. 17 the Apostle uses the same expression, σκιά τῶν μελλόντων, an additional proof that Paul was the author of the ‘Hebrews.’ Philo, whom Paul had studied, had said, twenty years before, of the spiritual Jew: ‘Ὡς μᾶλλον τὰ νοήτα καταλαμβάνειν τῶν αἰσθητῶν, καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν ἐκείνων εἶναι σκιάς. Phil. Leg. 40.

¹⁴⁹ ταῖς αὐταῖς. In Eng. ver. “those.” The meaning is, the same sacrifices are offered on the Day of Atonement, as had before been daily offered for the same sins.

¹⁵⁰ If sacrifices could take away sin, then the daily sacrifices would be sufficient; but the like sacrifices are offered every year on the great Day of Atonement for the sins of the whole year, which shews that, in fact, sacrifices do not take away sin, but are only a remembrance of it.

¹⁵¹ Viz. on the great Day of Atonement, when sacrifices are again offered for the sins of the whole year, notwithstanding the previous daily sacrifices.

¹⁵² Viz. Christ.

¹⁵³ σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. These are the

words of the LXX., but the Hebrew is “Mine ears hast thou opened,” i.e. thou hast made me to listen attentively to thy will, or as others would render the Hebrew, “Mine ears hast thou bored,” the boring of the ear being a sign of the master’s property in his slave. Exod. xxi. 6; Deut. xv. 17. How the LXX. came to deviate so much from the Hebrew has never been satisfactorily explained.

¹⁵⁴ Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἤθελσας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι· ὀλοκαντώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ εὐδόκησας· τότε εἶπον Ἰδοὺ ἤκω (ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ) τοῦ ποιῆσαι, ὁ Θεός, τὸ θέλημά σου. The only variations from the LXX. are, that we read there ἤτησας instead of εὐδόκησας, and that ὁ Θεός is omitted. The Apostle adopts the LXX., which does not agree with the Hebrew.

¹⁵⁵ Ἀνώτερον, in the prior part of the passage.

¹⁵⁶ The words ὁ Θεός in the Text. recept. are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁵⁷ Lachmann and Alford read ἀρχιερεὺς, high priest.

13 for ever sat down on the right hand of God ; from thenceforth expecting till
 14 "his enemies be made his footstool." (Ps. cx. 1.) For by one offering he hath
 15 perfected for ever them that are sanctified : *and* the Holy Ghost also is a
 16 witness to us, for after that he had said before, 'this is the covenant that I
 will *covenant* with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws
 17 into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them,'¹⁵⁸ [*he saith*] 'and their
 18 sins and iniquities will I remember no more ;' *but* where remission of these is,
 there is no more offering for sin.

19 "Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holy place by the
 20 blood of Jesus,¹⁵⁹ by a new and living way, which he hath *inaugurated* for us,
 21 through the veil, that is to say, his flesh, and having a High Priest over
 22 the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance
 of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies
 23 washed with pure water. Let us hold fast the *confession* of our faith without
 24 wavering (for he is faithful that promised), and let us consider one another to
 25 provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves
 together,¹⁶⁰ as the manner of some is, but exhorting [one another], and so
 26 much the more, as ye see the day approaching. For if we sin¹⁶¹ wilfully after
 that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more
 27 sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery
 28 indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.¹⁶² He that despised Moses'
 29 law died without mercy under two or three witnesses (*Deut.* xvii. 6): of how
 much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy who hath
 trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted *common* the blood
 of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, and hath done despite unto the
 30 Spirit of grace ? for we know him that hath said, 'Vengeance belongeth unto
 me, I will recompense, saith the Lord' (*Deut.* xxxii. 35);¹⁶³ and again, 'The

¹⁵⁸ The same passage is cited above in viii. 10 ; but on comparing the two citations together, some minute variations are observable. This is very important as shewing that the Apostle had not the book before him, but quoted from memory, and was not careful to use the same words, letter for letter.

¹⁵⁹ As the priest entered into the Holy of Holies with the blood of the sin-offering. *Lev.* xvi. 15.

¹⁶⁰ *ἐπισυναγωγὴν*, the going to synagogue or church. This is the only passage in the New Testament in which the frequent attendance upon public worship is impressed upon us. The reason for the precept here is that from the persecution which now afflicted the Hebrew church, many of the disciples, being afraid to show their

true colours, had begun to absent themselves from public worship. Under ordinary circumstances, the duty was regarded as a matter of course.

¹⁶¹ The whole object of the Epistle was to keep the Hebrews who were under persecution from abandoning their faith. The sin, therefore, here referred to is confined to that of apostasy.

¹⁶² *πυρὸς ζῆλος ἐσθίειν μέλλοντος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους*. The Apostle here apparently alludes to a passage in Isaiah: *πῦρ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἔδεται*. *Is.* xxvi. 11.

¹⁶³ *Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει Κύριος*. This quotation is a very remarkable one, as it differs materially both from the Hebrew and the LXX. In the latter the passage is *Ἐν*

- 31 Lord shall judge his people.' (*Deut. xxxii. 36.*)¹⁶⁴ It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.
- 32 "But call to remembrance the former days,¹⁶⁵ in which, *when ye were*
- 33 *enlightened*, ye endured a great *struggle of sufferings*;¹⁶⁶ partly, whilst ye were made a gazing stock both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly,
- 34 whilst ye became *partners with*¹⁶⁷ them that were so used; for ye had compassion of *those in bonds*¹⁶⁸ and took joyfully the spoiling of your *possessions*,¹⁶⁹ knowing that *for yourselves* ye have in heaven a better and an enduring
- 35 *possession*.¹⁷⁰ Cast not away, therefore, your confidence, which hath great
- 36 recompense of reward: for ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done
- 37 the will of God, ye *may* receive the promise; for yet a very little while, and
- 38 He that *cometh* will come and will not tarry.¹⁷¹ But the 'just shall live by faith';¹⁷² and if he draw back, my soul *hath* no pleasure in him.' (*Hab. ii. 4.*)¹⁷³

ἡμέρα ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω. In neither are the words λέγει Κύριος. Yet we find the same citation, totidem verbis, in Rom. xii. 19. Must not the author of the Hebrews and of the Romans have been the same person?

¹⁶⁴ Κύριος κρινεῖ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. But in the LXX., κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. The Apostle therefore was quoting from memory.

¹⁶⁵ Τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας implies strictly the former of two visitations. There had, in fact, been two prior persecutions, one at the martyrdom of Stephen, A.D. 37, at the very outset of the Gospel, and the other some years after, when, in A.D. 44, Herod Agrippa proceeded *κακῶσαι τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. Acts xii. 1. The latter ceased almost immediately by the death of Agrippa, the promoter of it. The great persecution was that in the time of Stephen, and the Apostle distinguishes it from the other by calling it "the former days in which, *when ye were enlightened*," i.e. 'when ye first received the light of the Gospel.' The *third* persecution, which was raging at the date of the Epistle, was that when James the Just, the Bishop of Jerusalem, was summoned, in the absence of the Roman Procurator, before the Jewish Sanhedrim, and condemned and stoned. See Fasti Sacri, p. 327, No. 1931. The analogy between the stoning of Stephen when the Procurator Pilate was on his way to Rome, and the stoning of James the Just when Albinus the Procurator elect had not yet arrived, is very striking; and Paul may well have directed the attention of his countrymen from the one persecution to the other.

¹⁶⁶ ἀθλήσιν παθημάτων. In Eng. ver. "fight of afflictions."

¹⁶⁷ κοινωνοὶ, "partakers of" or "partakers with." In Eng. ver. "companions." The members of the Hebrew church had not only suffered affliction themselves, but had done their utmost to relieve and comfort those who were afflicted.

¹⁶⁸ The true reading, supported by the best MSS., and adopted by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, is τοῖς δεσμίαις. The Apostle could not have written τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, for he is alluding to the *first* persecution, when Paul himself was amongst the oppressors. Indeed, he was never a prisoner at Jerusalem at all, except for one night in the castle of Antonia.

¹⁶⁹ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν. In Eng. ver. "your goods."

¹⁷⁰ Ὑπαρξιν evidently has reference to the preceding word ὑπαρχόντων, another proof that the Epistle was written in Greek.

¹⁷¹ In a short time the Lord will come, and Jerusalem shall be destroyed. This event occurred seven years after the date of the Epistle. The Christians, it is said, retired in a body, before the siege began, from Jerusalem to Pella.

¹⁷² Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. The Apostle cites the same passage, word for word, Rom. i. 17; and again, Ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, Gal. iii. 11. It is observable that in all three citations the writer varies slightly from the LXX., which is, Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται, ab. ii. 4. The more trivial the variation, the more cogent the argument that the same hand penned all the passages.

¹⁷³ Ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίει. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἢ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ. In the LXX., Ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ. Ἐὰν ὑποστείληται.

39 But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition ; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul.

CH. XI. "Now faith is the *confidence*¹⁷⁴ of things hoped for, the *conviction*¹⁷⁵ of 2, 3 things not seen ; for by it the elders *were testified of*.¹⁷⁶ Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things 4 which are seen were not made of things which do appear. By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain,¹⁷⁷ by which he *had the testimony* that he was righteous (*Matt. xxiii. 35*),¹⁷⁸ God testifying of his gifts, 5 and by it he being dead yet speaketh.^{178a} By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death;¹⁷⁹ and 'was not found because God had translated him ;'¹⁸⁰ (*Gen. v. 24*) for before his translation he had *the testimony*, that he 6 'had pleased God ;' (*Gen. v. 24*)¹⁸¹ but without faith it is impossible to please him ; for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder 7 of them that diligently seek him. By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, *taking heed*,¹⁸² prepared an ark to the saving of his house,¹⁸³ by the which he condemned the world,¹⁸⁴ and became heir of the 8 *justification* which is by faith. By faith Abraham, when he was called obeyed to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inhe- 9 ritance ; and he went out, not knowing whither he *was going* ;¹⁸⁵ by faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in *tents* 10 with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise ; for he looked 11 for *the city* which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. *By*

οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ Ο δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται. The Apostle proceeds, 'Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑποστολῆς ἀλλὰ πίστεως. The word ὑποστολῆς is evidently drawn from the preceding word in the LXX., ὑποστεῖλῃται, and is another argument that the Epistle was originally written in Greek.

¹⁷⁴ ὑπόστασις. In Eng. ver. "substance." The same word is used, in the same sense of confidence, ante, iii. 14.

¹⁷⁵ ἔλεγχος. In Eng. ver. "evidence."

¹⁷⁶ ἐμαρτυρήθησαν. In Eng. ver. "obtained a good report."

¹⁷⁷ Gen. iv. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος. In *Matt. xxiii. 35*, our Lord speaks of him as Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου. He is not called righteous in any other part of Scripture. St. Paul, therefore, supposes St. Matthew's Gospel to be in the hands of his readers. See note 1 Cor. vi. 2, and post, xi. 16.

^{178a} Here again Paul appears to have studied Philo, in whom we read 'Ὁ Ἀβελ . . . ἀνῆρηται τε καὶ ζῇ· ἀνῆρηται μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἄφρονος διανοίας, ζῇ δὲ τὴν ἐν Θεῷ ζωὴν εὐδαίμονα. Μαρτυρήσει δὲ

τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον, ἐν ᾧ φωνῇ χρώμενος καὶ βοῶν ἂ πέπονθεν εὐρίσκεται· πῶς γὰρ ὁ μήκετ' ὦν διαλέγεσθαι δυνατός. Philo, Quod deterius potiori, &c., c. 4, vol. i. p. 200.

¹⁷⁹ Gen. v. 24.

¹⁸⁰ Verbatim from the LXX., except that the Apostle employs διότι for ὅτι.

¹⁸¹ The words of the Apostle are, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός, πρὸ γὰρ τῆς μεταθέσεως αὐτοῦ μαρτυρήται ἐνῆρεσθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ. In the LXX. the passage is, καὶ ἐνῆρεστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός. It is very observable that the word ἐνῆρεστησεν has no term corresponding with it in the Hebrew, but the expression there is, Enoch "walked with God." As the Apostle dwells upon the word ἐνῆρεστησεν, does it not follow that the Epistle was written in Greek?

¹⁸² ἐύλαβηθεις. In Eng. ver. "moved with fear."

¹⁸³ Gen. vi. 22.

¹⁸⁴ Because they believed not his warning.

¹⁸⁵ Gen. xii. 1, 4.

faith also Sara herself received strength to conceive seed, *even*¹⁸⁶ when she
 12 was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised.¹⁸⁷ *Where-*
fore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many ‘as the stars
 of the *heaven* in multitude’ (*Ex.* xxxii. 13),¹⁸⁸ and ‘as the sand which is by
 13 the sea shore innumerable.’ (*Is.* x. 22.)¹⁸⁹ These all died in faith, not having
 received the promises, but having seen them afar off,¹⁹⁰ and embraced them,
 14 and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth;¹⁹¹ for they
 15 that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country; and truly, if
 they had been mindful of that from whence they came out, they might have
 16 had opportunity to return; but now they desire a better [country], that is, a
 heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God (*Matt.* xxii.
 17 32); for he hath prepared for them a city. By faith Abraham, when he was
tempted, offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up
 18 his only begotten son,¹⁹² to whom it was said, ‘That in Isaac shall thy seed be
 19 called’ (*Gen.* xxi. 12);¹⁹³ accounting that God was able to raise [him] up, even
 20 from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure. By faith Isaac
 21 blessed Jacob and Esau concerning things to come.¹⁹⁴ By faith Jacob, when
 dying, blessed *each of* the sons of Joseph,¹⁹⁵ and ‘worshipped upon the top of
 22 his staff’ (*Gen.* xlvii. 31).¹⁹⁶ By faith Joseph, when he died, made mention of
 the departing of the *sons* of Israel, and gave commandment concerning his
 23 bones.¹⁹⁷ By faith Moses, when he was born, was hid three months *by* his
 parents, ‘because they saw he was a *goodly* child’¹⁹⁸ (*Ex.* ii. 2); and they
 24 were not afraid of the king’s commandment. By faith Moses, ‘when he was
 come to years,’ (*Ex.* ii. 11)¹⁹⁹ refused to be called the son of Pharaoh’s
 25 daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to
 26 enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season,²⁰⁰ esteeming the reproach of Christ
 greater riches than the treasures in Egypt, for he had respect unto the recom-

¹⁸⁶ The word ἔτεκεν, “was delivered of a child” in the Textus receptus, is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁸⁷ *Gen.* xvii. 19; xxi. 2.

¹⁸⁸ The words are those of the LXX., except that for ὥσει the Apostle substitutes καθὼς.

¹⁸⁹ ὥσει ἄμμος ἢ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναρίθμητος. In the LXX., ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης.

¹⁹⁰ The words καὶ πεισθέντες, “and were persuaded of them” in the Textus receptus, are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁹¹ 1 Chron. xxix. 15; Ps. xxxix. 12.

¹⁹² *Gen.* xxii. 2.

¹⁹³ The citation is verbatim from the LXX.

¹⁹⁴ *Gen.* xxvii. 27, 39.

¹⁹⁵ *Gen.* xlviii. 16.

¹⁹⁶ καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ. In the LXX., καὶ προσεκύνησεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ. The Hebrew is ambiguous, and may signify “on his staff,” or “on the bed’s head,” ἡῖֿטֿ signifying a bed’s head, and ἡῖֿטֿ a staff; but the Apostle here, as in other places, follows the LXX.

¹⁹⁷ *Gen.* i. 24, 25.

¹⁹⁸ διότι εἶδον ἀστέιον τὸ παιδίον. In the LXX., ἰδόντες αὐτὸ ἀστέιον.

¹⁹⁹ μέγας γενόμενος, the words of the LXX.

²⁰⁰ Philo has the same sentiment: ὁ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν φθάσας τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐτυχίας καὶ θυγατριδοῦς μὲν τοῦ τοσούτου βασιλέως νομισθεὶς . . . τὴν συγγενικὴν καὶ προγονικὴν ἐξήλωσε παιδείαν ii. 85. Vit. Moys. i. 7.

27 pense of reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the
 28 king, for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.²⁰¹ By faith he kept the
 passover, and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the first-born
 29 should touch them.²⁰² By faith they passed through the Red Sea as by
 30 dry land, which the Egyptians assaying to do were drowned.²⁰³ By faith the
 walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days.²⁰⁴
 31 By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, *having*
 32 received the spies with peace.²⁰⁵ And what shall I more say? for the time
 would fail me to tell²⁰⁶ of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of
 33 Jephtha, of David also, and Samuel and of the prophets, who through faith
 subdued kingdoms,²⁰⁷ wrought righteousness,²⁰⁸ obtained promises,²⁰⁹ stopped
 34 the mouths of lions,²¹⁰ quenched the *power* of fire,²¹¹ escaped the edge of the
 sword,²¹² out of weakness were made strong,²¹³ waxed valiant in fight, turned
 35 to flight the armies of aliens,²¹⁴ women received their dead raised to life
 again,²¹⁵ and others were tortured,²¹⁶ not accepting deliverance, that they
 36 might obtain a better resurrection; and others had trial of mockings²¹⁷ and
 37 scourgings,²¹⁸ yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment;²¹⁹ they were stoned,²²⁰
 they were sawn asunder,²²¹ were tempted,²²² were slain with the sword,²²³ they
 wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins,²²⁴ being destitute, afflicted,
 38 tormented (of whom the world was not worthy), *wandering* in deserts, and in

²⁰¹ Ex. x. 28, 29; xii. 31.

²⁰² Ex. xii. 3, 21.

²⁰³ Ex. xiv. 21.

²⁰⁴ Josh. vi. 20.

²⁰⁵ Josh. ii. 1; vi. 23.

²⁰⁶ ἐπιλείπει γὰρ με δηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος; almost in the words of Philo, Vit. Moys. i. 38, vol. ii. p. 115, ἐπιλίποι ἂν ὁ βίος τοῦ βουλομένου διηγέισθαι.

²⁰⁷ "The acts referred to may be Gideon's victory over the Midianites (Judg. vii.), Barak's over the Canaanites (ib. iv.), Samson's over the Philistines (ib. xiv.), Jephtha's over the Ammonites (ib. xi.), David's over the Philistines (2 Sam. v. 17-25, viii. 1, xxi. 15), Moabites, Syrians, Edomites (ib. viii. 2), Ammonites (ib. x. 14)." Alford.

²⁰⁸ i.e. practised a life of righteousness, as Abel, who was called righteous (ante, xi. 4); Samuel, who judged the people righteously (1 Sam. xii. 3); David, who reigned righteously (2 Sam. viii. 15), &c.

²⁰⁹ Caleb, Joshua, David, &c.

²¹⁰ Samson, David.

²¹¹ Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego.

²¹² Moses, Elijah, David.

²¹³ Hezekiah.

²¹⁴ Gideon, Jonathan.

²¹⁵ The widow of Sarepta, and the Shunammite.

²¹⁶ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, "were broken on the wheel," as Eleazar. 2 Macc. vi. 19.

²¹⁷ As one of the seven brethren. 2 Macc. vii. 7.

²¹⁸ As the seven brethren. 2 Macc. vii. 1.

²¹⁹ As Jeremiah and Jonathan. 1 Macc. xiii. 12.

²²⁰ Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxiv. 21; Jeremiah, Tertull. Scorpiac. viii.

²²¹ Isaiah is said by the fathers to have been sawn asunder. Tertull. Scorpiac. viii.

²²² ἐπειράσθησαν, i.e. were tempted, by tortures on the one hand and bribes on the other, to abandon their faith. Others think the word has crept in by mistake from its following ἐπρίσθησαν. Others would substitute ἐπυράσθησαν were burnt, or ἐπηρώθησαν were mutilated.

²²³ As Urijah, Jer. xxvi. 23; and see 1 Kings xix. 10.

²²⁴ i.e. in the meanest clothing, as the skins of sheep and goats with the wool or hair on, such as worn by Elijah (2 Kings i. 8) and John the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6).

39 mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.²²⁵ And these all, *being testified*
 40 of through faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better
 thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

CH. XII. “*Therefore* seeing we *have encompassing us*²²⁶ so great a cloud of wit-
 nesses,²²⁷ let us *also* lay aside every weight,²²⁸ and the sin which doth so
 easily beset us²²⁹ and let us run with patience the race that is set before us,
 2 looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy
 set before him endured the cross, despising the shame,²³⁰ and is set down
 3 at the right hand of the throne of God. For consider him that endured such
 contradiction from sinners against himself, *that ye be not wearied and faint in*
 4 *your minds.* Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin;²³¹
 5 and ye have forgotten the exhortation which speaketh unto you as unto
 sons, ‘My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint
 6 when thou art rebuked of him’ (*Prov. iii. 11*);²³² (for whom the Lord loveth
 7 he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure
 chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons, for what son is he whom
 8 the father chasteneth not? but if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are
 9 partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons. We had *then our fathers of the*
flesh as chastisers,²³³ and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather
 10 be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live? for they verily for a few
 days chastened us after their own pleasure, but he for our profit, that we *may*
 11 be partakers of his holiness. Now no chastening for the present seemeth to
 be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit
 12 of righteousness unto them which *were* exercised thereby);²³⁴ wherefore ‘lift
 13 up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees’ (*Is. xxxv. 3*);²³⁵ and

²²⁵ As Elijah (1 Kings xix. 13) and the hundred prophets hidden by Obadiah (1 Kings xviii. 4, 13), and David (1 Sam. xxii. 1), &c.

²²⁶ ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν. In Eng. ver. “compassed about.”

²²⁷ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, κ.τ.λ. So Philo, ἔχων οὖν, δέσποτα, τῆς ἡμετέρας προαιρέσεως τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα, κ.τ.λ., ad Caium, s. 41.

²²⁸ Ridding ourselves of every encumbrance that would lessen our speed in the race.

²²⁹ The sin of apostasy that presses upon us.

²³⁰ The cross was the most shameful of deaths. καὶ μετὰ πάσας τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἐδύναντο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἔφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς ἦν. Philo in Flaccum, c. 9, vol. ii. p. 527.

²³¹ All the metaphors in the four first verses are drawn from the games of the heathen. In these allusions we may trace the hand of Paul.

²³² υἱέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐκλύου, ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει· μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱόν, ὃν παραδέχεται. In the LXX. the word μου is omitted, and instead of παιδεύει is ἐλέγχει.

²³³ παιδευτὰς. In Eng. ver. “which corrected us.”

²³⁴ One of Paul’s parentheses. Having touched on the word ‘chastening,’ he turned aside to dilate upon it. He had left off with the words “nor faint when thou art rebuked of him,” v. 5, and he now resumes the same figure—“Wherefore, lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.”

²³⁵ τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε. These words seem to be taken from *Is. xxxv. 3*: Ἰσχύσατε, χεῖρες ἀνεμῆναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα.

‘Make straight paths for your feet’ (*Prov. iv. 26*),²³⁶ *that what* is lame *be not dislocated*,²³⁷ but rather *may* be healed.

14 “Follow peace²³⁸ with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall
15 see the Lord (*Matt. v. 8*): looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace
of God, ‘lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you’ (*Deut. xxix.*
16 18),²³⁹ and thereby many be defiled; lest there be any fornicator,²⁴⁰ or profane
17 person, as Esau, who for one *meal*²⁴¹ sold his birthright; for ye know how that
afterward when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected, for he
18 found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. For
ye *have not approached* unto a mount that *may* be touched, and that *burneth*
19 with fire, nor unto ‘blackness, and darkness, and tempest’ (*Deut. iv. 11*), and
‘the sound of a trumpet’ (*Ex. xix. 16*), and ‘the voice of words’ (*Deut. iv.*
12), which [voice] they that heard intreated that not *a word should* be spoken
20 to them more, for they could not endure that which was commanded, ‘And if
so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned’²⁴² (*Ex. xix. 13*);
21 and so terrible was the sight [that] Moses said, ‘I exceedingly fear and quake’
22 (*Deut. ix. 19*);²⁴³ but ye *have approached* unto Mount Sion,²⁴⁴ and unto the
city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to *tens of thousands*²⁴⁵ of
23 angels, to the general assembly and *congregation* of the first-born, which are
written in Heaven, and to God, the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men
24 made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and to the
25 blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than Abel²⁴⁶—see that ye

²³⁶ καὶ τροχιάς ὀρθὰς ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν. (The line is a hexameter, but this is accidental.) In the LXX, ὀρθὰς τροχιάς ποιεῖ σοῖς ποσὶ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς σου κατεύθυνε.

²³⁷ ἐκτραπή. In Eng. ver. “be turned out of the way.”

²³⁸ The Apostle now proceeds to the hortatory part of the Epistle, and εἰρήνη first suggests itself from the use of the word εἰρηνικόν a few lines before, ver. 11. The virtue of peace was particularly to be cultivated at the present juncture, from the dissensions introduced by the persecution of Ananus. The Apostle, however, presently disentangles himself from this exclusive subject, and enforces the practice of holiness in general.

²³⁹ μή τις ῥίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλῇ. The words of the LXX. are μή τις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν ῥίζα ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ.

²⁴⁰ Fornication is, perhaps, to be taken here in the Hebrew sense of apostasy from the true religion. This agrees also with the warning that follows against profaneness or bartering our faith

for worldly advantages.

²⁴¹ βρώσεως. In Eng. ver. “morsel of meat.”

²⁴² κὰν θηρίον θίγῃ, λιθοβοληθήσεται. In the LXX. λιθοβοληθήσεται ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται, ἐὰν τε ἄνθρωπος. The words ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται, “or thrust through with the dart,” are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, and have crept in from Ex. xxix. 13.

²⁴³ ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος. In the LXX. the words καὶ ἔντρομος are omitted. Here ends the long parenthesis, another instance of Paul’s peculiarity in going off at a word. The mention of the “voice” had immediately drawn after it the whole accompanying scene.

²⁴⁴ As opposed to Mount Sinai.

²⁴⁵ μυριάσιν. In Eng. ver. “an innumerable company.”

²⁴⁶ The blood of Abel that was shed cried from the ground for vengeance. Gen. iii. 10. But the blood of Christ that was shed intercedes for us by way of atonement.

refuse not him that speaketh, for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth,²⁴⁷ much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from Heaven,²⁴⁸ whose voice then shook the earth;²⁴⁹ but now he hath promised, saying, ‘Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also Heaven.’ (*Hagg.* ii. 6.)²⁵⁰ And this word, ‘Yet once more,’ signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which *are not* shaken may remain: wherefore, we receiving a kingdom which cannot be *shaken*, let us have *thankfulness*,²⁵¹ whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and *devotion*,²⁵² for ‘our God is a consuming fire.’ (*Deut.* iv. 24.)²⁵³

- CH. XIII. “Let brotherly love continue.²⁵⁴ Be not forgetful to entertain strangers,²⁵⁵ 2 for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.²⁵⁶
- 3 “Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.²⁵⁷
- 4 “Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.
- 5 “Let your *manner*²⁵⁸ [*of life*] be without covetousness, and be content with such things as ye have, for *himself* hath said, ‘I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.’ (*Deut.* xxxi. 8.)²⁵⁹ So that we may boldly say, ‘The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.’ (*Ps.* cxviii. 6.)^{259a}
- 7 “Remember *your rulers*²⁶⁰ who *spake* unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, *seeing once and again* the end of their *course*.²⁶¹

²⁴⁷ If they escaped not who disobeyed the Law delivered by Moses, the representative merely of God upon earth, how shall they escape who disobey the Gospel brought to earth by Christ, whose nature is divine?

²⁴⁸ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς and τὸν ἀπ’ οὐρανῶν. In Eph. i. 10 and Col. i. 16 we have a similar expression: τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Paley observes that the connecting of things in earth with things in heaven is a very singular sentiment, and found nowhere but in the Ephesians and Colossians; but we have it here in the Hebrews also, and we may argue from it that Paul wrote the Epistle.

²⁴⁹ Viz. at the giving of the lamb. Ex. xix. 18.

²⁵⁰ ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. In the LXX. the words are ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

²⁵¹ χάριν. In Eng. ver. “grace.”

²⁵² εὐλαβείας. In Eng. ver. “godly fear.”

²⁵³ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκων. In the LXX., Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου πῦρ καταναλίσκων ἐστί· and see Deut. ix. 3.

²⁵⁴ A precept very necessary, when, in a time

of persecution and apostasy, many animosities would naturally arise.

²⁵⁵ τῆς φιλοξενίας. The exhortation to hospitality points to Paul as the author of the Epistle, for he is the *only* writer of the New Testament by whom the duty is inculcated. The exhortation was most appropriately addressed to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to which, at the times of the great festivals, such multitudes resorted.

²⁵⁶ An allusion to the case of Abraham (Gen. xviii.) and Lot. Gen. xix.

²⁵⁷ The Apostle here refers to the imprisonments, scourgings, excommunications, and fines, to which the Christian Hebrews were now subject from the persecution of Ananus.

²⁵⁸ ὁ τρόπος. In Eng. ver. “conversation.”

²⁵⁹ οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω. In the LXX. οὐκ ἀνήσει σε οὐδὲ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη.

^{259a} The citation is verbatim from the LXX.

²⁶⁰ τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν. In Eng. ver. “them which have the rule over you.”

²⁶¹ ἀναστροφῆς. In Eng. ver. “conversation,” an apt word formerly, but not now used in this sense. Allusion is here made to James the brother

- 8, 9 “Jesus Christ *is* the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever: be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines; for it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace, not with meats, which have not profited
- 10 them that *walked* therein.²⁶² We have an altar, whereof they have no *power*
- 11 to eat which serve the tabernacle;²⁶³ for the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the High Priest for sin, are burned
- 12 ‘without the camp,’ (*Lev. xvi. 27*)²⁶⁴ wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate.²⁶⁵ Let
- 13 us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach, for
- 14, 15 we *have* no *abiding* city here, but we seek *that which is* to come.²⁶⁶ By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, ‘the
- 16 fruit of our lips’ (*Hos. xiv. 2*) giving thanks to his name. But to do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.²⁶⁷
- 17 “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves,²⁶⁸ for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you.
- 18 “Pray for us,²⁶⁹ for we trust we have a good conscience,²⁷⁰ in all things

of John whom Agrippa had slain with the sword (*Acts xii. 1*), and to James the Bishop and the other heads of the church, whom Ananus had recently convicted of heresy, and caused to be stoned. The rulers of the church *for the time being* are referred to afterwards at ver. 17, whom the disciples are exhorted to obey.

²⁶² οἱ περιπατήσαντες. In Eng. ver. “those that have been occupied therein.”

²⁶³ If ye as Christians are excommunicated and excluded from the Jewish altar, we have an altar which the unbelieving Jews have no right to approach.

²⁶⁴ Those who served the tabernacle partook of most of the sacrifices, but the sin-offering was wholly burnt, and no part was eaten by the priests: καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὧν ἐὰν εἰσενεχθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ, οὐ βρωθήσεται· ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται, *Lev. vi. 30*. Christ, the Apostle argues, is our sin-offering, and, as such, suffered without the camp, and to his disciples there is no more any sacrifice to be eaten.

²⁶⁵ The Apostle, of course, means the gate of Jerusalem, and from this familiar reference to it, we may infer that he was addressing the Hebrews of that city.

²⁶⁶ The expression, “we have no abiding city here,” is another plain allusion to Jerusalem, which was soon to be destroyed, and in which

the Christians were now suffering persecution. It was thought by Stuart that the letter was addressed to the Hebrews of Cæsarea, but the 12th, 13th, and 14th verses establish almost uncontestably that the Apostle was addressing his countrymen of Jerusalem.

²⁶⁷ The Apostle now exhorts them to works of charity, as the sacrifices now to be offered by Christians in lieu of the Levitical sacrifices, which had ceased.

²⁶⁸ James the Bishop, and the most revered of their spiritual teachers, had lately been put to death; and the Apostle exhorts the Hebrews to submit themselves to the new rulers who had been substituted in the place of their ancient pastors, and had not yet, by long services, riveted the affections of their flocks.

²⁶⁹ προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν. We find the very same words in *1 Thess. v. 25*, and see *2 Thess. iii. 1*, and *Col. i. 3*. Paul is the only writer of the New Testament who asks for the prayers of his converts, or alludes to his offering up his own prayers for them. The appeal also to a good conscience, in the concluding part of the verse, is peculiarly Pauline. See *Acts xxiii. 1*; *xxiv. 16*; *2 Tim. i. 3*. These incidental circumstances show very forcibly that he was the author of the Epistle.

²⁷⁰ This, in a letter to the Hebrews, is peculiarly Pauline, as his very first words before the

- 19 *desiring* to live honestly. And I beseech you the *more exceedingly*²⁷¹ to do this, that I may be restored²⁷² to you the sooner.
- 20 “Now the God of peace,²⁷³ that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great ‘shepherd of the sheep,’ (Is. lxiii. 11)²⁷⁴ through the blood
- 21 of the everlasting covenant,²⁷⁵ make you perfect in every good work to do his will, *doing* in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.
- 22 “And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation, for I have written a letter unto you in few words.²⁷⁶
- 23 “Know ye that our brother Timothy²⁷⁷ *hath been sent on an errand*,²⁷⁸ with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.²⁷⁹

Hebrew sanhedrim were to claim a good conscience. Acts xxiii. 1.

²⁷¹ περισσοτέρως. In Eng. ver. “the rather,” which is feeble as compared with the Greek.

²⁷² ἀποκατασταθῶ, “put back.” The writer, therefore, must have been some one who had been sent against his will from Jerusalem, i.e. Paul, who had been arrested at Jerusalem nearly five years before, and sent a prisoner to Rome, and now asks their prayers that he be restored to Jerusalem, where his sufferings had commenced.

²⁷³ ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς Εἰρήνης. So in Rom. xv. 33, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς Εἰρήνης. And again, Rom. xvi. 20; 1 Cor. xiv. 33; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Philipp. iv. 9; 1 Thess. v. 23; a phrase used only by Paul.

²⁷⁴ τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων. Verbatim from the LXX.

²⁷⁵ The *everlasting* covenant is dwelt upon, as opposed to the old covenant that was vanishing away.

²⁷⁶ Διὰ βραχείων ἐπίστειλα ὑμῖν. There is a corresponding expression in Eph. iii. 3, προέγραψα ἐν ὀλίγῳ. We see in both the same hand. Compare also Gal. vi. 11. The Apostle not having any charge over the Hebrew church, apologises for intruding upon them with an Epistle.

²⁷⁷ It has been made an objection by some to Paul's authorship of this Epistle that he calls Timothy his brother, whereas Timothy was his own convert and on that account is called his son, 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 2, and Philemon 1. But the phraseology “Timothy our brother,” so far from being an objection, is really a strong argument in favour of Paul's authorship, as, though Paul in addressing Timothy personally

calls him his son, yet in speaking of him to others he calls him “our brother,” as in 2 Cor. i. 1; Coloss. i. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 2; 2 Thess. iii. 2; Philem. 1.

²⁷⁸ ἀπολελυμένον. In Eng. ver. “set at liberty.” But there is no trace of Timothy having ever suffered imprisonment; nay, we know that a little before this, at the date of the Epistle to the Philippians, Timothy was at liberty, for it was Paul's purpose on the prospect of being set free to send Timothy immediately from Rome to Philippi. Philipp. ii. 23. Ἀπολελυμένον may signify ‘sent on a mission,’ just as well as ‘set at liberty,’ and it no doubt here signifies the former. For the use of ἀπολελυμένον in this sense see Acts xiii. 3, xv. 30, &c.

²⁷⁹ This verse is a strong argument for the Pauline origin of the Epistle. Not only is Timothy here spoken of as τὸν ἀδελφόν (see note ²⁷⁷), but ἐὰν τάχιον ἔρχηται corresponds with the passage in 1 Cor. xvi. 10: ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος. The use of the word τάχιον is also very observable, for Paul, in writing to the Philippians a few months before, with reference to this very same journey of Timothy, had twice employed the same term: Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι, and αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι, Philipp. ii. 19, 24. Why the Apostle should thus mention Timothy may be accounted for on the supposition that the elders of the Hebrew church, in their affliction during the persecution by the fierce Sadducee Ananus, had probably requested Paul (whom they believed to be still in prison) to write to the Hebrews, and send the letter by Timothy, who had ingratiated himself with the Hebrews by having submitted to circumcision.

24 "Salute all them that have the rule over you,²⁸⁰ and all the saints. They *from Italy* salute you."²⁸¹

25 "GRACE BE WITH YOU ALL."²⁸² AMEN."

²⁸⁰ The author of the Epistle, therefore, was acquainted with the heads of the Hebrew church, and this points to Paul, for we are expressly told in the Acts that when Paul was last at Jerusalem πάντες τε παρεγένοντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος (ὁ Παῦλος) αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ. Acts xxi. 18.

²⁸¹ Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. The true interpretation of these words has been much disputed, viz. whether they imply that Paul when he wrote was himself *in* Italy, or when he wrote was *out of* Italy.

1. Those who support the view that Paul was in Italy render the words as in the Authorized version, "They of Italy;" and many instances might be cited in which ἀπὸ is applied to denote the place of a person's abode, as οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι (Acts xvii. 13); Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ (Matt. xxi. 11); οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων γραμματεῖς (Matt. xv. 1); and ἀπὸ may be applied in this way, even though the writer is himself in the place referred to. Thus Ignatius, when in Smyrna, sends the following salutation to the Magnesians: ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσιοι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν. Epist. ad Magnes. s. 15.

If this construction be adopted we must suppose the sequence of events to be this, viz. that Paul, on being set free, arranged with Timothy that the latter should proceed immediately to Philippi, and that Paul should sail for Spain, but that both at the end of a certain period (say six months) should meet again at Puteoli, and thence take ship together for Judea—that Paul accordingly returned to Puteoli, but before Timothy had arrived, and that while waiting for Timothy he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. "Know that our brother Timothy has been sent on a mission, with whom, if he come quickly, I will see you. They of Italy salute you." Heb. xiii. 23.

2. Those who maintain that Paul, when he penned the Epistle, was *out of* Italy, render the words in question "They *from* Italy"—that is, 'those who have accompanied me from Italy, and are now with me.' The word ἀπὸ means literally and strictly 'from,' and not 'of;' and as the Apostle studies brevity in the Epistle (Heb. xiii. 22), the phrase "They *from* Italy" may very well express compendiously 'those who have come with me from Italy.'

If this interpretation be accepted we must suppose the sequence of events to be this, viz. that Paul on his liberation despatched Timothy to Philippi with an injunction to rejoin the Apostle in Spain, to assist him there in the ministry—that accordingly Paul sailed to Spain with the intention of spending some time there, but that, in the course of his progress, and before the return of Timothy, he received intelligence of the threatened defection of the Hebrew church, and that he then immediately wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, to confirm the waverers in their faith, and promised, at the earliest day possible, to follow himself, and, if Timothy should reach Spain in time, to make Timothy his associate in the voyage.

After much hesitation (which may well be excused in so doubtful a matter), we have given the preference in the text to the hypothesis that Paul, when he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, was in Spain; and in doing so we have followed the authority of Dr. Wordsworth, who interprets οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας 'They *from* Italy,' and gives the following reasons: 1. That the Epistle could not have been written from *Rome*, or the Apostle would have mentioned *Rome*, and not Italy; and 2. That the Epistle could not have been written from Italy (as from Puteoli), as he could hardly take upon himself to convey the greeting of the Italians generally, nor would he have described the Christians of Italy as "They of Italy," but as the 'saints' or 'brethren' of Italy. Wordsworth on Heb. xiii. 24.

²⁸² The Apostle had said to the Thessalonians, "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, WHICH IS THE TOKEN IN EVERY EPISTLE, SO I WRITE: 'THE GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL.'" 2 Thess. iii. 17, 18. All the other Epistles of Paul are thus authenticated, and the reader will observe that the Apostle subjoins the like salutation in his own hand at the end of the Hebrews: "GRACE BE WITH YOU ALL." He therefore authenticates the Epistle as his own, and thereby removes any doubt which might have existed as to the authorship, from the omission of the writer's name at the beginning. In the Hebrews, as in the other later Epistles, the benediction is in a short form. No other Epistles but those of Paul have this benediction.

The letter was dispatched, but by whose hands we know not. Timothy, who had submitted to circumcision, would have been most acceptable to the Hebrew church, but he had not yet rejoined the Apostle. Luke, who had waited upon him at Rome, may have been still with him, and it has been surmised that, in fact, he assisted the Apostle in the composition of the Hebrews, as the style of it has great resemblance to Luke's other writings. But Luke was a Gentile, and could scarcely have been selected as a suitable envoy. Demas, Aristarchus, and Justus were also apparently with Paul at this time, but Demas again was a Gentile, and would therefore be objectionable. But Aristarchus and Justus were both of them Israelites,²⁸³ and one of them may have been employed for the purpose. After all, the Epistle may have been transmitted to Jerusalem by the ordinary letter-carrier. If the Hebrew church had intellects to understand, and hearts to feel the incisive arguments and stirring exhortations contained in the Epistle, the appeal must have produced signal effects, and have established their wavering faith on a firm and immovable basis.

Not long after the dispatch of the letter, Timothy arrived from Philippi, when Paul and his youthful follower, and the other missionaries in the Apostles' company, sailed for Judea.

Crete lay on their way, and it has been supposed by many, that Paul at this time promulgated the Gospel there, but this seems improbable. The passage in the Epistle to Titus, which is the foundation of the hypothesis, is as follows: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders *in every city* as I had appointed thee"^{283a}. We are hence led to infer, that Paul had traversed the island and preached in the principal cities, but this would have occupied him two or three months, which he could ill spare, when he was making all haste to Jerusalem. In writing from Spain, he had asked for the prayers of the Hebrews, "that I may be restored to you *the sooner*,"²⁸⁴ and alluding to Timothy, he says, "with whom, *if he come shortly*, I will see you;"²⁸⁵ so that if Timothy had delayed his arrival, Paul would have embarked without him. It is clear also that when Paul visited Crete on the occasion referred to in the Epistle, Titus was with him, but there is no trace of Titus having sailed with Paul from the west. Another argument of considerable weight is, that no one can read the Epistle to Titus, then in Crete, without feeling that the writer had parted from him not long before, whereas the letter as we shall see was not written for at least a year after the period of which we are now speaking. We may assume, therefore, that Paul made no stay at Crete at the present time, but he may have touched there, and may have promised to re-visit them the first convenient opportunity, a pledge which he afterwards redeemed.

Paul and his companions in due time reached Jerusalem, and if on the last occa-

²⁸³ They are distinguished, as being of the circumcision, from Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, who were Gentiles. Coloss. iv. 10.

^{283a} Titus i 5.

²⁸⁴ Heb. xiii. 19.

²⁸⁵ Heb. xiii. 23.

sion "the brethren received them gladly,"²⁸⁶ the Hebrews now in their distress would welcome their coming with the most heartfelt joy. The bitterness of death was by this time past, but though Ananus had been deposed from the high priesthood, the persecution may have been still continued in a mitigated and more legitimate form. The Apostle's first act at Jerusalem was, perhaps, with a grateful heart for his own deliverance from a tedious imprisonment, to worship his Maker in that Holy Temple which he was destined never to see again. The last time he had been in the courts of the Lord's House, he had been assailed by an infuriate mob, but a merciful Providence had rescued him that he might shine a still brighter example of Christian fortitude. In a few short years, the sanctuary, where religious zeal had roused the passions of the multitude to such a pitch of phrensy, was to lie a solitude amid the stillness of death. If this was revealed to the Apostle as he gazed on the stately pile for the last time, the water must have stood in his eyes.

But the distress of the living called for his aid, and the Apostle now by word of mouth, as he had done before by letter, comforted the Hebrew brethren, and strengthened them by his manly exhortations against the assaults of their enemies. He may also have been an active champion in securing to them the *civil* rights which had been so grossly violated by Ananus. He who from his dungeon at Philippi had obliged the magistrates "to come and fetch him out,"²⁸⁷ was well calculated to shield the disciples from tyrannical oppression, and assert their privileges as peaceful citizens living under the protection of the Roman laws. Paul had so clear a forecast of the approaching downfall of the Jewish polity, that he may also have prepared the minds of the Hebrews for that event, by impressing upon them our Saviour's prophetic warning, that when they saw the Roman eagles gathered about the carcass of the Holy City, they should flee unto the mountains. It has been recorded that the Christians availed themselves of the prediction, and retired to Pella, and so were not involved in the horrors of the last desperate struggle.

Paul in his letter from Spain had used the expression "I will see you,"²⁸⁸ which rather negatives the idea of a lengthened visit. We may conclude, therefore, that after a brief sojourn amongst the Hebrew brethren, the Apostle, as he had done on former occasions, took his route to Antioch, the metropolitan Gentile church, and there passed the ensuing winter, A.D. 62-63.

²⁸⁶ Acts xxi. 17.²⁸⁷ Acts xvi. 37.²⁸⁸ ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς. Heb. xiii. 23.

CHAPTER VIII.

Paul's last Circuit—He visits Ephesus and Crete, and passes through Macedonia to Corinth—He writes the First Epistle to Titus, and the First Epistle to Timothy—He winters in Epirus—He visits Dalmatia, and returns a prisoner to Ephesus.

The Christian pastor bound to earth,
 With thankless toil and vile esteemed,
 Still travailing in second birth
 Of souls that will not be redeemed,
 Yet steadfast set to do his part,
 And fearing most his own vain heart.

Christian Year.

PAUL had now been in the ministry more than a quarter of a century. There had been time for enthusiasm to cool—for an acute intellect to discover error—for a sound judgment to reform its conclusions,—yet Paul had never once swerved. During that interval he had been four times shipwrecked, he had been scourged and whipped, stoned and imprisoned, he had submitted to every indignity and outrage that ingenious malice or popular fury could heap upon him, yet he had never flinched. The hardships he had endured, the anxieties and mental agonies attendant upon his office, may have impaired the bodily frame, but he retained the same fixedness of purpose, the same earnest but steady zeal by which he had been actuated six-and-twenty years before. It was not likely that so hardy a veteran should at the eleventh hour, when victory was within his reach, retreat from the conflict. Accordingly, in the spring of A.D. 64 he commenced his last circuit, and took leave of Antioch never more to return to it.

We have no connected history of Paul's movements from the time of his release, but from the intentions expressed in the Epistle to Philemon we may gather that he now traversed Galatia and Phrygia to Colossæ, where he had directed a lodging to be provided for him.¹ Here the Apostle was received by the wealthy Philemon and the poor Onesimus, once the master and slave, now two brethren in Christ.

From the deep interest which Paul took in the welfare not only of the Colossians but also of all Christians in their immediate vicinity,² we may infer that Paul on his way to Ephesus, bestowed, for the first time, the benefit of his personal presence upon

¹ Philem. 22.

² Col. ii. 1.

the churches also of Laodicea and Hierapolis. Laodicea had three years before been desolated by an earthquake,³ but Phoenix-like, she had soon risen to her pristine greatness.

Paul now once more found himself at Ephesus.⁴ He had not visited it since the riot of Demetrius, the silversmith. However, he had subsequently held an interview with the elders of the Ephesian church at Miletus, in A.D. 58, and the language he then used was prophetic. "I know," he said, "that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them."⁵ This had now come to pass. Instead of the Judaizers, who had been the Apostle's antagonists in earlier years, the Gnostic heresy had gathered strength during his tedious imprisonment, and had like a noxious parasitical plant, fastened itself on Christianity, and was poisoning its vital principle. It had some time before taken root at Colossæ, Laodicea and Philippi, as we have gathered from the letters to those churches written from Rome. It had also penetrated into Ephesus and Corinth, the capitals of Asia and Achaia, and another of its strongholds was Crete, whither the Apostle presently followed it. During the winter months Paul and Timothy and Titus, and his other coadjutors, were busily engaged in counteracting these dangerous doctrines, and though without information to guide us, we may safely conclude that the unceasing efforts of the Christian brotherhood were not unsuccessful.

Paul now redeemed his promise of passing into Crete. Christianity appears to have been early disseminated in that island. Cretans are enumerated amongst those who witnessed the gift of tongues, and heard the preaching of Peter on the Day of Pentecost, after the Ascension,⁶ and some of them may have been converted, and carried the Gospel back with them to their native country. Crete abounded with Jews,⁷ and, no apostle having regulated their faith, Judaism, and then Gnosticism, its offspring, had corrupted the word, and the Gospel had become so disfigured by strange phantasies, that its features could scarcely be recognized. The object of Paul was to eradicate the tares which had thus been sown in the Lord's field, and to restore the Gospel to its original purity. Timothy was left in charge of the church at Ephesus during his absence,⁸ and Paul, accompanied by Titus, and also by Tychicus and Artemas,⁹ sailed for Crete. Some time must have been spent in making the circuit of the island, for the Gospel was preached in it city by city;¹⁰ as at Gnossus and Gortyna, where in the second century were flourishing churches, to which Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, addressed an epistle.¹¹ However, Macedonia and Achaia were calling

³ See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 319, No. 1889.

⁴ 1 Tim. i. 3.

⁵ Acts xx. 29, 30.

⁶ Acts ii. 11.

⁷ Philo ad Caium, s. 36; Acts ii. 11.

⁸ This may be inferred from Paul's direction, when touching at Ephesus on his way from Crete

to Macedonia, that Timothy should *continue* there, *προσμεῖναι*. 1 Tim. i. 3.

⁹ Tit. iii. 12. Paul would scarcely have sent them afterwards to Crete, unless they were personally known to the churches there.

¹⁰ *κατὰ πόλιν*. Tit. i. 5.

loudly for his presence, and he made no long sojourn in any part, but, having scattered the seeds of a healthy Christianity through the length and breadth of the island, he left Titus there to complete the work by superintending the internal organization of the churches, and Paul himself, with Tychicus and Artemas, embarked for Ephesus on his way to Macedonia.

Paul touched at Ephesus, where he had an interview with Timothy, and desired him to remain at his post until further instructions: heresy was still lurking in that church, and next to Paul himself, no abler champion could have been found than Timothy. This arrangement we learn from a subsequent Epistle: "As I besought thee to *abide still at Ephesus, on my road into Macedonia*, that thou mightest charge some not to teach any other doctrine, nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith: so do."¹² Another reason may also have operated in leaving Timothy at Ephesus. He was at present in ill-health, and Paul, ever considerate for his friends, may have thought that a sojourn there for some time, though in a stirring scene, might be more beneficial to Timothy than the fatigue of incessant travelling.

From Ephesus the Apostle, with Tychicus and Artemas, proceeded, by way of Troas and Neapolis, to Philippi.¹³ Here must have been an exchange of the most heartfelt congratulations. The Philippians beheld their spiritual father after a separation of seven years, and now grown venerable by age; and he, on the other hand, had to acknowledge another liberal contribution which had been forwarded to him at Rome by the hands of Epaphroditus.

Of all the churches planted by the Apostle, perhaps none was better regulated than that of the Philippians. It had long since acquired a settled form, and was governed by its priests and deacons. And this unusually prosperous state was attained under the auspices of Luke, who had been left there in the course of Paul's second circuit, and waited there until Paul's return to it, in his third circuit. Yet even here existed some grounds for uneasiness. The flock of Christ was to be guarded against heretical teachers,¹⁴ and the private feuds which had been reprobated in the Epistle¹⁵ were to be reconciled. By the exercise of the apostolical authority, sound faith was maintained, and a church so distinguished for the amiable character of its members, was soon at unity with itself. These duties discharged, Paul visited Thessalonica and Berea, and the other Macedonian communities, and then descended southward to Corinth.

We have already had occasion to remark, that no church was more beloved than

¹¹ Euseb. H. E. iv. 23.

¹² 1 Tim. i. 3, 4.

¹³ This we may infer from his promise to visit them at no distant time after his release from imprisonment. Timothy was to start from Rome for Philippi the instant that the verdict was

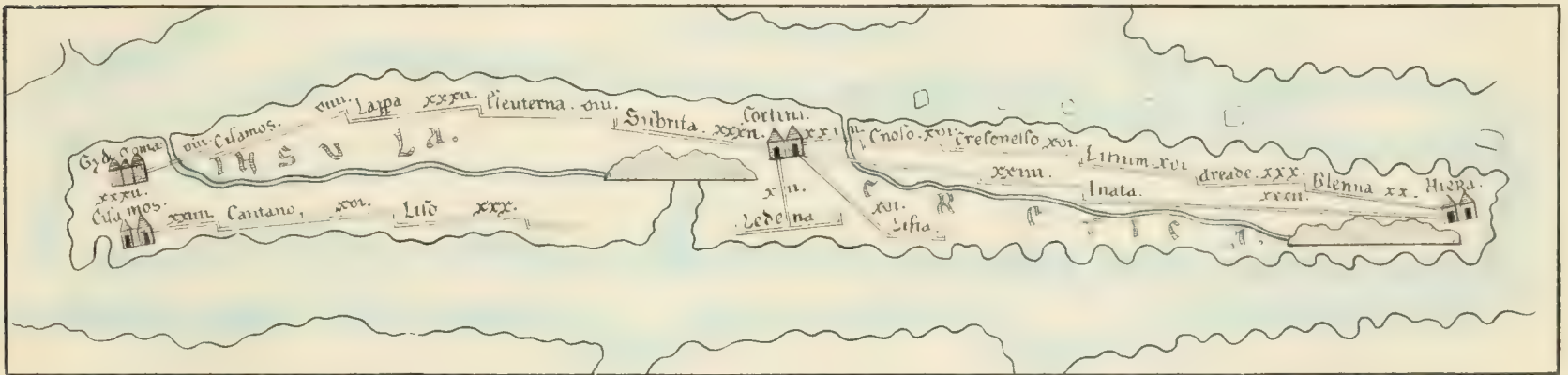
given: *ὡς ἂν ἀπίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ, ἐξαντῆς*, Philipp. ii. 23; and Paul hoped that he should be able to come to them *soon* after, *ταχέως*. Ib. i. 24.

¹⁴ Philipp. iii. 2.

¹⁵ Philipp. iv. 2.



MAP OF CRETE WITH THE ANCIENT ROADS.
See Adileuda



FAC-SIMILE OF THE PEUTINGER TABLE AS TO CRETE.



VIEW OF MEGALO KASTRON, THE ANCIENT HERACLEUM,
the Port of Gnosus the capital of the Island,
and at which St. Paul would land or embark on coming from or returning to Ephesus
From Admiralty Chart

the Corinthian, and none gave him greater solicitude. The acute intellect of the Greeks involved them in subtle sophistries, and a fertile imagination led to the absurdest chimeras and the wildest speculations. Shortly after the first introduction of Christianity they had wrangled one with another, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ."

These unseemly divisions had been suppressed; but in their stead the heresy of Gnosticism had lately overspread the church with its baneful shade. Many years before this, the Apostle had rebuked the error of some who denied the resurrection from the dead. These were the incipient Gnostics. They had since matured their system, and were now using their utmost efforts at Corinth to supplant the solid truths of Christianity and substitute their own baseless visions and philosophical castle-building.

The leaders of the sect were Hymenæus and Alexander. Paul, on his arrival, came immediately into collision with them, and as they persisted in their error, and set his authority at defiance, he was compelled, however averse to extreme measures, to apply the apostolic rod. Hymenæus and Alexander were excommunicated, and ceased to be members of the Corinthian church. In a letter addressed to Timothy shortly afterwards from Corinth, Paul bids him persevere, in "Holding faith, and a good conscience, which some," he continues, "having put away concerning faith, have made shipwreck, of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander, *whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.*"¹⁶ It might have been anticipated that this condemnation by the Corinthian church of the Gnostic Heresiarchs, would lead to contrition. Such had been the effect of the excommunication, some years before, of the incestuous brother. But Hymenæus, if not Alexander, obstinately maintained his error, for Paul, in a letter to Timothy more than a year afterwards from Rome, alludes again to the Gnostics in these terms: "Shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness, and their word will eat as doth a canker, *of whom is Hymenæus and Philetus*, who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some."¹⁷

Paul having thus completed the circuit of all his churches, and exerted himself in each to rectify the disorders to which his unavoidable absence had opened a door, was now at liberty to carry the tidings of the Gospel into other climes. But heresy was so active amongst his churches, that he dared not venture to any great distance. He proposed, therefore, to traverse the western coast, namely, Epirus and Illyricum and Dalmatia (into which he had not yet penetrated), and then bending his steps to the right, to return by way of Thessalonica, Philippi, and Troas to Ephesus.

Before he started, it was necessary to communicate with Titus, whom he had left

¹⁶ 1 Tim. i. 20.

¹⁷ 2 Tim. ii. 16-18.

in Crete, and with Timothy, who had been posted at Ephesus, to inform them of his plans, and give them suitable directions.¹⁸ The present intentions of the Apostle were, to send either Artemas or Tychicus to Crete to relieve Titus, who, when a substitute arrived, was to rejoin Paul at Nicopolis in Epirus, where he proposed to winter.¹⁹ Timothy was to remain in charge of the Ephesian church until the Apostle reached it in person.²⁰

A favourable opportunity now presented itself of forwarding a letter to Titus, and it was this:—Apollus, as the reader may recollect, was a Jew of Alexandria, who, possessing originally a somewhat imperfect knowledge of the Gospel, had been further instructed in it by Aquila and Priscilla, on their meeting with him at Ephesus. He had afterwards passed over to Corinth, and preached there with the greatest success. He had then returned to Ephesus, where he was introduced to Paul, and became an attached follower. The Corinthians, charmed by his eloquence, had, in writing to Paul at Ephesus, expressed a wish that Apollus should honour them a second time with his presence, but it was not then convenient, and Paul had answered, "As touching our brother Apollus, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren, but his will was *not at all to come now, but he will come when he shall have convenient time.*"²¹ Apollus had afterwards found the opportunity and renewed his labours amongst the Corinthians, and was thus engaged at the period of Paul's arrival. Apollus, after sojourning for some time at Corinth, was anxious to revisit Alexandria, his native city, and a Christian brother, by the name of Zenas or Zenodorus, was to be his companion. Crete lay directly on their route from Corinth

¹⁸ The first Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus were unquestionably written about the same time, and most probably from the same place, and there can be little doubt that this place was Corinth. In writing to Timothy at Ephesus the Apostle refers to the verbal instructions given to Timothy when he (Paul) was on his way to Macedonia. 1 Tim. i. 3. This Epistle, therefore, was not written from Ephesus itself, nor even from Macedonia, to which Paul had proceeded, but from some province to which the Apostle would naturally direct his steps after quitting Macedonia. Twice before he had passed through Macedonia to Corinth (Acts xviii. 1; xix. 21), and we cannot suppose that, after voyaging from Ephesus to Macedonia, he could fail to revisit his beloved Corinth. He was certainly not in Epirus at the date of the Epistle to Titus, for he bids Titus to come to him at Nicopolis of Epirus, where he proposed to winter. Tit. iii. 12. If not in Macedonia or Epirus, whither, after quitting Macedonia, and before going to Epirus, could Paul have journeyed but, as on former occasions, to Achaia, and if to

Achaia, whither but to Corinth, the capital? The circumstances also agree, for in the Epistle to Timothy, Paul tells him that he had delivered over Hymenæus and Alexander to Satan—i.e. had excommunicated them—as heretics. 1 Tim. i. 20. Paul, therefore, was writing from some church which had been long established by him, and submitted to his authority. Such was Corinth; and indeed the excommunication of Hymenæus and Alexander is the very counterpart of the excommunication at Corinth by the Apostle of the incestuous person some years before. 1 Cor. v. 5. One of the heresies of Alexander also was the denial of the resurrection; and we know, from the first Epistle to the Corinthians, that this canker had already fastened upon that church. Corinth, also, from its commercial importance and ready maritime communication with foreign parts, offered peculiar facilities for the transmission of letters over sea, as of that to Timothy at Ephesus and of that to Titus in Crete.

¹⁹ Tit. iii. 11.

²⁰ 1 Tim. i. 3; iv. 14.

²¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 12.



ALEXANDRIA IN EGYPT.

From Bartlett.

The spectator is looking north-west over the new Port, and the Pharos is seen at the end of the tongue of land on the extreme right.



PLAN OF ALEXANDRIA.

From Admiralty Chart

To face Vol. ii. *p.* 340.

to Alexandria, and Paul availed himself of their services to transmit a letter to Titus.

After saluting Titus as his son in the faith, the Apostle proceeds in the first part to give him directions as to the choice of Christian ministers,—that he should ordain none but such as were of unexceptionable lives, and regulated their own households without reproach, and were of orthodox opinions, and not infected by the Gnostic heresy.

In the second part (ii. 1) he instructs him what duties he ought to inculcate upon the old and young of both sexes, and (ii. 9) upon slaves toward their masters, and (iii. 1) upon all as subjects of the Emperor and peaceful citizens. In a word (iii. 8), he exhorts Titus to cultivate practical religion, and not to be led aside by the silly and useless speculations of the Judaizers and Gnostics.

He concludes (iii. 12) by directing him to join the Apostle at Nicopolis in Epirus, as soon as Tychicus or Artemas arrived in Crete, and to set forward Apollos and Zenas on their voyage to Alexandria, and subjoins a general salutation with his usual benediction. The Epistle was as follows:—

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. “PAUL, A SERVANT OF GOD, AND AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST, ACCORDING TO THE FAITH OF GOD’S ELECT, AND THE KNOWLEDGE²² OF THE TRUTH WHICH 2 IS AFTER GODLINESS, IN HOPE OF ETERNAL LIFE,²³ WHICH GOD, THAT CANNOT 3 LIE, PROMISED FROM *TIMES ETERNAL*, BUT HATH IN DUE *SEASON* MANIFESTED HIS WORD THROUGH PREACHING, WITH WHICH I HAVE BEEN INTRUSTED ACCORDING TO THE 4 COMMANDMENT OF GOD OUR SAVIOUR—TO TITUS, MINE OWN *CHILD*²⁴ AFTER THE COMMON FAITH, GRACE, MERCY, PEACE, FROM GOD THE FATHER AND THE LORD JESUS CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR.

5 “For this cause left I thee in Crete,²⁵ that thou shouldest *further* set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I *injoined* 6 thee: if any be *unimpeachable*,²⁶ the husband of one wife,²⁷ having faithful

²² τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν. Used in the same sense, 1 Tim. ii. 4

²³ The Apostle at once lays down the doctrine of godliness as the passport to eternal life, the antagonistic principle to the Gnostic heresy.

²⁴ τέκνον. In Eng. ver. “son;” i.e. his own convert.

²⁵ The Apostle, therefore, had recently been in Crete.

²⁶ ἀνέγκλητος. In Eng. ver. “blameless.”

²⁷ This means either the husband who has only one wife at the same time, or who has married only once, and on the loss of his wife has not married again. It is objected to the former

interpretation that the command was superfluous as Christianity never allowed two wives; but polygamy was a common practice amongst the Jews who abounded in Crete, and, as Christianity did not disturb existing relations, a Jew who had married two wives before his conversion may have been allowed to retain them, but it would not be prudent to place such a one in a post of honour, and hence the Apostle’s precept. However, the preferable interpretation appears to be a man who has only been once married, for in the first Epistle to Timothy we have the like expression, *μίας γυναῖκος ἄνδρα*, 1 Tim. iii. 2; and then a little afterwards, *χῆρα . . . ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς*

7 children, not accused of *debauchery*²⁸ or unruly. For a bishop²⁹ must be *unimpeachable*,³⁰ as the steward of God, not self-willed, not *passionate*, not a
8 wine *bibber*, no striker, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of hospitality, a
9 lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word
according to the doctrine,³¹ that he may be able by sound *teaching* both to exhort
10 and to convince the gainsayers. For there are many *even* unruly vain talkers
11 and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision,³² whose mouths must be
stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not,
12 for filthy lucre's sake. One of themselves, even a prophet³³ of their own,³⁴
said—

‘The Cretans

Are always liars,³⁵ evil beasts,³⁶ slow bellies.³⁷

13 This witness is true. Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound
14 in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables,³⁸ and commandments of men³⁹
15 *who are perverted* from the truth; *for* unto the pure all things are pure, but
unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure, but even their
16 mind and conscience is defiled. They profess that they know God,⁴⁰ but in

γυνή, 1 Tim. v. 9; and as in the latter case it is clear that a widow is meant who has been only once married, we may infer the like as to the man. See Wordsworth's notes on 1 Tim. iii. 2, and v. 9.

²⁸ ἀσωτίας. In Eng. ver. “riot.”

²⁹ The Apostle had just before spoken of elders, and he now calls them bishops. Presbyters, therefore, or priests, and bishops, were at this time equivalent expressions.

³⁰ ἀνέγκλητον. In Eng. ver. “blameless.”

³¹ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν. In Eng. ver. “as he hath been taught.”

³² The Gnostics, therefore, who are here referred to, were not *all* Jews, as some have supposed.

³³ The quotation is from Epimenides of Phæstus, Plut. Solon. 12, or Cnossus in Crete, Diog. Laërt. i. 109; Plin. vii. 49, vii. 53; who appears to have been regarded not only as a poet, but as a prophet also. Thus Cicero speaks of persons who “concitatione quâdam animi, aut soluto liberoque motu, futura præsentunt, ut Baris Bæotius, ut Epimenides Cres.” Cic. de Divin. i. 18. And Apuleius calls him “Inclytum fatiloquum et poetam.” Apul. Florid. Plato calls him ἀνὴρ θεῖος, de Leg. i.; and so Plutarch, ἐδόκει δέ τις εἶναι θεοφιλὴς καὶ σόφος περὶ τα θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν, Sol. 12; and so Maximus Tyrius describes him as δεινὸς τὰ

θεῖα, Dissert. 22. Epimenides is said to have been a sleeper for 57 years in a cave, Plin. N. H. vii. 53; and to have lived 157 years. Plin. N. H. vii. 49.

³⁴ The Cretans paid no regard to foreign poets: οὐ σφόδρα χρώμεθα οἱ Κρήτες τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν. Plato de Leg. iii. sub initio.

³⁵ Hence Κρητίζειν was a proverbial expression, “to lie.” Thus Κρητίζειν, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι . . . ἐπειδὴ ψεύσται καὶ ἀπατεωνές εἰσι, Suidas. Κρητίζειν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἀπατᾶν. Hesych. The fallacy founded on this text is familiar, viz. All the Cretans are liars. Epimenides was a Cretan, therefore Epimenides was a liar. If Epimenides was a liar, the Cretans are true. Epimenides was a Cretan, and therefore true. If Epimenides was true, the Cretans are liars. And so round and round in a circle.

³⁶ Whence the Greek proverb:

Καππάδοκες, Κρήτες, Κίλικες, τρία κάππα κάκιστα

³⁷ We meet with the latter expression in Juvenal:

Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus.

Lib. i. Sat. 4, 407.

³⁸ The Gnostic imaginations. See ante, p. 239.

³⁹ The Rabbinical traditions, which were afterwards, about A.D. 200, embodied by Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh (the Holy) in the Mishna.

⁴⁰ And therefore called themselves Gnostics, or men of knowledge.

works they deny him, being abominable, and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate.

CH. II. "But speak thou the things which become sound *teaching*—that the aged
2, 3 men be sober, grave, *discreet*, sound in faith, in charity, in patience. The aged
women likewise, that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness, not *slan-*
4 *derous*,⁴¹ not *enslaved* to much wine, teachers of good things, that they may
teach the young women to be sober, *lovers of* their husbands, *lovers of* their
5 children, *discreet*, chaste, good *housewives*,⁴² *submitting themselves* to their own
6 husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed. *The younger* men, like-
7 wise exhort to be sober minded: in all things *exhibiting*⁴³ thyself⁴⁴ a pattern
8 of good works, uncorruptness in *teaching*, gravity,⁴⁵ sound speech, that cannot
be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having
no evil thing to say of *us*.⁴⁶

9 "Exhort servants⁴⁷ to *submit themselves* unto their own masters, to be *well*
10 *pleasing* to them in all things, not answering again, not purloining, but showing
all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all
11 things. For the grace of God hath appeared that bringeth salvation to all
12 men, *instructing* us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should
13 live soberly, *and justly*, and godly, in *the* present world, looking for that blessed
hope, and the glorious appearing of *our* great God and Saviour Jesus Christ,⁴⁸
14 who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify
15 unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. These things speak,
and exhort, and rebuke with all authority: let no man despise thee.⁴⁹

CH. III. "Put them in mind to *submit themselves* to principalities and powers, to
2 obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work, to speak evil of no man, *not*
3 to be *contentious*, but gentle, showing all meekness unto all men. For we
ourselves also were *once* foolish, disobedient, *erring*, serving divers lusts and
4 pleasures, living in malice and envy, *abominable*,⁵⁰ hating one another. But,
5 *when* the kindness and the love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not

⁴¹ διαβόλους. In Eng. ver. "false accusers."

⁴² οἰκουροὺς ἀγαθὰς. So Euripides.

Ἐνδον μένουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι χρεὼν

Ἐσθλὴν, θύρασι δ' ἀξίαν τοῦ μηδενός.

Meleager, Stobæus lxxiv. 12.

⁴³ παρεχόμενος. In Eng. ver. "shewing"

⁴⁴ From the Apostle's exhorting Titus to hold forth himself as a pattern to *young* men, it would seem that Titus, like Timothy, was a young man, and this we should also infer from verse 15, "Let no man despise thee." Compare 1 Tim. iv. 12.

⁴⁵ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all omit ἀφθαρσίαν, "sincerity."

⁴⁶ All the recent writers read ἡμῶν, instead of ὑμῶν.

⁴⁷ δούλους, "slaves," for at that time slavery was a civil institution, which Christianity without any civil power could not disturb.

⁴⁸ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The word μέγας is applied to Christ in a similar manner, Heb. xiii. 20: τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν—τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν. The two passages throw a light upon each other, and show that Christ was meant in both.

⁴⁹ Titus, like Timothy, was still a young man.

⁵⁰ στυγητοί. In Eng. ver. "hateful."

by works of righteousness which we *did*, but according to his mercy he saved
 6 us, by the washing of regeneration,⁵¹ and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which
 7 he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that being justifi-
 ed by his grace, we *might* be made heirs according to the hope of eternal
 8 life. *It* is a faithful saying,⁵² and these things I will that thou affirm con-
 stantly, that they which have believed in God be careful to maintain good
 9 works. These are *those* good things⁵³ and profitable unto men. But foolish
 questions, and genealogies,⁵⁴ and contentions, and strivings about the Law,⁵⁵
 10 *put aside*, for they are unprofitable and vain. A man that is a heretic after
 11 the first and second admonition reject,⁵⁶ knowing that such *a one* is subverted,
 and sinneth, being *self* condemned.⁵⁷

12 “When I shall send Artemas⁵⁸ unto thee, or Tychicus,⁵⁹ be diligent to
 13 come unto me to Nicopolis,⁶⁰ for I have determined there to winter. *Forward*⁶¹
 Zenas the lawyer⁶² and Apollos⁶³ on their journey diligently, that nothing be
 14 wanting unto them. And let ours⁶⁴ also learn to *promote*⁶⁵ good works for
 15 necessary uses, that they be not unfruitful. All that are with me salute thee.

Greet them that love us in the faith. GRACE BE WITH YOU ALL.”⁶⁶

Shortly after dispatching this Epistle, and as soon as a channel of communication with Ephesus presented itself, the Apostle wrote also to Timothy.

⁵¹ Viz. Baptism.

⁵² πιστός ὁ λόγος. The word referred to is the doctrine of good works, which the Apostle advocates, as opposed to the views of the Gnostics. See ante, p. 249.

⁵³ τὰ καλὰ.

⁵⁴ The fanciful theories of the Gnostics. See ante, p. 249.

⁵⁵ The mysticism of the Law, the confusion of gloss further confounded by tradition.

⁵⁶ παραιτοῦ, avoid.

⁵⁷ He passes sentence against himself, in not recanting after a first and second admonition from the church.

⁵⁸ Artemas is short for Artemidorus. It has been remarked that all the four trusted companions of Paul here referred to derive their names from the idols which Paul was struggling to eradicate, as Zenas from Ζεὺς, Artemas from Ἀρτέμις (Diana), Apollos from Apollo, and Tychicus from Τύχη, Fortune.

⁵⁹ Tychicus was one of Paul's most trusted messengers to the churches. He had carried the Epistles to the Colossians, Laodiceans (Ephesians), and Philemon, from the Apostle when a prisoner at Rome. Eph. vi. 21.

⁶⁰ Nicopolis in Epirus, founded by Augustus in honour of the battle of Actium. See Fasti

Sacri, p. 76, No. 641. It was, in the Apostle's time, a most flourishing town, but is now a mere ruin. See post, p. 353.

⁶¹ πρόπεμψον. In Eng. ver. “bring on their journey.” Apollos was a native of Alexandria, and he and Zenas were probably on their way thither, and touched at Crete, and were the bearers of the Epistle.

⁶² Zenas is short for Zenodorus. As he is designated ὁ νομικός, he was or had been probably a Jewish scribe.

⁶³ Apollos is the abbreviation of Apollodorus. Artemidorus, Zenodorus, and Apollodorus were all names in common use at this period amongst the Greeks.

⁶⁴ οἱ ἡμέτεροι. The true believers, as opposed to the heretical Gnostics. See i. 9, ii. 8. Philo uses the same expression: τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον, οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὕβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδέχθαι. In Flaccum, s. 9.

⁶⁵ προῖστασθαι. In Eng. ver. “maintain.” It may have the force of the Latin ‘præstare,’ or it may signify to take the lead in or set an example of good works.

⁶⁶ The usual benediction in Paul's own hand to authenticate the letter. See Vol. I. p. 284. The word ‘Amen’ in the Eng. ver. is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Tischendorf, and Alford.

After the usual salutation, he (i. 3) bids him guard against the fanciful and false theories of the Gnostics—that the Law of Moses was not to be perverted by subtle refinements into the support of heretical opinions, but was to be studied for the regulation of our practical life, and informs him that he had excommunicated Hymenæus and Alexander for their Gnostic blasphemies. He then (ii. 1) gives directions for the due celebration of Divine Service, and next (iii. 1) instructs him as to the selection of Priests and Deacons. (In the Epistle to Titus he had spoken of Priests only, because the duties of Deacons were principally about the distribution of alms amongst the widows, and in Crete the church had not yet attained its just proportions, and Deacons had not been required, but in the Ephesian community the two orders of Priests and Deacons had been long established, and there was a public fund for the relief of the widows.) The Apostle then (iii. 16) inculcates certain articles of faith, and forewarns Timothy (iv. 1) against the increase of Heresy—that the Gnostics, as tares in the Christian field, would again overrun the church, advancing profane fables and inculcating bodily mortification, and he premonishes Timothy to stem the approaching torrent. (This prediction came to pass, and the charge to Timothy was obeyed, as we may infer from the Revelation, where the Spirit, by the mouth of St. John, thus addresses the Ephesian church: “I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil; and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars. But this thou hast, that thou *hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans*, which I also hate.”⁶⁷ These Nicolaitans were a branch of the Gnostics, and made their appearance very shortly after the date of Paul’s Epistle to Timothy, and were distinguished from other Gnostics by the severity of their penances and bodily inflictions.) The Apostle next (v. 1) admonishes Timothy as to his demeanour towards the old and young of both sexes (giving directions more particularly (v. 3) as to the qualifications of widows who sought relief from the public fund), and prescribes (v. 17) the conduct to be observed by Timothy towards such as were in the ministry. He then (v. 1) adverts to the duties of servants towards their masters, and (vi. 6) shows that righteousness is the only true riches, and that the wealthy were to employ their means as a sacred trust from God. He closes the Epistle (vi. 20) as he had commenced it, with a solemn warning against the Gnostic heresy, and bestows his benediction.

We subjoin the Epistle itself, which, as written to a friend, and not being an official charge to a whole church, is less studied than the Apostle’s other writings, and does not easily admit an analysis.

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek]

CH. I. “PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST, BY THE COMMANDMENT OF GOD OUR
2 SAVIOUR, AND LORD JESUS CHRIST OUR HOPE, UNTO TIMOTHY, MY OWN CHILD⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Rev. ii. 6.

⁶⁸ τέκνον. In Eng. ver. “son,” that is, a convert made by Paul himself.

IN THE FAITH, GRACE, MERCY, PEACE, FROM GOD OUR FATHER AND CHRIST JESUS OUR LORD.

3 “As I *charged* thee to abide still at Ephesus *on my way*⁶⁹ to Macedonia,
4 that thou mightest *bid* some *not to teach heterodoxy*,⁷⁰ nor to give heed to
fables and endless genealogies,⁷¹ which minister questions rather than godly
5 edifying which is in faith—Now the end of the commandment is *love* out of
6 a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; from which some
7 having swerved, have turned aside unto vain jangling, desiring to be teachers
of the Law,⁷² understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm.
8, 9 But we know that the Law is good if a man use it lawfully, knowing this,
that the Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and *insub-*
ordinate, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for mur-
10 derers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers,
for *such as* defile themselves with *men*, for *slave-dealers*,⁷³ for liars, for *the*
perjured, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine,
11 according to the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, *with which I have been*
12 *intrusted*;⁷⁴ and I *give* thanks to Christ Jesus our Lord, who enableth me, for
13 that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry, who was before a
blasphemer, and persecutor, and *insolent*:⁷⁵ but I obtained mercy, because I
14 did it ignorantly in unbelief; and the grace of our Lord *super-abounded*⁷⁶
15 with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. *It is a faithful saying*,⁷⁷ and
worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save
16 sinners, of whom I am chief. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that
in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to
17 them which should hereafter believe on him to *eternal* life. Now unto the
King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only⁷⁸ God, be honour and glory for
18 ever and ever. Amen. This charge I commit unto thee, Timothy [*my*] *child*,⁷⁹
according to the *foregoing* prophecies about thee⁸⁰ that thou *war in them a*

⁶⁹ πορευόμενος. In Eng. ver. “when I went.”

⁷⁰ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν.

⁷¹ See ante, p. 249.

⁷² The Gnostics, therefore, at this time were chiefly of the Jewish race.

⁷³ ἀνδραποδισταῖς. In Eng. ver. “menstealers.”

⁷⁴ ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ. In Eng. ver. “which was committed to my trust.”

⁷⁵ Acts vii. 58; viii. 1.

⁷⁶ ὑπερεπλεόνασεν. In Eng. ver. “was exceeding abundant.”

⁷⁷ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. The same expression as in Titus iii. 8; and from this and other resemblances it is evident that the two Epistles to Titus and Timothy were dispatched about the

same time.

⁷⁸ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all reject the word σοφῶ, “wise,” which appears in the Textus receptus.

⁷⁹ τέκνον. In Eng. ver. “son.”

⁸⁰ τὰς προαγοῦσας ἐπὶ σέ προφητείας. In Eng. ver. “the prophecies which went before of thee.” The Apostle alludes to the prophecies about him, in the homilies delivered by the prophets or preachers of the church at the time of his ordination to the ministry. But others think that the preachings referred to are not those at his first ordination, but on the occasion of his being ordained to the bishopric of Ephesus.

19 good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put
20 away concerning faith have made shipwreck, of whom is Hymenæus⁸¹ and
Alexander,⁸² whom I have delivered unto Satan⁸³ that they may *be taught*
not to blaspheme.

CH. II. “I *charge*, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions,
2 *thanksgivings*, be made for all men—for kings, and for all that are in autho-
rity, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and *sobriety*;
3, 4 for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who *willeth* all
5 men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth; for there is one
6 God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who
7 gave himself a ransom for all, *the testimony* in due time, whereunto I *have been*
ordained a preacher, and an apostle (I speak the truth in Christ, *I lie not*),⁸⁴
8 a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity. I will, therefore, that men pray
9 *in every place*, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting; in like
manner, also, that women adorn themselves in *orderly* apparel, with *modesty*
10 and sobriety, not with *plaited* hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array,⁸⁵ but
11 (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works. Let the
12 *woman* learn in silence with all subjection; but I suffer not *the woman* to
13 teach, nor to usurp authority over the man,⁸⁶ but to be in silence; for Adam
14 was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being
15 deceived was in the transgression; *but* she shall be saved in child-bearing,⁸⁷
if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.

CH. III. “It is a *faithful* saying, ‘If a man *longeth after* the office of a bishop, he

⁸¹ One of the Gnostic heretical teachers, and no doubt the same Hymenæus who again incurs the rebuke of the Apostle in 2 Tim. ii. 17.

⁸² Not the same person as the Alexander mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 14, who is distinguished as Alexander the coppersmith.

⁸³ “Who under my auspices have been put out of the pale of the church.” Here, as in 1 Cor. v. 5, excommunication is expressed by delivery over to Satan, i.e. by exclusion from the spiritual comforts of Christ’s kingdom on earth. As the Apostle was writing from Corinth, Hymenæus and Alexander were, or rather had been, members of that church. They were not of Ephesus, or Timothy, who was there, need not have been informed of the fact.

⁸⁴ This solemn asseveration relates to the words that follow, viz. that he was a teacher of the *Gentiles*; for this the Jews could not believe, and the Apostle’s declaration to that effect from the stairs of Fort Antonia made them rend their clothes and throw dust into the air.

⁸⁵ The Ephesians were remarkable for their love of finery. Athenæus, xii. 29.

⁸⁶ Ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἐστίν, ὦ Νικοκράτη,
Μὴ κρείττον εἶναι τᾶνδρὸς, ἀλλ’ ὑπήκοον.
Γυνὴ δὲ νικῶσ’ ἄνδρα κακὸν ἐστίν μέγα.

Fragment of Philemon, ex
Incertis Comæd. No. 33.

⁸⁷ The curse upon the woman at the Fall was “In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children” (ἐν λύπῃς τέξῃ τέκνα, Gen. iii. 16), and the Apostle now takes care to impress the Christian virtues the more forcibly by adding that the woman shall, if adorned with Christian purity, pass safely through child-bearing, and be saved everlastingly. According to others, and perhaps the better opinion, she shall be saved through the child-bearing; that is, through the child born of woman—the Messiah, the Saviour of the world.

The word *μείνωσιν* must be referred to *γυναῖκες*, implied in the general term *γυνή*, as *χήραι* must be understood before *μανθανέτωσαν* (v. 3) as implied in *τις χήρα* in the same verse.

2 desireth a good work.' A bishop, then, must be *irreproachable*, the husband
 3 of one wife,⁸⁸ vigilant, sober, *orderly*,⁸⁹ given to hospitality, apt to teach, *no*
 4 *winebibber*, no striker,⁹⁰ but *gentle*, not a brawler, not covetous, one that *super-*
intendeth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity,
 5 (for if a man know not how to *superintend* his own house, how shall he take
 6 care of the church of God?) not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he
 7 fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover, he must have a good
 report of them which are without, lest he fall into reproach and the snare of
 8 the devil. Likewise must the Deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not
 9 given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the
 10 faith in a pure conscience; and let these also first be proved; then let them
 11 be deacons, being found blameless. Even so must their wives⁹¹ be grave, not
 12 slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Let the deacons be the husbands of
 13 one wife,⁹² *superintending* their children and their own houses well; for they
 that have *served as deacons* well purchase to themselves a good degree, and
 14 great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus. These things write I
 15 unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly;⁹³ but if I tarry long,⁹⁴ that thou
 mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which
 is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.

16 "And *confessedly*, great is the mystery of godliness: God⁹⁵ *has been*
 manifested in the flesh, *has been* justified in the Spirit,⁹⁶ *has been* seen of
 angels,⁹⁷ *has been* preached unto the Gentiles,⁹⁸ *has been* believed on in the
 world,⁹⁹ *has been* received up in glory.¹⁰⁰

CH. IV. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times¹⁰¹ some shall

⁸⁸ See note ante, p. 341, note 27.

⁸⁹ κόσμιον. In Eng. ver. "of good behaviour."

⁹⁰ The word αἰσχροκερδῆ (not given to filthy lucre), which appears in the Textus receptus, is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

⁹¹ Or "the women," viz. the deaconesses.

⁹² See note ante, p. 341, note 27.

⁹³ The Apostle, therefore, had recently been at Ephesus (see i. 3), and yet intended to return thither at no distant interval, an intention which, as we shall see, he was about to accomplish when he was arrested.

⁹⁴ Paul, therefore, was not intending to proceed *immediately* to Ephesus, and indeed, as he had written to Titus, he proposed to pass the winter at Nicopolis.

⁹⁵ Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford consider ὁς, "who," instead of Θεός, "God," to be the true reading.

⁹⁶ ἐδικαιώθη ἐν Πνεύματι. Was proved to be Holy by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon him at his baptism. Matt. iii. 16.

⁹⁷ Angels celebrated his birth (Luke ii. 13), and ministered to him after the temptation (Matt. iv. 91), and supported him in his agony. Luke xxii. 43.

⁹⁸ To the mind of a Jew there was no greater mystery than this communication of the Gospel to the Gentile world. The Jewish people had always regarded themselves as the chosen of God, to the exclusion of the rest of the world.

⁹⁹ The belief in Christ, or in other words the establishment of Christianity throughout the world by the instrumentality of a few Galileans, has from the first been a standing miracle.

¹⁰⁰ Luke xxiv. 51; Mark xvi. 19.

¹⁰¹ ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, or, as it may be rendered, "in times hereafter," i.e. after the time when Paul was writing.

*apostatize*¹⁰² from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and *teachings*¹⁰³
 2 of devils *through the* hypocrisy of men *speaking lies*,¹⁰⁴ having their conscience
 3 seared with a hot iron,¹⁰⁵ forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain
 from meats,¹⁰⁶ which God created to be received with thanksgiving *by* them
 4 which believe and know the truth; for every creature of God is good, and
 5 nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified
 6 by the word of God and prayer.¹⁰⁷ If thou put *before* the brethren these
 things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, *nurtured* in the words of
 7 faith and of *the* good instruction which thou hast *followed along with*; ¹⁰⁸ but
 profane and old wives' fables *decline*,¹⁰⁹ and exercise thyself unto godliness;
 8 for bodily exercise¹¹⁰ *is of use for* little, but godliness *is of use for* all things,
 9 having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. *It* is a
 10 faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance.¹¹¹ For *to this end* we both labour
 and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the saviour of
 11 all men, specially of those that believe. These things command and teach.
 12 Let no man despise thy youth,¹¹² but be thou an example of the believers, in
 13 word, in *manner of life*, in *love*,¹¹³ in faith, in purity. Till I come¹¹⁴ *apply*
 14 *thyself*¹¹⁵ to reading, to exhortation, to *teaching*.¹¹⁶ Neglect not the gift that
 is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy,¹¹⁷ with the laying on of the
 15 hands of the presbytery.¹¹⁸ Meditate upon these things; *be instant in them*,¹¹⁹

¹⁰² ἀποστήσονται. In Eng. ver. "depart."

¹⁰³ διδασκαλίαις. In Eng. ver. "doctrines."

¹⁰⁴ ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων. In Eng. ver. "speaking lies in hypocrisy."

¹⁰⁵ As a hot iron applied to the body destroys the finer sensibilities and renders the part callous, so the sins of those men have hardened their conscience, and made it insensible to the purity of the Gospel.

¹⁰⁶ An allusion to the tenets of the Gnostics. See ante, p. 249.

¹⁰⁷ By the grace said before meat, and which was taken from Scripture, viz. Psalm xxiv. See 1 Cor. x. 25-30.

¹⁰⁸ ἧ παρηκολούθηκας. In Eng. ver. "whereunto thou hast attained."

¹⁰⁹ An allusion to the fanciful views of the Judaizing Gnostics. See ante, p. 249.

¹¹⁰ γυμνασία, "mortification" of the body as practised by the Gnostics.

¹¹¹ The doctrine of a holy life here, and another life hereafter, though opposed by the Gnostics, is the true faith. See Tit. iii. 8.

¹¹² Timothy had been adopted by Paul in A.D. 49 (see Fasti Sacri, p. 290, No. 1738), and he was then a young man—say twenty; and as the date of the Epistle was in A.D. 64 (see Fasti

Sacri, p. 334, No. 1963), or fifteen years after, Timothy at that time would be thirty-five—a youthful age for one having the care over so important a church as that of Ephesus.

¹¹³ The words ἐν πνεύματι, "in spirit," which appear in the Textus receptus, are rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹¹⁴ The Apostle, therefore, intended to revisit Ephesus. See notes ante, p. 348.

¹¹⁵ πρόσσεχε. In Eng. ver. "give attendance."

¹¹⁶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ. In Eng. ver. "doctrine."

¹¹⁷ διὰ προφητείας. See ante, p. 346, note ⁸⁰.

¹¹⁸ The Apostle alludes to the solemn ordination of Timothy, accompanied by predictions of his faithfulness in the ministry. Instead of "by preaching with the laying on of hands of the presbytery," the sense would be clearer if, by changing the form of the sentence, we read, "by the laying on of hands of the presbytery, with preaching," as the spiritual gifts must be referred to the laying on of hands rather than to the preaching. On the subject of the ordination of Timothy, see ante, Vol. I. p. 169.

¹¹⁹ ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι, "be wholly wrapped up in them;" and answering to Horace's 'totus in illis.' Sat. ix. 2.

16 that thy *progress* may be *manifest* to all. Take heed unto thyself, and unto thy *teaching*; ¹²⁰ continue in them, for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.

CH. V. “Rebuke not an elder *sharply*, but *exhort* him as a father, the younger
2 men as brethren, the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all
3, 4 purity. Honour widows that are widows indeed; but if any widow have
children or *issue*, ¹²¹ let them ¹²² learn first to be *devout to their own household*,
and to *make recompense to their forefathers*; ¹²³ for that is acceptable before
5 God. Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and con-
6 tinueth in supplications and prayers night and day; but she that *is wanton* is
7 dead while she liveth. And these things give in charge, that they may be
8 *irreproachable*. But if any provide not for his own, ¹²⁴ and specially for those
of his own house, ¹²⁵ he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an *un*-
9 *believer*. ¹²⁶ Let not a widow be taken into the number *who is under three*-
10 *score years*, ¹²⁷ having been the wife of one *husband*, well reported of for good
works, if she *hath* brought up children, if she *hath* lodged strangers, if she
hath washed the saints’ feet, if she *hath* relieved the afflicted, if she *hath*
11 followed *after* every good work. But the younger widows *decline*; for when
12 they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry, having
13 *condemnation*, because they have cast off their first faith. ¹²⁸ And withal they
learn to be idle, *going* about from house to house; and not only idle, but
14 tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not. I will
therefore that the younger [*widows*] marry, bear children, guide the house,
15 give *no* occasion to the adversary *in the way of* reproach; for some *have*
16 already turned aside after Satan. If any man or woman that believeth have
widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged; that it
may relieve them that are widows indeed. ¹²⁹

¹²⁰ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ. In Eng. ver. “the doctrine.”

¹²¹ ἑκγόνα. In Eng. ver. “nephews.”

¹²² Viz. the widows. The children cannot be meant, for they might, and would probably, be infants.

¹²³ That is, by the education of their own children, to pay the debt owing to their progenitors for the education of themselves. Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, all reject the words that follow καλὸν καὶ, “good and.”

¹²⁴ τῶν ἰδίων, his own relatives, whether under his roof or not.

¹²⁵ τῶν οἰκείων, the relatives residing under his own roof.

¹²⁶ If any one having the means doth not provide for his own relatives, but seeks to burden the church, he practically denies his faith, and

is worse than an infidel, for even infidels observe the dictates of natural duties.

¹²⁷ I.e. into the number of those receiving relief from the church. The limit of sixty years must be taken as the general and *primâ facie* rule only, as widows under that age might, in exceptional cases, be unable to maintain themselves, and so be objects of compassion. It will be recollected that the charge of partiality in the distribution of the alms of the church amongst the widows receiving relief at Jerusalem gave rise to the establishment of the order of deacons. Acts vi. 1.

¹²⁸ That is, because having been put upon the roll of widows, under an engagement to discharge the duties annexed to that office, they break their vow and enter again into active life.

¹²⁹ See the same sentiment, ante, v. 8.

17 "Let the *presbyters* that rule well be counted worthy of double honour,¹³⁰
 18 especially they who labour in the word and *in teaching*. For the scripture
 saith, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.' (*Deut.* xxv.
 19 4.)¹³¹ And, 'The labourer is worthy of his reward.' (*Luke* x. 7.)¹³² Against
 20 a *presbyter* receive not an accusation, but *upon* two or three witnesses. Them
 21 that sin rebuke before all, that *the* others also may fear. I charge thee
 before God and¹³³ Jesus Christ, and the elect angels,¹³⁴ that thou observe
 22 these things without *favour*, doing nothing by partiality. Lay hands *hastily*
 on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins; keep thyself pure.¹³⁵
 23 Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and *thy*
 24 *frequent* infirmities.¹³⁶ Some men's sins are *notorious*, *dragging them on*¹³⁷
 25 to judgment; and some men they follow after.¹³⁸ Likewise also the good
 works of some are *foreshown*;¹³⁹ and *the works* that are otherwise¹⁴⁰ cannot
 be hid.¹⁴¹

CH. VI. "Let as many servants¹⁴² as are under the yoke count their own masters
 worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blas-
 2 phemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them,
 because they are brethren; but *let them serve the more*¹⁴³ because they *who*
*claim their good offices*¹⁴⁴ are faithful and beloved. These things teach and

¹³⁰ From the reference to Scripture in the next verse, it is manifest that by double honour is meant double remuneration. So *Χήρας τίμα, τὰς ζώντως χήρας*, 1 Tim. v. 3, where allusion is made to the support of widows. There can be no doubt that from the earliest times the clergy were, from the nature of the case, in the enjoyment of a stipendiary allowance from the public chest.

¹³¹ *βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις*, cited apparently from memory, as the words in the LXX. are in a different order, viz. *οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα*.

¹³² We have seen that Paul has repeatedly in the Epistles referred to St. Matthew's Gospel (see Vol. I. p. 283), but here he cites St. Luke's also, which had been published in or previously to A.D. 57. See ante, p. 25.

¹³³ Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford reject the word *Κυρίου*, "Lord."

¹³⁴ This attestation recalls the similar passage cited by Alford from Josephus: *μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Jos. Bell. ii. 16, 4.

¹³⁵ Look well to thine own conduct, and in particular lend not thyself to other men's vices by ordination of improper persons.

¹³⁶ Timothy, therefore, was of weakly constitution, or at least at this time was of delicate health, and is urged on that account to take wine. He

had previously drunk water only, but is now ordered to take wine medicinally.

¹³⁷ *πρόδηλοί εἰσι, προάγουσαι, κ.τ.λ.* In Eng. ver. "are manifest beforehand, going before," &c.

¹³⁸ Some try to disguise their sins, but are nevertheless at last detected.

¹³⁹ *πρόδηλοι*. In Eng. ver. "manifest."

¹⁴⁰ That is, those works that are not obvious at first sight, but are suppressed through modesty, shall be duly appreciated in the end.

¹⁴¹ The two last verses follow upon the Apostle's recommendation to Timothy to take wine for his health's sake. It is confessedly difficult to connect them with the context either before or after. Perhaps these thoughts were thrown out with a view to remove any scruples that Timothy might have in taking wine, as if the Apostle had said, "Be not afraid of the censorious world, for your character will protect you. Real vices, however disguised, will be found out, and real virtues, though presenting the semblance of sensual gratification, will be acknowledged at last, notwithstanding unjust aspersions."

¹⁴² Literally "slaves," *δοῦλοι*.

¹⁴³ *μᾶλλον δουλεύεστωσαν*. In Eng. ver. "rather do them service."

¹⁴⁴ *οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι*, viz. the masters. In Eng. ver. "partakers of the benefit."

3 exhort. If any man teach *what is heterodox*, and consent not to wholesome words [*which are*] those of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is
 4 according to godliness, he is *puffed up*,¹⁴⁵ knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, *contention*, railings, evil
 5 surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, *who regard godliness as gain*:¹⁴⁶ from such *stand aloof*.¹⁴⁷
 6, 7 “But godliness with contentment is great gain; for we brought nothing
 8 into *the* world, and it is certain *that* we can carry nothing out; *but* having
 9 food and raiment let us be therewith content. But they that *would* be rich
 10 fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts,
 11 which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the root of all evils
 12 is the love of money, which some *lusting* after, have erred from the faith,
 13 and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. But thou, O man of
 14 God,¹⁴⁸ flee these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love,
 15 patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life,
 16 whereunto thou *wert* also called, and *didst confess* a good *confession* before
 17 many witnesses.¹⁴⁹ I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth
 18 all things, and of Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good
 19 confession (*Matt. xxvii. 11*),¹⁵⁰ that thou keep *the* commandment without spot,
 20 unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his *own*
 21 seasons the blessed and only Potentate shall shew, the King of kings, and
 22 Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in light *inaccessible*, whom
 23 no man hath seen, nor can see (*Ex. xxxiii. 20*), to whom be honour and power
 24 everlasting. Amen. Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be
 25 not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God,
 26 who giveth us richly all things to enjoy, that they do good, that they be rich
 27 in good works, *that they be* ready to distribute, willing to communicate,
 28 *treasuring up* for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that
 29 they may lay hold on eternal life.
 30 “O Timothy, keep *the* trust committed to *thee*, *turning away from* profane
 31 and vain babblings, and oppositions of *knowledge* falsely so called,¹⁵¹ which

¹⁴⁵ τεύφωται. In Eng. ver. “is proud.”

¹⁴⁶ νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, i.e. make religion a cloak for mercenary purposes. In Eng. ver. “supposing that gain is godliness.”

¹⁴⁷ ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τούτων. In Eng. ver. “from such withdraw thyself.” But in Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, these words are omitted.

¹⁴⁸ The Apostle addresses Timothy in particular, but by giving him a designation common to all Christians he intends the precept to be general.

¹⁴⁹ At his ordination to the ministry. See

2 Tim. iii. 17, and see ante, p. 346.

¹⁵⁰ The Apostle may refer not only to Matthew's gospel, which had certainly been published, but also perhaps to Luke xxiii. 3. The same testimony appears in Mark xv. 3, and John xviii. 33, but these gospels had not yet been published.

¹⁵¹ γνώσεως. In Eng. ver. “science.” The Apostle refers here to the Gnostics, or Men of Knowledge, so called by themselves, but running into the wildest vagaries. See ante, p. 249.

some professing have *missed the mark* concerning the faith. GRACE BE WITH THEE.¹⁵²

Paul had now dispatched the pressing business that required his attention at Corinth, and towards the close of the year A.D. 64 was ready to commence his proposed visit to Epirus. But before starting in this direction he sent off Artemas to Crete to take the place of Titus, who had been summoned to rejoin the Apostle at Nicopolis in Epirus.

The only reason, however, for supposing that Artemas, rather than Tychicus, was selected for the mission to Crete, is that we find Tychicus, after no long interval, still in the Apostle's company at Rome. For a similar reason we may infer that Erastus, a Corinthian, and who had been Chamberlain of Corinth, now quitted his native city and became the Apostle's fellow traveller, for we meet with him the next year in the Apostle's company at Ephesus.

Paul, Tychicus, and Erastus, now went down to Lechæum, the western port of Corinth, and there took ship¹⁵³ for Nicopolis, the capital of Epirus, where they proposed to pass the winter.¹⁵⁴

This city had been built by Augustus, to commemorate his naval victory over Mark Antony (fig. 299) and Cleopatra (fig. 300) at Actium, on the 2nd of September,



Fig. 299.—A characteristic portrait of Mark Antony. From C. W. King's *Antique Gems*.



Fig. 300.—Portrait of Cleopatra, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ (Queen Cleopatra, the new goddess). From a coin in the British Museum.

B.C. 31. It stood three miles to the north of the modern town of Previsa, on the isthmus of the little peninsula of Previsa, which forms the northern lip of the Ambracian Bay, now known as the Gulf of Arta.¹⁵⁵ There are still vast remains,

¹⁵² The usual benediction in the Apostle's own hand to authenticate the letter. See Vol. I. p. 284. The word Amen is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

¹⁵³ There was a city of this name founded by Augustus in Egypt, and there were four others of the name in Asia and five in Europe. The one here referred to is unquestionably Nicopolis in Epirus. For the several cities of this name, see Smith's *Diet. Geogr.*

¹⁵⁴ Titus iii. 12. Or perhaps Paul passed by land to Nicopolis.

¹⁵⁵ The Isthmus, according to Strabo, was sixty stades, or seven and a half miles, across, Ἰσθμὸν ποιῶν ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, Strabo vii. 7 (p. 120, Tauchnitz); but according to Leake the broadest part at present does not exceed three miles. Leake, *N. Greece*, Vol. I. p. 196. The Greek geographer, therefore, was not so well acquainted with this coast as with other parts. Nicopolis had two ports, one on the west, called Comarus, now Gomaro, and the other on the south-east of the city, on the way to the town of Previsa, now Port Vathy. οἱ λιμένες οἱ πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει . . .

more attractive from the simple visit barely recorded of the Apostle Paul, than from the splendours of the Imperial triumph in the adjoining waters. "Amid their interminable labyrinth," observes a modern tourist, "of broken columns, ruins of temples, baths, theatres, towers, gateways, and aqueducts, a small building in the form of a Pagan temple is the most interesting, which tradition asserts was used by St. Paul as a house of prayer."¹⁵⁶ And another traveller observes, "Not even a village now occupies the site of a city which Augustus fondly hoped would be a lasting memorial of his exploits, and for whose aggrandisement he despoiled so many of the neighbouring towns. . . . Nicopolis now only affords an asylum for a few shepherds, whose flocks graze among the ruins" (fig. 301, 302, 303).¹⁵⁷

At Nicopolis Paul and his companions rested for the winter, and here, during

τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἔξω τὸν Κόμαρον. Dion, l. 12. Strabo speaks of the two ports, viz. Comarus without the bay, and the larger and better near the mouth of the bay at the distance from Nicopolis of 12 stades, which is the exact distance from Nicopolis to Port Vathy, which lies within the bay, διέχων τῆς Νικοπόλεως ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους. Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 120, Tauchnitz). Leake supposes Strabo to state erroneously that both the ports were without the bay, but Strabo does not say so. On the peninsula at the north is one solitary hill, called Mikhalitzi, the summit of which commands a view of the main sea on the west, and the gulf of Arta on the east, and of all the circumjacent country. On the crown of this mount Augustus, previously to the battle of Actium, pitched his tent, ἐπὶ μετεώρου, Dion, l. 12; and here, on the very site of the tent, was afterwards erected to Apollo a sanctuary open to the skies, in the centre of a space surrounded by a wall of nicely squared stones, and adorned with the beaks of ships captured from the enemy. τό τε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησε, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος. Dion, li. 1; Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 120, Tauchnitz); Suet. Octav. xviii. To the west of the hill Mikhalitzi was the aqueduct winding its way to the city on the south, and at the same time forming the western wall of Nicopolis. Leake's N. Greece, i. 190. Immediately to the south of the hill Mikhalitzi are the great theatre (one of the best preserved now remaining) and the stadium, about 750 feet long and 75 feet wide (ib. 191), and the gymnasium, all forming, with the sanctuary of Apollo at the top of the hill, a sacred park in the northern suburb of the city. τό τε κατασκευασθὲν τέμενος ἐν τῷ

προαστείῳ, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πεντετηρικὸν ἐν ἄλσει ἔχοντι γυμνάσιόν τι καὶ στάδιον, τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τοῦ ἄλλους ἱερῷ λόφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 121, Tauchnitz). And here were celebrated the famous quinquennial games called the Actia, which had before existed in honour of Apollo (ἦγετο δὲ καὶ πρότερον τὰ Ἀκτια τῷ θεῷ, Strabo, ib.), but from this time were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, so that they rivalled the splendour of the Olympia in horse-races and gymnastic games and scenic representations. Dion, li. 1; Suet. Octav. 18; Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 121, Tauchnitz). Nicopolis, under the auspices of Augustus, became extremely populous, and soon assumed the consequence of a first-rate city, Εὐανδρεὶ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν, Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 121, Tauchnitz), and had the privilege of sending a member to the Amphictyonic council (Pausan. Phocic. x. 8, 2), and was made a free city (Plin. N. H. iv. 2) and a Roman colony (Tac. Ann. v. 10), and was considered the capital of southern Epirus and Acarnania. Leake's N. Greece, i. 197. As the imperial favour now shone upon it, even foreign princes contributed to its aggrandisement, and Herod the Great, amongst the rest, was a munificent benefactor. Jos. Ant. xvi. 5, 3.

Nicopolis flourished for many centuries, and when the Roman empire was Christianized, became a bishop's see, Nicephor. Constant. xiv. 39; but during the dark ages it gradually declined, and at last died a natural death. For the history of its decline, see Leake's N. Greece, i. 197.

¹⁵⁶ Spencer's Travels in European Turkey, ii. 210.

¹⁵⁷ Journ. of Geogr. Soc. iii. 90. By Lieut. James Wolfe.

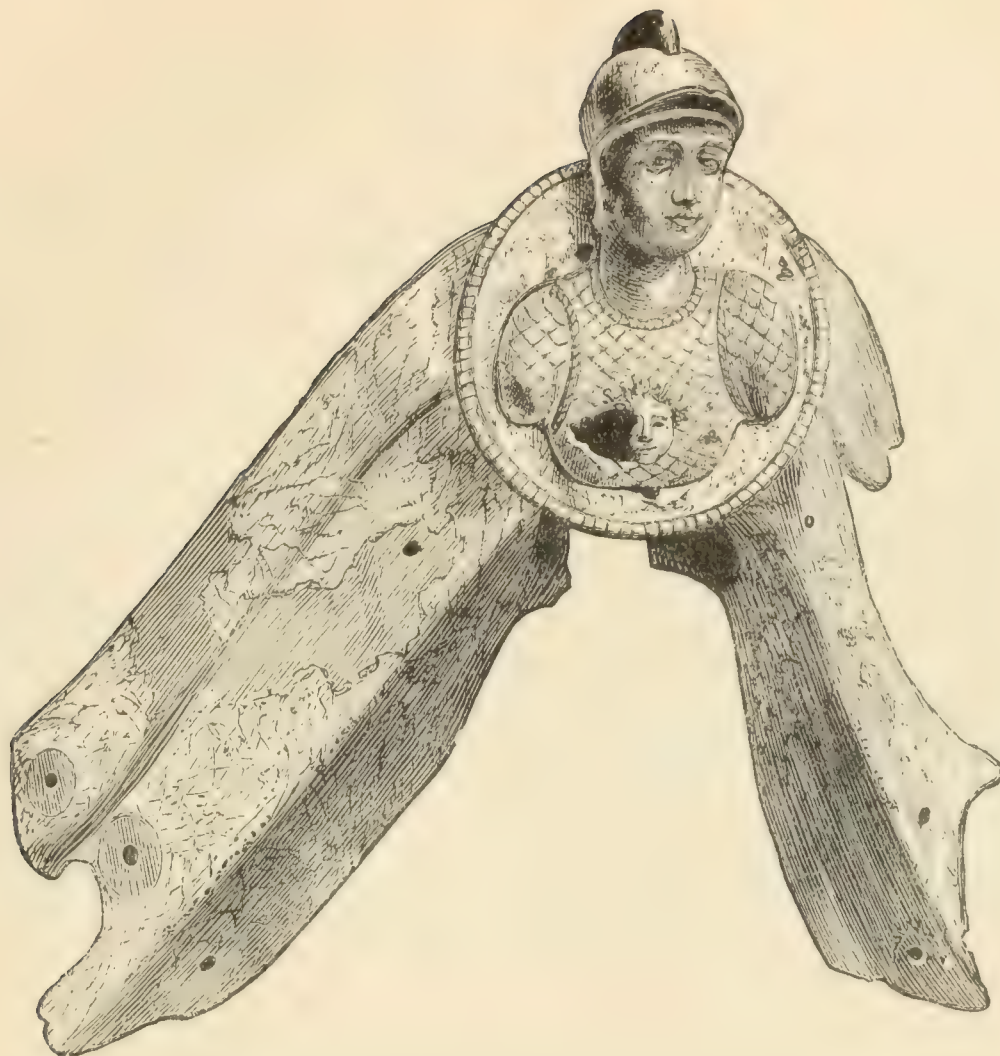


Figure-head of a Roman Galley. From the Illustrated London News.

We have here one of the most curious relics of antiquity, viz., the figure-head of the ship *Minerva*, which fought in the great battle of Actium, between Octavius (afterwards the Emperor Augustus) on the one side, and Mark Antony and Cleopatra on the other, and which determined for generations the fate of the civilized world, and has left its impress upon mankind down to the present day.

The names of the ancient ships were denoted by their figure-heads. Thus St. Paul sailed from Malta to Puteoli in the ship whose sign or figure head (*παράσημον*, Acts xxviii. 11) was Castor and Pollux; that is, the vessel carried at her prow the figure-head of the twin sons of Jupiter and Leda. In the above woodcut we have the bust of Minerva helmeted and wearing a breast-plate, on which is seen the head of the Gorgon Medusa, supposed to be of so frightful mien that all who looked upon it were turned into stone. Thus the name of the galley was Minerva, and we may surmise that as Minerva was the patron goddess of the Athenians, the vessel was one of those sent by the Athenians to the assistance of Antony, whose cause they unluckily espoused. The figure-heads of merchantmen were of wood, but that of the Minerva, as a war vessel, was of bronze. Her fate was unfortunate, for she was struck by the beak or ram of her more powerful antagonist, and sunk. Even the Gorgon's head was roughly handled, and appears to have been partly smashed by a blow in the shock of battle.

The figure-head of the Minerva lay at the bottom of the sea, in the Strait of Prevesa leading to the Ambracian Bay, where the battle was fought, for nearly nineteen centuries. It was accidentally dredged up in 1839, and came into the possession of Sir Howard Douglas, the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and was presented by him to the Queen, who forwarded it to the British Museum, where it may now be seen.

The battle of Actium was fought on 2nd September, B.C. 31, and began about 11 A.M. The fleet of M. Antony and Cleopatra had been lying at anchor for some time in the Strait of Actium, but Antony and Cleopatra, from the daily desertions which weakened their side and strengthened that of the enemy, apprehending a blockade, determined on shifting their station for freer quarters, and on sailing out of the strait, were attacked by the enemy, when a desperate conflict ensued. The event was uncertain until 1 P.M., when Cleopatra, from her womanish fear, took fright and fled with the Egyptian fleet, and was followed by Antony with great part of his own force. The rest of the fleet made a gallant resistance, but were eventually all either burnt or sunk, and amongst the latter was the Minerva.

their sojourn, they were joined, as preconcerted, by Titus from Crete, whose place in the island had been taken by Artemas.

In the spring of A.D. 65, Paul, accompanied by Tychicus, Titus, and Erastus, his faithful followers, again opened a campaign of Christian warfare, and making their way northward evangelized all Epirus, which reached from the Ambracian Bay on the



Fig. 301.—Ruins of Nicopolis. The spectator is looking north. From Stackelberg.

south¹⁵⁸ to the Acroceraunian Promontory on the north,¹⁵⁹ a tract which, for the purposes of government, was all included in the Province of Achaia.¹⁶⁰ They now quitted the jurisdiction of the Proconsul of Achaia and entered Illyris-on-Epirus, and having also made their way through that province they traversed Dalmatia, as we may collect from the few words in the Second Epistle to Timothy, “Titus (is departed) unto Dalmatia,”¹⁶¹ for Paul would scarcely have dispatched a messenger into a country which the Apostle had not himself visited, nor would Titus have been selected had he been a stranger to the Dalmatians.

On the division of the provinces by Augustus between himself and the Senate (or people) in B.C. 27, Illyricum was assigned to the Senate,¹⁶² and the boundaries of it

¹⁵⁸ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ Κόλπου. Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 117, Tauchnitz).

¹⁵⁹ Plin. N. H. iii. 26; and see Strabo, ubi supra.

¹⁶⁰ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου. Dion, liii. 12. ἐβδόμην δ' Ἀχαίαν μέχρι Θετταλίας καὶ Αἰτωλῶν, καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τινῶν Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο. Strabo, xvii. 3 (p. 502, Tauchnitz). Eum honorem Germanicus iniit

apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram viso fratre Druso in Dalmatiâ agente. Tac. Ann. ii. 53. We have here mention of the three provinces Achaia, Illyricum, and Dalmatia—all of them, but in an inverse order, visited by St. Paul at this time.

¹⁶¹ 2 Tim. iv. 10.

¹⁶² Dion, liii. 12.

were¹⁶³ on the *west* along the *coast* from Pola at the head of the Venetian Gulf on the confines of Italy to the Acroceraunian Promontory on the borders of Epirus, and *inland* on the *north* the river Save, and on the *south* a line drawn from the Acroceraunian Promontory due east a little south of the Via Egnatia to Pylon, where began Macedonia,¹⁶⁴ and on the *east* lay the adjacent provinces of Mœsia and Macedonia, Mœsia lying to the north of Macedonia, and extending from the Drinus or Drinna on the west to the Euxine on the east.¹⁶⁵ But in B.C. 11¹⁶⁶ the Dalmatians, an Illyrian tribe to the north of the river Naro, broke out into open rebellion, and as the Senate was not allowed to maintain any military force in its provinces, Illyricum was divided, and the portion to the north of the Naro, i.e. all from the Naro to Pola was made over to the emperor, and became an *imperial* province by the name of *Dalmatia*, while the portion of Illyricum to the south of the Naro, i.e. from the Naro to the Acroceraunian Promontory, with the inland district up to Macedonia, remained one of the *Senate's* (or *People's*) Provinces by the name of *Illyris-on-Epirus*.¹⁶⁷ Thus at the time of the Apostle's circuit Illyris-on-Epirus was one of the Senate's (or People's) Provinces, and ruled by a Proconsul chosen by lot from the ex-consuls and ex-prætors, while Dalmatia was an Imperial Province governed by a Proprætor named by the Emperor. The latter was held in subjection by a single legion,¹⁶⁸ and a few years after this—and possibly at this time—the Proprætor of Dalmatia was Poppæus Sylvanus, famous for his great wealth.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ The boundaries of it as a *province* only are here meant, for in a large sense Illyricum comprised, according to Tacitus, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mœsia. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius, jurasse in eum Dalmatiæ ac Pannoniæ et Mœsiæ Legiones. Tac. Hist. i. 76.

Pliny seems to use Illyricum in two senses. In the larger sense, it extended from the river Arsia (the boundary of Italy) on the north to Acroceraunia, the beginning of Epirus, on the south, Plin. N. H. iii. 29, and comprised 1st Liburnia from the Arsia to Scordona, iii. 25, 26; then Dalmatia, from Scordona to Lissus, iii. 26; and then Illyricum proper, from Lissus to Acroceraunia. Quæ pars ad mare Adriaticum spectat appellatur Dalmatia et Illyricum supra dictum (meaning by the latter from Lissus to Acroceraunia), iii. 28. The province of Illyricum proper seems in Pliny's time to have been incorporated with or made subordinate to the province of Macedonia, for he writes, a Lisso Macedoniæ provincia, iii. 26, and Ptolemy also assigns the coast south of Epidamnus to Macedonia. Ptolem. iii. 12, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Strabo, vii. 7 (p. 117, Tauchnitz).

¹⁶⁵ Tac. Ann. iv. 5. The eastern portion of

Mœsia was otherwise known as part of Thrace, and the western portion was otherwise known as part of Illyricum. Thus Josephus speaks of the Thracians as kept in subjection by 2000 legionaries. Bell. ii. 16, 4 (p. 203, Tauchnitz). And he means here, not Thrace proper—viz. from the Ægean Sea to Mount Hæmus, now the Balkan—but the part between Hæmus and the Danube. So again, he speaks of the Illyrians as lying along the Danube, and extending all the way from Thrace to Dalmatia, and as occupied by two legions (ib.); and he means the region otherwise known as part of Mœsia, on the southern bank of the Danube, and running eastward from the junction of the rivers Save and Drina. The Roman legions were stationed in these countries to guard the Danube from any irruption of the northern barbarians.

¹⁶⁶ See Fasti Sacri, p. 101, No. 788.

¹⁶⁷ ἡ Ἰλλυρίς ἡ πρὸς τῇ Ἠπείρῳ. Strabo, xvii. 3 (p. 502, Tauchnitz).

¹⁶⁸ νῦν οὐχ ἑνὶ τάγματι Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσιν. Jos. Bell. ii. 16, 4 (p. 203, Tauchnitz).

¹⁶⁹ Titus Ampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Poppæus Sylvanus Dalmatiam tenebant, divites senes. Tac. Hist. ii. 86.

When Paul bade adieu to Dalmatia, which way did he bend his steps? Upon this question we are not left in doubt. Paul, on his way from Crete the year before, had touched at Ephesus, and leaving Timothy in charge of that church, had pursued his route to Macedonia.¹⁷⁰ On arriving at Corinth, he had written to Titus, that he proposed to journey westward and winter at Nicopolis, and as Timothy might be expecting him at Ephesus, he at the same time wrote to him to continue his sojourn at Ephesus,¹⁷¹ and gave him instructions how to conduct himself during the Apostle's absence. But it was Paul's intention, and repeated more than once, to return to Ephesus at no distant interval. "These things write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly*; but if I *tarry* long that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God."¹⁷² And again, "*Till I come*, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to teaching."¹⁷³ It was not Paul's habit to plant a church and then leave it to its fate. On the contrary, he was ever watchful over its welfare by writing letters, by sending faithful messengers, and as he found time by personal visits. During his long imprisonment the Gnostic heresy had laid a rank hold upon the Ephesian church, and Paul since his release had already been twice present amongst them; once before going to Crete, and again on his return from Crete, and now he was proposing to hasten thither a third time. His route would naturally lie along the Via Egnatia, which traversed Macedonia from west to east, and passed through Thessalonica. Thither he came, and, apparently, Paul was here joined by Demas,¹⁷⁴ a native of that city, and who afterwards accompanied the Apostle to Rome.¹⁷⁵ From Thessalonica the Via Egnatia ran to Philippi, and here Luke (who much resided there and was afterwards with the Apostle at Rome) and Crescens may have swelled the number of Paul's companions. From Philippi Paul proceeded to Neapolis, the sea-port, and thence sailed to Troas, where he took up his abode with a brother by the name of Carpus.¹⁷⁶

From this point the fate of Paul begins to connect itself with the barbarous persecution, commenced against the Christians by the bloodthirsty Nero, and here we must interrupt the narrative of Paul's progress to relate the circumstances attending this declaration of war by the Imperial Government against the Church—a most interesting chapter in Sacred History.

¹⁷⁰ Tit. i. 5.

¹⁷¹ 1 Tim. i. 3.

¹⁷² 1 Tim. iii. 14.

¹⁷³ 1 Tim. iv. 13.

¹⁷⁴ This, of course, is mere conjecture.

¹⁷⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 10.

¹⁷⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 13.

CHAPTER IX.

The Persecution of the Christians by Nero—Peter writes two Epistles—His Martyrdom at Rome—Paul is arrested at Ephesus and sent to Rome.

They say who know the life divine,
And upward gaze with eagle eyne,
That by each golden crown on high,
Rich with celestial jewelry,
Which for our Lord's redeemed is set,
There hangs a golden coronet
All gemmed with pure and living light,
Too dazzling for a sinner's sight,
Prepared for virgin souls and them
Who seek the martyr's diadem.

Christian Year.

ON the night of 19th July, A.D. 64, while Paul was in Greece, a fire burst forth at Rome, in the Circus Maximus, between the Palatine and Aventine Hills. It swept the valley and then ascended the Palatine, and soon became a general conflagration. It raged incessantly for six days and seven nights, and of the fourteen wards into which Rome was divided, three were razed to the ground, seven were partly destroyed, and only four wholly escaped.¹ There had been no such calamity since the inundation of the Gauls. It was commonly reported that Nero himself was the incendiary, that he might erect a gorgeous palace on the ruins of his country, and might lay out the city itself upon a scale of greater magnificence, to be called after his own name. It is certain that miscreants were seen extending instead of extinguishing the flames, but whether by authority as they pretended, or with a view to pillage, was never distinctly ascertained. The story was rife, that while Rome was in a blaze, Nero stood on Mæcenas's Tower and sang *The Fall of Troy* to his everlasting guitar.²

For once the Emperor, steeled as he was against public opinion, appears to have smarted under the ignominy that attached to him, and as he could not hope to avert the odium from himself, till others could be found on whom the general indignation might vent itself, he propagated the calumny that the Christians were the criminals, and issued an edict that they should be arrested and brought to condign punishment.

The sect was generally unpopular, from the severity of their manners and their

¹ Tac. Ann. xv. 41; Suet. Nero, 38.

² Dion, lxii. 18; Tac. Ann. xv. 39.

supposed misanthropy in avoiding the dissolute festivities about them. They were also regarded as impious, for not joining in the accustomed rites of an idolatrous superstition; and unhappily many, as the Gnostics, sheltered themselves under the name of Christ, though they did not belong to his fold, and by the laxity of their lives brought undeserved scandal upon an innocent community.

We have an account of the outrages against the Christians from the pen of the most accurate of the Roman historians, Tacitus, and as the particulars are replete with interest, we shall transcribe the passage entire. "To put an end, therefore, to this report (that he had fired the city), he (Nero) laid the guilt, and inflicted the most cruel punishments, upon a sect of people who were held in abhorrence for their crimes, and called by the vulgar Christians. The founder of that name was Christ, who suffered death in the reign of Tiberius, under his Procurator Pontius Pilate. This pernicious superstition, thus checked for a while, broke out again and spread, not only over Judea, where the evil originated, but through Rome also, whither everything bad upon the earth finds its way, and is practised. Some who confessed their sect were first seized, and afterwards, by their information, a vast multitude were apprehended, who were convicted, not so much of the crime of burning Rome, as of hatred to mankind. Their sufferings at their execution were aggravated by insult and mockery, for some were disguised in the skins of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, some were crucified, and others were wrapped in pitched shirts, and set on fire when the day closed, that they might serve as lights to illuminate the night. Nero lent his own gardens for these exhibitions, and exhibited at the same time a mock Circensian entertainment, being a spectator of the whole in the dress of a charioteer, sometimes mingling with the crowd on foot, and sometimes viewing the spectacle from his car. This conduct made the sufferers pitied, and though they were criminals and deserving the severest punishments, yet they were considered as sacrificed, not so much out of regard to the public good, as to gratify the cruelty of one man."³

The gardens of Nero above referred to were on the west side of the Tiber, near the site where afterwards was erected the cathedral of St. Peter. Here, a few years before, Nero, to gratify his taste for driving, and not yet venturing on an exhibition of himself in the public theatres, had erected a private circus, in which he might display his proficiency in the whip, before an assembly not consisting of the very lowest rabble of Rome. This was now the arena in which the Christians were tormented and butchered, and while the poor wretches were hanging on the cross, or burning at the stake, or were worried by wild beasts, the Emperor of Rome was flying about in his chariot, or was mingling amongst the spectators in the dress of a charioteer.

These atrocities, called a Circensian entertainment, could scarcely have been

³ Tac. Ann. xv. 44.

enacted had Burrhus and Seneca been still at the head of affairs, but Burrhus had been removed by poison in A.D. 62,⁴ and on his death Seneca had lost his power, and though allowed to live a few years longer, he retained no control over the Imperial counsels. The court favourite was Tigellinus, who, with Fenius Rufus (nominally his colleague, but in fact a shadow), was now Prefect of the Prætorium. It was Tigellinus, the partner of Nero's crimes, and the associate of his debaucheries, by whom these barbarities against the Christians were instigated. The Prince of Satirists, Juvenal, in evident allusion to the sufferings of the Christians, has branded the name of Tigellinus with infamy, in the well-known lines—

Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum diducis arenâ.

Paint Tigellinus and your fate will be,
To burn with brimstone at the martyr's tree,
While, as the flames consume the living brand,
A crimson rill runs trickling o'er the sand.

Juv. Sat. 1, v. 155.

One vial of wrath had been poured out in the circus, but there were many woes to come. Tacitus has confined his description to the proceedings in the capital, but Suetonius's brief account is more comprehensive: "The Christians, a race of men of a new and magical superstition, were brought to condign punishment;"⁵ and it is evident from the Epistle of St. Peter, written about this period, that the cruelties practised at Rome reached very soon to the provinces.

When a despotic Prince willed the persecution of an innocent but obnoxious sect, an excuse was soon found for dragging them before the tribunal. Misanthropy, or a hatred of the human race (*odium humani generis*), had long been charged against them, from their refusal to join in the Pagan revels.⁶ Such an accusation, however, was too vague on which to ground a legal indictment. They laid themselves more open to the penalties of the law by not acknowledging the divinities worshipped by surrounding nations.

The Roman code allowed every people the exercise of its own peculiar superstition, but would permit no affront to the gods recognised by the State. It had been the advice of Mæcenas to Augustus, to extinguish Atheism, that is any denial of the established religion,⁷ and when any serious inroad was made upon the Roman customs, the magistrate interfered.

A yet more formidable engine of persecution against the unoffending Christians is still to be mentioned. The Emperors being masters of the lives and fortunes of

⁴ See Fasti Sacri, p. 326, No. 1919.

⁵ Afflicti suppliciiis Christiani genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ. Suet. Ner. 16.

⁶ Tac. Ann. xv. 44.

⁷ Τὸ μὲν θεῖον πάντῃ πάντως αὐτός τε σέβου κατὰ

τὰ πάτρια, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκασε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ ξενίζοντάς τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε. . . .
Μήτ' οὖν ἀθέω τινι, μήτε γόητι συγχωρήσης εἶναι.
Dion, lii. 36.

their subjects, were in the habit of receiving, and many of them rigorously exacted, not only the most servile adulation, but even divine honours.

Temples had been erected to Julius Cæsar, and on his death he was enrolled amongst the celestial choir by the title of Julius the Hero.⁸

Augustus was so called as being something more than man, for whatsoever savoured of divinity was said to be *August*.⁹ However, during his mild administration this assumption of a sacred character occasioned no inconvenience, for though he did not always repel, he did not solicit, and still less did he enforce such profane adoration.

Not so Tiberius, who in the latter years of his reign visited with the severest punishment any act of impiety (*ἀσεβεια*, *impietas*),¹⁰ such as refusing to swear by the name of the Emperor, or violating the oath when taken, or neglecting to offer sacrifice to him, or showing him any disrespect either by word or deed.¹¹ Such as would not conform were called disaffected, and recusants.

Caligula was still more insane, and was inexorable in requiring his subjects to consecrate temples, and sacrifice to him as a god.¹² Had he lived a few years longer, he must have extirpated the Jews for their obstinate resistance to his will. It was fortunate for Christianity, that during the reign of Caligula the Church was still in its infant state, and had not yet attracted the attention of the Imperial court.

Claudius succeeded; a man of many faults, perhaps, but of more good qualities, and who, though charged with stupidity, at least showed his sound sense in this—that he at once abolished the law of impiety,¹³ and forbade his subjects either to offer him sacrifice or pay him any other worship.¹⁴ It was during the thirteen years of his reign, and in consequence of the unbounded protection enjoyed under it, that Christianity spread itself so rapidly through the provinces of the empire, and found a resting-place in the heart of the great capital itself.

During the first few years that Nero wore the Imperial purple, his measures were moderate, and no one prognosticated the impending hurricane. Soon, however, the monster discovered himself in all his naked deformity. But though he took Caligula for his pattern, he was less solicitous to assert his attribute of divinity than to win applause by his guitar. He required the world to sacrifice not so much to himself as to his Celestial Voice.¹⁵ However, he cared not for human suffering, and when, to avert the ignominy of having set fire to Rome, he sought to moderate the popular indignation against himself by diverting it against others, he re-enacted in all their rigour the laws of Impiety which had been repealed by Claudius.¹⁶

Not only were obsolete enactments now revived in all their rigour, so as to lay

⁸ Suet. Jul. 88.

⁹ Dion, liii. 16.

¹⁰ *Impietas in principem*. Tac. Ann. vi. 47.

¹¹ Dion, lvii. 9 and 19; lviii. 4.

¹² Dion, lix. 4, 6, 16.

¹³ Dion, lx. 3.

¹⁴ Dion, lx. 5.

¹⁵ Dion, lxii. 26. Philost. Vit. Apoll. iv. 39.

¹⁶ Τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν καταψηφισθέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἀσεβείαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, καὶ τῶν μετὰ

the innocent Christians at the mercy of every malicious prosecutor, but new edicts or proclamations were issued, by which the Christian faith was made a criminal offence throughout the limits of the Roman Empire.¹⁶¹ It is to these positive and penal enactments that St. Peter alludes when he exhorts the converts in Asia, "if any man suffer *as a Christian* let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf."¹⁷ And in similar language St. Paul, during his second captivity, alludes to his being imprisoned as a "*malefactor*."¹⁸

The disciples of Christ were now required under the heaviest penalties, even that of death, to call the Emperor Lord, to swear by his Name or his Genius, to offer sacrifices to the Emperor, as well as to the heathen gods, and finally to blaspheme and abjure the name of Christ. The torture was also applied to enforce compliance.¹⁹

The constancy with which the early Christians endured these dreadful sufferings, was the admiration of the idolaters themselves, and true religion gained more proselytes by the patience of its martyrs, than it lost by the terror and intimidation of the inflictions. The epigrammatist Martial, who lived about this time, and might have been present at Nero's inhuman exhibition in the Vatican, has exercised his wit upon these trials, and borne an honest testimony to the fortitude with which the Christians supported them :—

In matutinâ nuper spectatus arenâ²⁰
Mucius imposuit qui sua membra focis

ταῦτα ἀρξάντων, τῶν τε ζώντων, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων
ὁμοίως (Vespasian) ἀπαλείφω, καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς
ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἐγκλήμασι καταλύω. Dion, lxvi. 9.

^{16a} Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Sulpitius Severus, lib. ii. Primus Romæ Christianos suppliciiis et mortibus affecit (Nero), ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione exercuari imperavit, ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus, &c. Oros. vii. 7. And the inscription found in Spain assumes a general persecution in that province. Neroni Cl. Kais. Aug. Pont. Max. ob Provinc. Latronib. et his qui novam gener. hum. superstition. inculcab. purgata. Gruter, p. 238, No. 9. And Tacitus himself writes that not only the Christians who could be suspected of the fire were convicted, but Christians generally, on the ground of hatred of the human race. Deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio generis humani. Tac. Ann. xv. 44. It would seem at first sight from the address of Melito, bishop of Smyrna (who flourished about the middle of the second century), to the Em-

peror Antoninus Verus, that no edicts before that time were issued against the Christians. Τὸ γὰρ οὐδὲ πώποτε γεγένηται, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος καινοῖς ἐλαυνόμενον δόγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· οἱ γὰρ ἀνανδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασταί, τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμὴν, φανερώς ληστεύουσι, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθήμεραν διαριπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσας. Euseb. E. H. iv. 26. But the novelty was not in the decrees, but in the abuse of them, by the plundering of goods, for Melito himself afterwards alludes to the persecution in the time of Nero. μόνοι πάντων ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τινῶν βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός· . . . ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπηγορεύσαντο. Ib.

¹⁷ 1 Peter iv. 16.

¹⁸ ὡς κακοῦργος, 2 Tim. ii. 9.

¹⁹ These stringent laws were not repealed until the reign of Vespasian. Dion, lxvi. 9. Titus pursued the same mild measures, Dion, lxvi. 19, but Domitian restored the laws of Impiety, Dion, lxvii. 14.

²⁰ The arena of the circus is no doubt referred to, in which the cruelties were enacted.

Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
 Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
 Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ præsentē molestâ,
 Ure manum, plus est dicere "Non facio."

Lib. x. Ep. 25.

When Mutius dared upon command
 To thrust into the fire his hand,
 With shouts the people rent the skies,
 To laud the noble sacrifice.
 The silly herd! far braver he,
 Who, standing at the martyr's tree,
 Can yet defy the rabble's cries,
 And say "I make no sacrifice."

The persecution consequent upon the fire at Rome probably commenced some time in the course of September, A.D. 64, about six weeks or two months from the conflagration itself. At the close of the year the edicts of the Emperor took effect in the provinces, and we have now to relate the manner in which the two great Apostles, the one of the Jews, and the other of the Gentiles, were at length drawn within the vortex.

Peter, on receipt of the intelligence of these inhuman burnings of the Christians at Rome, was in the remote east, at Babylon,²¹ with Sylvanus and Mark for his companions.²² Further tidings followed that the persecution was spreading beyond Rome to the provinces, and Peter, upon whom his master had thrice laid the injunction "Feed my sheep," felt a lively apprehension lest the scattered flocks of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, where the Christians were now bitterly pursued by their enemies, might fall away from the faith; and he addressed to them his First Epistle. That this was the object in view, and that the Neronian persecution had commenced at Rome, and had either begun or was immediately expected in these provinces, appears from the facts disclosed in the Epistle itself. Thus the Apostle speaks of the "fiery trial,"²³ a literal description of the martyrs' sufferings by fire at Rome, and this trial was not of a usual character, but had come upon them all at once—"Be not astounded."²⁴ And the Christians were now treated as criminals,²⁵ and the crime lay not in any particular overt act, but in the mere profession of Christianity,²⁶ a state of things that never existed previously to the edicts of Nero.

Why Peter should have written exclusively to the converts of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia has been variously explained. One opinion is that

²¹ There was also a Babylon in Egypt, but it is now generally admitted that Babylon the Great is here meant, where the Jews abounded. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 267, No. 1603. The opinion has also been broached that Babylon here stands metaphorically for Rome, and that Peter at the time was a prisoner in Rome; but the doctrine,

though plausible, is not tenable.

²² 1 Pet. v. 12, 13.

²³ τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμόν. iv. 12.

²⁴ μὴ ξενίζεσθε. iv. 12.

²⁵ κακοποιῶν. iv. 16; ii. 12.

²⁶ ὡς Χριστιανός. iv. 16; and see iv. 14.

Peter had himself preached in those countries, and that he was admonishing his own children in the faith. But this can scarcely be, for throughout the Epistle there is not the faintest trace of his ever having personally visited them. On the contrary, he speaks not of "*us* who have preached the Gospel to you," but of "*those* who have preached the Gospel to you."²⁷ It is much more likely that he was induced to address the Epistle to them particularly because they had been evangelized, *not* by himself, but by missionaries acting with his sanction and authority,²⁸ for he is careful to tell them (and they are the closing words of the Epistle) that the faith in which they stood was the true faith.²⁹ Sylvanus and Mark were now with Peter and we know that both of them had laboured in Asia Minor, and might have been instrumental as the agents of Peter in making the converts to whom the Epistle was addressed.³⁰ Another, and not unlikely explanation is, that Peter selected these countries in particular as those where the Jews most abounded, for there can be no doubt that Jews were extremely numerous in all the provinces named. But if so, why, it may be asked, did not the Apostle of the circumcision apply himself to the Christians also of Judea and Syria and Cilicia? As for Judea, it was under the charge of its own bishop, James, the brother of our Lord; and as for Syria and Cilicia, they were both under the Patriarchate of the church of Antioch. The decrees of the Jerusalem Council it will be remembered were sent to the brethren of Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, as all comprised under the same jurisdiction.³¹ In Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, the churches were not equally advanced in organization, and it is observable that Peter designates them as *pilgrims* dispersed through these countries.³² Why the Apostle should not have included the converts of Greece in his letter may be explained not only on the ground that these were chiefly Gentile churches, with little of the Jewish element, but also by the fact that at the date of the Epistle Paul himself was in that part, and they would be under his personal charge.

The opening address of the Epistle of Peter is as follows: "Peter, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, to the pilgrims scattered³³ throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia."³⁴ The order in which the countries are named is obvious enough. The Apostle first enumerates the provinces on the east which were nearest to him, and then passes on to the west. By the word "*pilgrims*" must be understood

²⁷ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς. 1 Peter i. 12.

²⁸ In the Textus receptus of 2 Peter iii. 2 (and the second Epistle is addressed to the same persons as the first; see 2 Pet. iii. 1) is the passage μνησθῆναι . . . τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν ἐντόλης, "to remember the injunction of our apostles," or missionaries; and if this reading be correct it affords evidence that Peter had not converted them by himself but by his envoys.

²⁹ 1 Peter v. 12.

³⁰ As to Sylvanus, see Acts xv. 40, and as to

Mark, see Coloss. iv. 10.

³¹ Acts xv. 23.

³² παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς. 1 Pet. i. 1.

³³ It would almost seem from this that the Christian churches as organized communities had not yet been formed, or where formed had been broken up by the persecution, and some consider this the reason why Peter addressed them.

³⁴ 1 Pet. i. 1.

not the Jews of the dispersion only, but the Christians of Asia Minor, whether Jews or Gentiles, and they are designated "pilgrims," as sojourning for a time upon earth, but whose country was in heaven.³⁵ The disciples to whom he wrote were, in fact, in great measure Gentiles, and he so describes them in the Epistle. "Ye, in time past *were not a people*, but are now the people of God, which *had not obtained mercy*, but now have obtained mercy."³⁶ And again, "Ye *were as sheep going astray*, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls."³⁷ And again, speaking of Sarah as obedient unto Abraham, he continues, "Of whom *ye have been made the children*, if ye do well, and be not afraid with any amazement." And in another verse, "For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles."³⁸

We may also observe that the second Epistle is written to the same correspondents as the first, and the prefatory salutation is, "Simon Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them *that have obtained like precious faith with us* through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ,"³⁹ where the Gentiles are plainly referred to as having been admitted by the Gospel to the same privileges with Peter and his countrymen.

Were we to adduce every allusion to the prevailing persecution, we should extract the greater part of the Epistle, as the aim of the writer breathes in almost every line. He bids them rejoice, "Though now for a season, if need be, ye are *in heaviness through manifold temptations*; that *the trial of your faith*, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ."⁴⁰ And again, "Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they *speak against you as evil-doers*, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God *in the day of visitation*;"⁴¹ where by the day of visitation (ἡμέρα ἐπισκοπῆς) is to be understood the inquisition before the civil magistrate. And again, "Who is he that will harm you if ye be followers of that which is good? but, and if ye *suffer for righteousness' sake*, happy are ye."⁴² "For it is better if the will of God be so, that ye *suffer for well doing* than for evil doing."⁴³ "Forasmuch, then, as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, *arm yourselves likewise with the same mind*."⁴⁴ But nothing can be more pointed than the following passage: "Beloved, think it not strange⁴⁵ concerning *the fiery*

³⁵ The Apostle uses *παρεπιδήμιους* in this sense in ii. 11, and speaks of the days of our pilgrimage (τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον) in i. 17; and see iv. 2. Παροιμία, a temporary sojourn, is opposed to κατοικία, a permanent domicile. Thus παροικεῖ μὲν ὁ σοφὸς ὡς ἐν ξένῃ σώματι αἰσθητῶ, κατοικεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐν πατρίδι νοηταῖς ἀρεταῖς. Philo de confus. ling. s. 17, and see other passages cited in J. B. Lightfoot's Clemens Romanus, p. 31.

³⁶ 1 Pet. ii. 10.

³⁷ 1 Pet. ii. 25.

³⁸ 1 Pet. iv. 3.

³⁹ 2 Pet. i. 1.

⁴⁰ 1 Pet. i. 6, 7.

⁴⁵ Be not amazed, μὴ ξενίζεσθε. The trial, therefore, to which the Christians were subject was not as some suppose any ordinary one, but the "fiery trial" from the persecution of Nero.

⁴¹ 1 Pet. ii. 12.

⁴² 1 Pet. iii. 13, 14.

⁴³ 1 Pet. iii. 17.

⁴⁴ 1 Pet. iv. 1.

*trial*⁴⁶ *which is to try you*, as though some strange thing happened unto you; but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are *partakers of Christ's sufferings*, that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be *reproached for the name of Christ*, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified: but *let none of you suffer* as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters; yet if any man *suffer as a Christian*,⁴⁷ let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf."⁴⁸

The first letter was sent by the hands of Sylvanus, while Mark still remained in attendance upon the Apostle, which will account for the fact that Mark sends a salutation in the letter,⁴⁹ but Sylvanus does not. Babylon, whence the Epistle of Peter was dispatched, was beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and was comprised in Parthia. Peter therefore would himself during his sojourn there be secure against the edicts of Nero. But the Apostle from his impetuous temper could not shrink from the post of danger, and the voice of antiquity is unanimous that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome. Under what circumstances he passed from the remote east to Rome, must be left to conjecture. He may have returned from Babylon at the natural conclusion of his circuit thither, or hearing that the cause of Christianity was in peril in the west, he may have hastened to some Roman province to strengthen the brethren by his personal presence, and then have been arrested. As the ringleader of the obnoxious Christians, though not like Paul a Roman citizen, he would naturally be forwarded as a prisoner to Rome, where the alleged crime of having set fire to the city had been committed. Or he may voluntarily have hurried from Babylon to Rome, the fountain-head of the persecution, and where it was raging.

It may have been in his progress from Babylon that Peter wrote his second Epistle to the same churches to whom he had addressed the first.⁵⁰ There are no salutations in the second Epistle, either from any community or any individuals, and it would seem therefore that Peter at the time was not resident in any great city, and that his former companions, Sylvanus and Mark, had both left him. We know indeed that Sylvanus had carried the former letter, and accordingly it contained no salutation from him, but only from Mark, and as the second Epistle contains no salutation from Mark, we may conclude that Mark himself was the bearer of the second letter. It is remarkable that the latter Epistle makes but indistinct allusions to the persecution. He tells them only that "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of their trial,"⁵¹ and exhorts them not to "Fall away from their steadfastness."⁵² But

⁴⁶ *πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμόν*. Allusion may here be made to the burnings of the Christians, as related by Tacitus. See ante, p. 360.

⁴⁷ It was therefore a crime to bear the name of Christ, but this was not the case until the edicts of Nero after the fire at Rome.

⁴⁸ 1 Pet. iv. 12-16.

⁴⁹ 1 Pet. v. 13.

⁵⁰ 2 Pet. iii. 1.

⁵¹ *ἐκ πειρασμοῦ*. 2 Pet. ii. 9.

⁵² 2 Pet. iii. 17.

this silence may have arisen from his having so fully handled the subject in his former Epistle. He seems, however, to have had a foreboding that his own end was approaching, and that he was soon to fulfil the prophecy of his Lord. The solemn injunction, "Feed my sheep," was still ringing in the Apostle's ears—"When thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and bear thee (*οἰσει*), whither thou wouldest not;"⁵³ for he writes, "I think it meet, *as long as I am in this tabernacle*, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance, knowing that *shortly I must put off this my tabernacle*, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me."⁵⁴

We cannot pass over the affectionate terms in which Peter, in this Epistle, speaks of his fellow-labourer in the same vineyard, the Apostle of the Gentiles. "Account," he says, "that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation, even as our *beloved brother Paul* also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you."⁵⁵ It is evident from this passage that Paul was still living, and that if ever there had existed an unfriendly feeling betwixt them, they had long since embraced as brothers.

Shortly after the dispatch of the second Epistle Peter arrived at Rome, and, according to the general tradition, was crucified there in the Vatican, the scene of the other martyrdoms, with his head downwards. It is commonly reported by the later fathers that the Apostle besought this mode of execution, as not being worthy to suffer in the same posture with his Divine Master, but the practice of crucifying with the head downwards was not uncommon amongst the Romans, and was a mark of ignominy, and on that account no doubt adopted on this occasion. It is said that the two great Apostles, Peter and Paul, were together at Rome, and if so, the martyrdom of Peter must be placed some time during Paul's second imprisonment, which was from the latter part of A.D. 65 to the middle of A.D. 66.⁵⁶

⁵³ John xxi. 18.

⁵⁴ 2 Pet. i. 12-14.

⁵⁵ 2 Pet. iii. 15.

⁵⁶ See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 336, No. 1980. Little is known of the latter part of the life of Peter. In A.D. 44 he was imprisoned by Agrippa I. at Jerusalem, and miraculously delivered, Acts xii. 3, when it is said he went to "another place," *εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*, Acts xii. 17. But four years after this, viz. in A.D. 48, and therefore long after the death of Agrippa I., he was again at Jerusalem, and was present at a council there in that year. Acts xv. 7; *Fasti Sacri*, p. 288, No. 1723. And again, in A.D. 53, with Paul and Barnabas, when the leading Apostles, James the Bishop of Jerusalem, and Peter and John entered into the compact with Paul and Barnabas that the two latter should be recognized as the Apostles of the Gentiles, while Peter and John addressed themselves to the Jews. Galat. ii. 9; *Fasti Sacri*, p. 300, No. 1795. In A.D. 57, when Paul wrote

the First Epistle to the Corinthians (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 308, No. 1836), Peter had still no fixed residence, but was engaged in making circuits. "Have we not power to lead about a believing woman as well as the other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?" 1 Cor. ix. 5; and some urge from the passage, "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ" (1 Cor. i. 12), that Peter had then recently visited Corinth, but the existence of a Jewish party at Corinth, who claimed to be the followers of Peter, does not prove this, nor is it likely that Peter himself had been present. It might as well be argued that Christ himself had been there as there was also a party "of Christ" at Corinth. When Paul asks, "Who, then, is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom he believed?" 1 Cor. iii. 5; and when again Paul writes, "I have planted and Apollos watered," 1 Cor. iii. 6, it is clearly implied from the omission of Peter's name that

We now return to the Apostle of the Gentiles. When we last parted from him he had just arrived at Troas, about the middle of A.D. 65. The Neronian persecution had gradually extended itself in concentric circles from Rome into the provinces, and at Troas it overtook the Apostle. It is certain that he was sent to Rome a prisoner a second time from some part of Asia Minor, and the only question is, whether his arrest was at Ephesus itself, from which he sailed, or in some other city. The evidence of Ignatius, who flourished in the latter half of the first century, is not unimportant upon this point. Ignatius, himself a martyr, was conveyed in bonds from Antioch of Syria, of which he was bishop, by way of Ephesus to Rome; and in writing to the Ephesians he thus assimilates himself to the Apostle Paul:

Paul and Apollos only had published the Gospel at Corinth. In A.D. 58 Peter certainly was not at Rome, or he would have been alluded to amongst the extraordinary number of salutations at the close of the Epistle to the Romans written in that year from Corinth. *Fasti Sacri*, p. 313, No. 1854. Nor was he at Rome in A.D. 61-63, for during that period Paul was a prisoner there and sent numerous salutations from the Christians of Rome in the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon and Philippians, but in none of them makes any allusion to Peter. From the compact at Jerusalem in A.D. 53 that Paul should address himself to the Gentiles, and Peter to the Jews, we should infer that while Paul proposed to visit the extreme west, viz. Spain (Rom. xv. 28), Peter proposed to pursue his ministry towards the extreme east, viz. Babylon, where the Jews abounded; and accordingly at the date of the First Epistle of Peter, which we should place after the outbreak of the Christian persecution under Nero, A.D. 64, we find him at Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13), and both Sylvanus and Mark were then with him. 1 Pet. v. 12, 13. Sylvanus, who had joined Paul on his second circuit, and had accompanied him up to Jerusalem at the time of the compact, probably attached himself to Peter when the meeting at Jerusalem broke up. Mark, who had gone with Paul and Barnabas on their first circuit as far as Perga (Acts xiii. 13), and was the companion of Barnabas on his second circuit (Acts xv. 39), had afterwards been reconciled to Paul, and was with him at Rome during the first imprisonment, A.D. 61-63 (Coloss. iv. 10, Philem. v. 24), but was intending to proceed to Asia Minor, and to visit Colossæ (Coloss. iv. 10), apparently *en route* to join Peter at Babylon, where we find Mark at the date of Peter's first Epistle. It is possible that Mark may have exercised his minis-

try, by the way, in "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," until the persecution reached those provinces, and may then have carried the tidings to Peter at Babylon, and caused the dispatch of Peter's first Epistle to those countries.

That Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome is attested by a number of witnesses: Clem. Rom. c. 5; Lactantius de Mortib. Persecut. c. 2; Dionysius of Corinth, Euseb. ii. 25; Irenæus adv. Hæres. iii. 1; Tertullian Scorpiac. 15; Origen ap. Euseb. iii. 1; Caius Presbyter Euseb. ii. 25; Euseb. himself, ib.; and Demonst. Evang. lib. iii. c. 5. But under what circumstances, or at what precise time he came to Rome, is merely matter of surmise. He certainly did not plant the church at Rome, and was never bishop of it, and apparently he never resided there, or ever made a circuit in that direction, but, on the contrary, was employed in the East. Like Paul, he may have been sent thither as a prisoner, and put to death shortly afterwards.

According to the *Prædicatio Pauli*, ascribed to the second century, Peter and Paul met at Rome. *Liber qui inscribitur Pauli Prædicatio, in quo libro . . . invenies post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem et mutuam altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in urbe, quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos.* Cyprian ed. Rigattius, p. 139, cited by Wieseler, Chronol. Apost. 569. If this be so, the meeting could not have been before the latter half of A.D. 65, when Paul was again a prisoner at Rome. The probable date of the martyrdom of Peter is at the close of A.D. 65. See *Fasti Sacri*, 336, No. 1980. All evidence is against the assumption that he had resided at Rome for any length of time previously. See the question discussed (*inter alios*) by Wieseler, Chronol. Apost. p. 552.

“Ye are the *thoroughfare* (πάροδος) of those that are slain for God’s sake, the co-religionists of Paul the holy, the martyr, the blessed, in whose footsteps may it be my lot to be found.”⁵⁷ Here Ignatius speaks of *Ephesus* as the city *through* which the martyrs were forwarded to Rome; and as he refers to Paul and himself as examples, the inference is that Paul had been arrested somewhere in Asia, and had passed through Ephesus on his way to the Imperial city.

We are led to assume that Paul was put under arrest while he was at Troas, as on this supposition, and not otherwise, can be satisfactorily explained the fact that Paul was obliged to leave at Troas with Carpus (at whose house he had lodged) his cloak, and books, and parchments. The warmth of the weather might induce him to throw aside his cloak, but how, except under some urgent pressure, could he have parted with such necessary accompaniments for his missionary labours as the books and parchments? the former of which, as we understand them, were the Law and the Prophets, some in Hebrew and some in the Septuagint (for the Apostle quotes both versions), and the parchments or manuscripts were copies of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (for Mark and John had not yet written), intended for distribution amongst the converts, and also the transcripts of his own Epistles written to the various churches, and their letters to himself. How could Paul have parted with all these, except under the most dire necessity, more particularly when he was bound for Ephesus (as announced in his letter to Timothy),⁵⁸ where he expected to encounter the Gnostics and other heretics, against whom he had so earnestly warned Timothy a few months before? But if the Apostle, on his way to Ephesus, was intercepted by violence and put under arrest, the whole is intelligible, as under such circumstances he would naturally confide his most precious books and manuscripts to the care of some faithful disciple, like Carpus, until they should again be wanted, or could be received by the Apostle without endangering their safety.

The particulars of Paul’s apprehension are conjectural; but we should imagine that the prime movers in the accusation against him were his old adversaries, who pursued him through life, the Jews, for he afterwards wrote to Timothy: “I am appointed a preacher and an apostle and a *teacher of the Gentiles, for the which cause I also suffer these things*”;⁵⁹ as much as to say, the Jews cannot endure that the Gentiles should be placed on an equality with themselves, and hence the rancour that has followed me throughout, and now hath committed me once more to prison. The charge brought against him was simply the profession of Christianity, for since the edicts of Nero arising out of the fire of Rome this of itself was made a criminal act; not that the Christians out of Rome could have had any complicity in the alleged incendiarism, but they were accused, from their unsocial habits, of an enmity against the whole human race, and therefore as having the will, though not the power, to

⁵⁷ πάροδος ἔστε τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων, Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, ἀξιομακαριστοῦ, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἔχνη εὐρεθῆναι.

Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. 12.

⁵⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 14; iv. 13.

⁵⁹ 2 Tim. i. 11, 12.



THE SITE OF EPHESUS FROM THE EAST OR LAND SIDE.

From an unpublished Sketch by the late W. H. Bartlett.

The view is taken from the theatre, on the south western side of Mount Coressus. The mountain on the extreme left is Prion or Pion. The marsh in the centre is the Port, with the channel leading from it to the Cayster, which flows to the spectator's left. The Tower on the hill beyond the Port is the traditional prison of St. Paul. *To face Vol. ii. p. 370.*

perpetrate a similar atrocity. Hence the Apostle speaks of himself as now wearing his chain as "a *malefactor*."⁶⁰

Paul was arrested at Troas, but he was not to be tried at Troas. The residence of the Proconsul was at Ephesus, and there was the seat of judicature. To Ephesus, therefore, Paul was sent in bonds, accompanied by such companions as happened to be with him, and who at this time were Titus, Tychicus, Erastus, Demas, Luke, and Crescens.⁶¹

That Paul was incarcerated at Ephesus we may collect from scattered hints in the last Epistle that he ever wrote, the second Epistle to Timothy, and more particularly from his allusion to the services there of the good Onesiphorus. "In how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus thou knowest very well."⁶² But, further, there is an ancient tradition to this effect, which is the more entitled to respect as not prompted by any recorded fact of Paul's imprisonment at Ephesus (for it is nowhere expressly mentioned), but must be traced to some other source, and to what other source than the truth? To this day is pointed out, on the site of the city, at the south-west, on Mount Prion, a tower in which the Apostle is said to have been incarcerated.

The Proconsul of Asia, at this time, was a man of singular probity, one of the purest characters of the age, Barea Soranus. His popularity in the province formed a striking contrast to the universal execration of the Emperor himself. While Nero was plunging into the most detestable debaucheries, Soranus was gaining golden opinions by the execution of public works of utility. He was now engaged in clearing the port of Ephesus, which, by the accretion of soil accumulated by the Cayster and the mountain streams, had become almost useless to navigation. Instead of peculation and extortion, the usual concomitants of the Proconsulate, Soranus had shown a tender regard for vested rights, and viewed with pain the depredations committed by the orders of his master. Acratus, the Emperor's freedman, had been lately sent into Asia to ransack even the temples of the gods for the finest statues and paintings, to adorn the magnificent palace which Nero was now constructing at Rome, and at Pergamus an affray had occurred between the imperial commissioner and the citizens, but Soranus, instead of avenging the insult, had made allowances for the provocation, and suffered the offenders to escape with impunity.⁶³

It was not likely that such a Prefect would countenance or encourage the persecution against the unoffending Christians. However, he was bound to administer

⁶⁰ *κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν, ὡς κακοῦργος.* 2 Tim. ii. 9.

⁶¹ Erastus accompanied Paul on his voyage as far as Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20), and Titus, Tychicus, Demas, Luke, and Crescens, were all with the Apostle at Rome at the conclusion of his voyage. 2 Tim. iv. 10, 11, 12, 20. But how or

when they arrived there is matter of conjecture; but the text assumes that they were Paul's companions from Troas, and accompanied him to Rome.

⁶² 2 Tim. i. 18.

⁶³ Tac. Ann. xvi. 23.

the law as it stood, and when in pursuance of the Emperor's edicts, an information was regularly laid before him, he could not avoid compliance with the Imperial orders.

The indictment against Paul was brought to a hearing before the Proconsul. His accusers were the Jews, and their chief organ was Alexander the coppersmith, the same Alexander who ten years before, at the riot of Demetrius and the silversmiths, had stood forward as their spokesman to exculpate his own nation and heap opprobrium on his antagonist,⁶⁴ and who afterwards prosecuted the impeachment of the Apostle at Rome.⁶⁵ The charge of Christianity (which by the edicts of Nero was made a crime) could not be denied, and Paul was condemned or about to be so, when either Paul, who as a Roman citizen was entitled to appeal from the tribunal of the Proconsul to Cæsar, again asserted his privilege, or Soranus, unwilling to imbrue his own hands in the blood of an innocent man, instead of delivering judgment himself, adopted the course afterwards pursued by Pliny on a similar occasion in Bithynia,⁶⁶ and of his own accord remitted a case, where the life of a Roman citizen was implicated, to the hearing of the Emperor. Whatever were the circumstances, Paul was again ordered to the great western capital, and as Soranus's period of office expired about the same period, they may both have sailed in the same vessel to perish by the same fate in the following summer.⁶⁷

Timothy, when Paul the preceding year had crossed over to Crete, had been stationed at Ephesus; and on Paul's return from Crete to Ephesus, on his way to Macedonia, had again been left in charge of that church, and now, on Paul's embarkation for Rome, Timothy, as standing highest in the Apostle's esteem, received the Apostle's instructions to supply his place in watching over so important a community as that of the capital of Proconsular Asia. They now embraced each other for the last time. They never met again in this world, and Timothy, with a sad foreboding that such would be the case, wept bitterly. The parting was a mournful one, and lived in the memories of both. Paul in his last Epistle thus alludes to the scene:—"I thank God, whom I save from my forefathers, that *without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and day, greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears* that I may be filled with joy."⁶⁸

Paul had many companions on his voyage to Rome, as Titus, Tychicus, Erastus, Demas, Luke, Crescens, and Trophimus the Ephesian.⁶⁹

At what precise period of the year Paul, as a prisoner, set sail, can only be surmised. He had passed the winter of A.D. 64-65 at Nicopolis, in Epirus, and would therefore leave it about March. If, as we suppose, he evangelized Dalmatia in

⁶⁴ Acts xix. 33.

⁶⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 14.

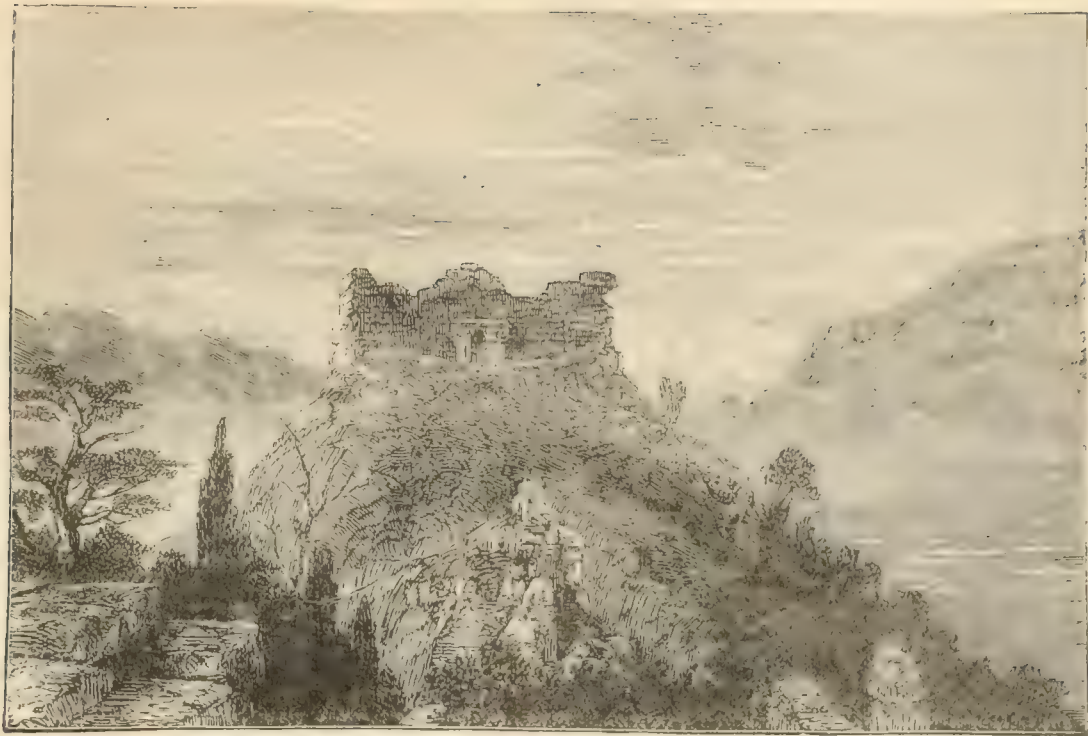
⁶⁶ Plin. Epist. x. 97.

⁶⁷ Soranus was put to death for his virtues by Nero in A.D. 66 (Tac. Ann. xvi. 23), and it is not improbable that he was even a convert to Chris-

tianity. See Fasti Sacri, p. 339, No. 1990.

⁶⁸ 2 Tim. i. 3, 4.

⁶⁹ Trophimus was left behind sick at Miletus, 2 Tim. iv. 20. As to the others, see note ante, note ⁶¹.



The Traditional Prison of St. Paul at Ephesus.

The spectator is looking west toward the Egean Sea, with his back to the city. *From the Illustrated London News.*



The road from Corinth to Lechaum, the Western port, now a swamp.

The site of the port is seen in the immediate foreground. *From Stackelberg.*

the spring, and then spent some time amongst the churches of Macedonia as at Thessalonica and Philippi, he would not reach Troas until about Midsummer. At Troas he was put under arrest, and then must have followed the usual delays of the law, first at Troas itself and again at Ephesus, and at the latter place his imprisonment must have been of some duration, for the services of Onesiphorus in the course of it were of sufficient importance to call for the Apostle's grateful acknowledgments.⁷⁰ We should say then that Paul commenced his voyage a little before the winter of A.D. 65-66, and this is confirmed by the route taken, for he did not, as before, make the whole passage by sea, but crossed the Isthmus of Corinth, the usual track to Rome, at a season when the circumnavigation of the Morea would, from the broken weather, be attended with risk.

Paul on his way from Ephesus to Rome passed through or touched at Miletus, a port lying at the distance of thirty-six miles from Ephesus toward the south. Either, the port of Ephesus being under repair,⁷¹ the mercantile traffic was for a season transferred to Miletus, and Paul journeyed thither by land before embarking, or else, the ship by which he was a passenger, having sailed from Ephesus, put in at Miletus for some purposes of trade before crossing the Ægean. At Miletus Trophimus fell ill, and proceeded no further. "Trophimus," Paul afterwards writes to Timothy, "I left behind me at Miletus sick."⁷² The vessel pursued its course from Miletus to Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth, where the passengers disembarked and journeyed by land to Corinth. Here Erastus, who was a native of that city, and had been chamberlain of it,⁷³ parted from the Apostle, and proceeded no further. "Erastus," writes Paul, "abode at Corinth."⁷⁴ As the mention of Erastus's stopping at Corinth is not accompanied with any mark of disapprobation, we may conclude that it was with the full sanction of the Apostle himself. His presence in the Corinthian church might be of more service to the cause of Christianity than his companionship of the Apostle on the voyage to Rome.

From Corinth Paul and his company took the road to Lechæum, the western port and therefore passed through the western gate of Corinth (conspicuous for the two gilt chariots of Phœbus and Phaeton, with which it was surmounted), and traversed the narrow strip enclosed between the two long walls which connected the capital with the port.⁷⁵ At Lechæum⁷⁶ they again took ship and steered for Aulon, the port of Illyria, screened by the Acroceraunian mountains,⁷⁷ and the common

⁷⁰ 2 Tim. i. 18.

⁷¹ Tac. Ann. xvi. 23. It is a significant circumstance, confirmatory of the decline of Ephesus as a port, that in A.D. 58 Paul sailed by Ephesus and put in at Miletus.

⁷² 2 Tim. iv. 20.

⁷³ Rom. xvi. 23.

⁷⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 20.

⁷⁵ Pausan. Corinth. ii. 3.

⁷⁶ The port of Lechæum is now choked up, and has become a mere lagoon.

⁷⁷ When I passed the Acroceraunia some years ago they presented a singular appearance, being wrapped in clouds resembling huge fleeces of wool and perfectly motionless, while in the sky itself not a cloud was to be seen, but only a glaring sun.

resting-place on the way to Italy. From Aulon they would cross to Brundisium, and thence follow the Via Appia (fig. 304) until they reached the Porta Capena of

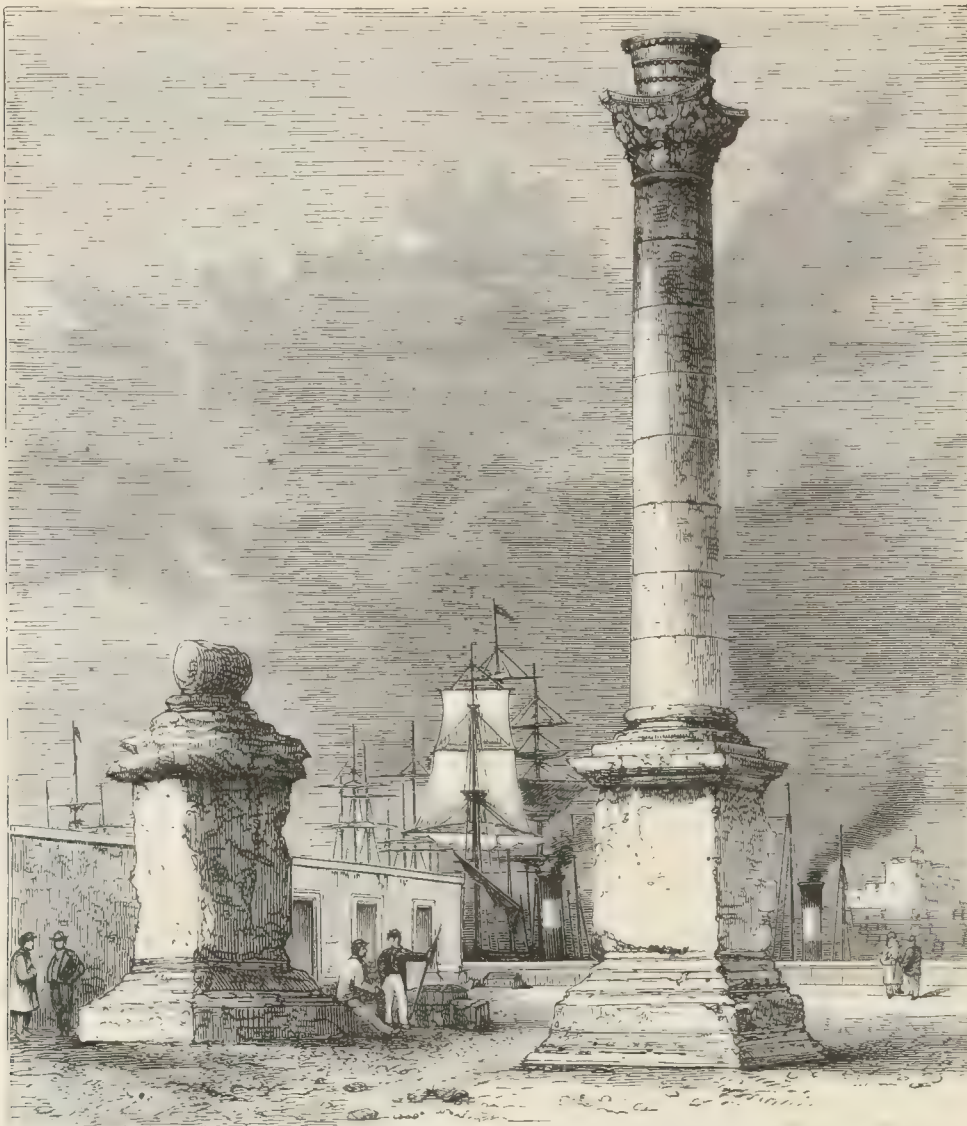


Fig. 304.—Remains of two columns marking the commencement of the famous Appian Way leading from the port of Brundisium to Rome. From the Illustrated London News.

Rome. The portals of Rome, from the late attempt on the life of the Emperor,⁷⁸ were carefully guarded;⁷⁹ but the centurion and his company who had charge of Paul were bound for the palace, and found ready admission.

⁷⁸ See Fasti Sacri, p. 335, No. 1965.

⁷⁹ προσῆσαν οὖν ταῖς πύλαις, οἱ δὲ ἐφεστῶτες οὐδὲν ἠρώτων. Philost. iv. 39.



VIEW OF THE PORT OF BRUNDISIUM.

From a Sketch by W. Simpson.



PLAN OF THE PORT OF BRUNDISIUM.

From Admiralty Chart.

To face Vol. ii. p. 374.

CHAPTER X.

Paul's First Trial—He writes the Second Epistle to Timothy—His Second Trial, and Martyrdom.

No more to tread the desert's burning sand,
 Or climb the pass where mountain snows congeal!
 No more to brave the robber's ruffian band,
 Or plough the stormy seas with treacherous keel!
 No more the ignominious lash to feel,
 Or drag the galling chain!—Now dawns the day
 That sets to long-tried faith the welcome seal,
 And lightened of its weary load of clay,
 The spirit rests with Him who "wipes all tears away."
 Anon.

PAUL once again, and as a captive, was within the mighty capital. But what a change was everywhere visible! Around was a scene of devastation, the effects of the late calamitous fire, and from the midst of the ruins was rising the stately palace of Nero, called the Golden, an ominous meteor amid the surrounding gloom.¹ In the front stood or was in course of erection a colossal statue of Nero, 120 feet high, and before it a splendid portico, with a treble row of columns, extending a mile in length. In the interior of the Palace were collected the most beautiful statues and paintings, rifled from the Temples of the Gods in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and even from the shrine of Apollo at Delphi which had been violated without remorse, to gratify the Emperor's vanity.² Round about the Palace, where before a dense population had been crowded into narrow alleys, were now in the heart of the city, a spacious park, and lake and woods, in short, a rural landscape.³

Paul, as a prisoner who had exercised the right of appeal to the Emperor in person at Rome, was delivered over to the Imperial body-guard.⁴ The cohort on duty, i. e. the band of the Prætorians in actual attendance, was quartered within

¹ The palace, as the fire occurred only two years before, was no doubt at this time in a very unfinished state.

² Pausan. Phocic. x. 19, 1; Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 4, 11. It is believed that the Venus de Medicis, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Laocoon were all the spoils of Nero, as they were found in one or other of his palaces.

³ Suet. Nero, 31. Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 16; xxxvi. 2, 4, 5. The palace was taken down by Vespasian, and on the site of the lake was erected the Colosseum, so called from the colossal statue of Nero which stood near the spot. Martial. de Spectac. Epig. ii.

⁴ See ante, p. 236.

the precincts of the Palace, and to their barrack captives, as they arrived from the provinces, were wont to be conveyed. Paul, on his first imprisonment, had been taken to the Prætorian barrack on the Palatine hill. But since then the Imperial residence, hallowed by the occupation of Augustus and his successors, had been burnt to the ground in the general conflagration, and Nero's gorgeous structure, the Golden Palace, occupied the Cœlian and Esquiline hills.⁵ Thither Paul was conducted, and now formally transferred to the Prefects of the Prætorium.

The excellent Burrhus (the Prefect of the Prætorium at Paul's first imprisonment), had expired four years before,⁶ and Tigellinus and Fenius Rufus were his successors. Rufus had since lost his life as a conspirator against the Emperor, and Nymphidius Sabinus had been substituted in his place,⁷ but he was a mere shadow, and Tigellinus was recognised as the sole Prefect.⁸ He was unhappily the profligate abettor and coadjutor of all Nero's dissipation and reckless atrocities, and the bitter enemy and persecutor of the Christians. Paul before had been left comparatively at liberty, and had been permitted, coupled to a soldier, to dwell in his own apartments, but now he was ordered into close confinement. During his first imprisonment his house was open to all comers, but now it was with difficulty that his prison could be discovered, and the Apostle speaks in grateful terms of Onesiphorus, who when at Rome, "sought him out very diligently, and found him."⁹ Paul was thus not absolutely debarred from intercourse, if friends had the moral courage to search out his retreat; and we may well suppose that his immediate companions, and also many of the Roman church, as Eubulus, and Pudens, and Claudia, and Linus (afterwards bishop of Rome), all mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy, were assiduous in administering to his comfort.¹⁰

The winter was the legal vacation at Rome,¹¹ and some months would, therefore, elapse before Paul's case could be heard; and during this dreary interval, the Apostle, though absent in the body, was still present in mind amongst his beloved churches, watching the pulsation of each community, and administering balsams to their spiritual grievances. He could not visit them himself, but as he had brought with him many trusty followers, as if for the very purpose of providing for such contingencies, he now dispatched them with the necessary credentials and instructions to the various churches which more especially required support. Titus was

⁵ Nero, even before the great fire, had carried his palace from the Palatine hill across the Via Sacra to the Esquiline and called it the Domus Transitoria. This was destroyed by the fire, and rebuilt and extended by the name of the Domus Aurea. Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo Transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque Aureum nominavit. Suet. Nero, 31.

⁶ Fasti Sacri, p. 326, No. 1919.

⁷ Fasti Sacri, p. 335, Nos. 1967, 1968.

⁸ Τιγελλίνος γὰρ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος. Philost. Vit. Apoll. iv. 42.

⁹ 2 Tim. i. 16.

¹⁰ Quibusdam custodiæ traditis non modo studendi solatium ademptum, sed etiam sermonis et colloquii usus. Suet. Tib. 61. This is mentioned as an instance of the cruelty of Tiberius.

¹¹ Suet. Galb. 14; Claud. 23; Aug. 32.



*Places visited by St. Paul in his
several Circuits from Antioch
of Syria.*

FIRST CIRCUIT.
(GREEN.)

Antioch of Syria
Seleucia
Salamis
Paphos
Perga
Antioch of Pisidia
Iconium
Lystra
Derbe
Lystra
Iconium
Antioch of Pisidia
Perga
Attalia
Antioch of Syria

Philippi
Neapolis
Troas
Miletus
Patara
Tyre
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Caesarea
Sidon
Myra
Cnidus
Fair Havens
Malta
Syracuse
Rhegium
Puteoli
Appii Forum

SECOND CIRCUIT.
(YELLOW.)

Antioch of Syria
Tarsus
Derbe
Lystra
Iconium
Antioch of Pisidia
Pessinus
Ancyra
Taviun
Ancyra
Pessinus
Troas

Tres Tabernæ
Rome
Tres Tabernæ
Appii Forum
Puteoli
Rhegium
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Caesarea
Antioch of Syria
(By land)

FOURTH CIRCUIT.
(BLUE.)

Antioch of Syria
Tarsus
Derbe
Lystra
Iconium
Antioch of Pisidia
Colossæ
Laodicea
Hierapolis
Ephesus
Crete
Ephesus
Troas
Neapolis
Philippi
Amphipolis
Apollonia
Thessalonica
Cenchrea
Corinth
Cenchrea
Ephesus
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Antioch of Syria
(By land)

Antioch of Syria
Tarsus
Derbe
Lystra
Iconium
Antioch of Pisidia
Colossæ
Laodicea
Hierapolis
Ephesus
Crete
Ephesus
Troas
Neapolis
Philippi
Amphipolis
Apollonia
Thessalonica
Cenchrea
Corinth
Nicopolis
Dalmatia
Pelagonia
Thessalonica
Apollonia
Amphipolis
Philippi
Neapolis
Troas
Ephesus
Cenchrea
Corinth
Apollonia (Epirus)
Brundisium
Capua
Appii Forum
Tres Tabernæ
Rome

THIRD CIRCUIT.
(RED.)

Antioch of Syria
Tarsus
Taviun
Ancyra
Pessinus
Ephesus
Troas
Neapolis
Philippi
Amphipolis
Apollonia
Thessalonica
Pelagonia
Thessalonica
Cenchrea
Corinth
Berea
Thessalonica
Apollonia
Amphipolis

*N.B.—The visit to Spain, as doubtful,
has not been inserted.*

sent by him to Dalmatia, a country which the year before he had assisted Paul in evangelizing, and Crescens, who probably was no stranger to the Galatians, but had accompanied the Apostle's last visit amongst them, was commissioned to Galatia. Tychicus, who was himself an Ephesian, was dispatched to Ephesus,¹² and the object, which is not stated, was perhaps to take the place of Timothy, who was summoned to the Apostle at Rome. The lukewarm Demas, instead of being stimulated to exertion by the approach of danger, basely drew back, and abandoning the ship now amongst breakers, provided for his personal safety by returning to his native city. "Demas," writes the Apostle, "hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed into Thessalonica—Crescens to Galatia—Titus unto Dalmatia."¹³

Paul now had parted with all his ordinary companions, except Luke.¹⁴ A cheerful ray, however, gleamed across his prison by the arrival of Onesiphorus. This warm-hearted disciple having occasion to follow the Apostle from Ephesus to Rome, had taken extraordinary pains to discover his retreat, and having with difficulty met with him (for no one could avow himself a Christian without peril), was assiduous in rendering assistance. Paul gratefully acknowledges his kindness in the following passage to Timothy: "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chains; but *when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me* (the Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in That day!)."¹⁵ The sojourn of Onesiphorus at Rome was short, and Paul was once more left to his own meditations, and the services of the faithful Luke.

The spring of A.D. 66 had begun, and the day of trial was now at hand. We would fain gratify the reader's curiosity by a full narrative, but we have no guide but a few incidental allusions in the Apostle's last Epistle. From the expression, "I was delivered out of *the mouth of the lion*," it has been supposed that Nero himself presided. It is the very metaphor which, some years before, had been applied to Tiberius, when the intelligence of the tyrant's demise was communicated to the elder Agrippa, "The *lion* is dead."¹⁶ It would also be difficult, on any other assumption, to find the literal fulfilment of the prophetic announcement made to Paul by Ananias at the time of his conversion, "that Paul should bear the Lord's name before the Gentiles and *kings*,"¹⁷ for the only kings that could be referred to are Agrippa and Nero.

It may, perhaps, be thought strange that an Emperor should undergo the fatigues of a judicial office, but such from the first had been the Roman constitution. The

¹² 2 Tim. iv. 12.

¹³ 2 Tim. iv. 10.

¹⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

¹⁵ 2 Tim. i. 16-18. We may conclude from this passage that Paul was kept a prisoner for no little time before his trial.

¹⁶ Τέθνηκεν ὁ λέων. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 10. How-

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ever, Paul may have alluded to the deliverance of Daniel from the lions, or to his own deliverance from the lions in the amphitheatre, a common punishment of Christians, or he may be merely citing Psalm xxi. 22, where the same words occur.

¹⁷ Acts ix. 15.

Emperor for the time being was the chief magistrate, and though he might, and often did, appoint a deputy, he was frequently during the law terms seen presiding in person.

Julius Cæsar was indefatigable, and dealt out a stern impartial justice.¹⁸

Augustus was also assiduous, but ever leaning to the side of mercy.¹⁹ From the advice of Mæcenas to him, and which in substance was followed, we may collect what, in his time, were the limits of the Emperor's jurisdiction. He heard *appeals* from the chief magistrates at Rome, and from the Prefects of Provinces, whether Proconsuls or Proprætors. *Original causes* also were brought before him, where they involved the life or character of a senator or person of rank. It was also Mæcenas's advice that when the Emperor sat, he should be assisted by a jury of the most distinguished senators or knights, with some consulars or prætorians, viz. those who had passed the chair of the consulship or prætorship,²⁰ and accordingly Augustus selected a kind of privy council to assist him in his judicial functions,²¹ consisting of the two consuls, a quæstor, a prætor, an ædile, and fifteen senators,²² who held the office for six months.²³ The tribunal when Augustus sat in person was in the palace,²⁴ in the temple of Apollo.

Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, not only presided himself,²⁵ but also aided the senate and the judges in the discharge of their duties,²⁶ and in important cases was attended by a jury of assessors.²⁷

Caligula did the same,²⁸ but he had no relish for the judicial office, and narrowed the circle of the Imperial functions by hearing domestic appeals from the Senate only,²⁹ and declaring that the decisions of the magistrates of Rome should be final, without any appeal.³⁰

The practice of Claudius was just the reverse, for he was never so well pleased as when he occupied the tribunal, most commonly in the forum, but occasionally elsewhere.³¹ He assumed the jurisdiction of hearing original causes, as had been done by Augustus, and allowed freely appeals to himself both from the Senate, and the magistrates at home, and the Prefects abroad.³² He was also assisted by a jury or council.³³

The youthful and dissolute Nero, with whom we are more immediately concerned,

¹⁸ Jus laboriosissime ac severissime dixit. Suet. Jul. 43.

¹⁹ Suet. Octav. 33, 72, 97; Tib. 8; Dion, liii. 21; lv. 27; lvii. 7.

²⁰ Dion, lii. 33.

²¹ Dion, liii. 21; Suet. Octav. 35; and see Zonaras, x. 33.

²² Dion, liii. 21; lii. 33.

²³ Dion, liii. 21; Suet. Octav. 35.

²⁴ Dion, lv. 27.

²⁵ Tac. Ann. i. 7; iii. 12.

²⁶ Tac. Ann. i. 75; Suet. Tib. 33.

²⁷ Suet. Tib. 55; Dion, lvii. 7.

²⁸ ἐδίκαζε καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερονσίας. Dion, lix. 18.

²⁹ Dion, lix. 18.

³⁰ Suet. Calig. 16.

³¹ Dion, lx. 4.

³² Dion, lx. 4, 25, 33; Suet. Claud. 12, 14, 15, 33; Seneca's Ἀποκολοκ.

³³ Dion, lx. 10.

though he may generally have exercised his jurisdiction through a deputy, yet frequently heard causes in person. At the very outset of his reign he gave out that he would observe the régime of Augustus,³⁴ and he informed the Senate, in a speech written for him by Seneca, that he would resign in their favour the jurisdiction over Italy, and the Senatorian, as opposed to the Imperial, provinces,³⁵ but this was an artifice to gain popularity, and the purpose having been answered, his promise was forgotten.³⁶ Subsequently he divested himself of some part of his appellate jurisdiction, by directing appeals in *civil* causes (a *judicibus*) to be carried to the senate,³⁷ and such appeals, in respect of fees and costs, were put on the same footing as appeals to the Emperor.³⁸ Nero, however, still heard appeals in *criminal* cases, such as that of Paul, more particularly if the accusation contained a count of treason.

It had been customary before his time, when several indictments relating to the same matter were brought by different accusers against the same person, or the issues were otherwise connected, that all the counts should be heard together, but as this rendered the trial somewhat complicated, and often of a tedious length, Nero adopted the course of taking each indictment separately.³⁹

There were more charges than one against Paul, and they seem to have been disposed of at different periods. The accusation first heard was that of Alexander the coppersmith.

The circumstances of the trial are not recorded, but if Nero presided, we can picture to ourselves, what in all probability was the scene. Nero at this time was in his twenty-ninth year. His face, which had been handsome, and of which the features were regular, was disfigured by blotches, the effects of intemperance. He was of good stature, but his slender legs were now disproportioned to the corpulence of his person.⁴⁰ Though fantastically dressed at other times, yet on the occasion of a solemn trial like the present, he would wear the Imperial purple. He was preceded by twelve lictors, with the fasces, and was attended by a numerous German guard.

Nero took his seat on the tribunal; and on the subsellia, or lower benches, at his side, were ranged the judices, or jurors, the magnates of Rome, of Consular or Prætorian dignity. Each juror was provided with three tablets, one of which was marked with the letter A, *Absolvo*, or Not guilty, another with the letter C, *Condemno*, or Guilty, and the third with the letters N. L. *Non liquet*, or Adjournment for further investigation (fig. 305).

Paul was now brought into a crowded court, where was assembled a motley group,

³⁴ Ex præscripto Augusti imperatorum se. Suet. Nero, 10.

³⁵ Tac. Ann. xiii. 4.

³⁶ Tac. Ann. xiii. 33.

³⁷ Ut omnes appellationes a judicibus ad senatum fierent. Suet. Nero, 17.

³⁸ Tac. Ann. xiv. 28.

³⁹ In cognoscendo morem eum tenuit, ut, continuis actionibus omissis singillatim quæque per vices ageret. Suet. Nero, 15.

⁴⁰ Suet. Nero, 51.

composed of various nations. Besides the Emperor and the jurors, and the German Imperial guard, there were amongst the audience Greeks and Jews from Ephesus, with a promiscuous multitude gathered from the four corners of the earth.



Fig. 305.—Coin of Q. Cassius. From the British Museum.

Obv. Head of Liberty with the legend Libert. Q. Cassius.—*Rev.* Temple with the curule chair of judgment in the interior, and on the right the voting paper with the letters A. C. (Absolvo, Condemno), and on the left the ballot box into which the votes were thrown.

Alexander the coppersmith, who had come with his witnesses to prosecute the indictment, and who had bestowed the greatest pains in preparing the case, was now a most vindictive prosecutor, while Paul, on the other hand, was, in his utmost need, deserted.⁴¹ He had no advocate to argue his cause, and he was not supported by those whose presence was indispensable. Witnesses at that time were not compellable to give evidence, and the flames of the Circus had struck such a terror into all who favoured Christianity, that they had not the courage to identify themselves with one who they thought could not escape himself, and might drag down his friends with him. The charge of Christianity involved disloyalty to the Emperor, and none dared to stand by the accused at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the court. It was a common practice at that day, in every indictment to introduce a count of Majestas, or Disloyalty, to secure the absence of the defendant's adherents.⁴²

It might have been expected that Paul's friends of Asia who had witnessed the innocence of his life, would have come forward in a body to offer their testimony in favour of the accused, but they were panic-stricken by the prevailing persecution, and shrank from identifying themselves with one whose cause might endanger their own safety. "This thou knowest," he writes to Timothy, "that all they which are in Asia have turned their backs upon me,"⁴³ of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes,"⁴⁴ two Asiatics, whose advocacy and support it would seem that Paul had in vain solicited.⁴⁵

⁴¹ The case of Paul reminds us of that of the Proconsul of Asia, C. Silanus, who was accused of treason by the Ephesians before Tiberius: Facundissimis totius Asiæ seque ad accusandum delectis respondebat solus, et orandi nescius proprio in metu, qui exercitum quoque debilitat eloquentiam. Tac. Ann. iii. 67. Philo, at the hearing of his embassy before Caligula, was deserted in the same way. Οἱ τέως συμπράττειν ἡμῖν δοκοῦντες ἀπειρήκεσαν. Καλουμένων γοῦν, ἔνδον

ὄντες οὐκ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ὑπεξῆλθον διὰ φόβον, ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν ἥμερον ᾧ κέχρητο πρὸς τὸ νομίζεσθαι Θεός. Philo, Leg. ad Caium, 1043, s. 46.

⁴² Addito majestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat. Tac. Ann. iii. 38.

⁴³ ἀπεστράφησάν με. 2 Tim. i. 15.

⁴⁴ 2 Tim. i. 15.

⁴⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 16.

Paul, however, needed not assistance, he had courage and presence of mind, and we may rest assured that he pleaded in his usual manly strain, boldly confronting his adversaries, and repelling every crimination. It may not be uninteresting to read in the Apostle's own words the following few particulars of the trial:—"Alexander the coppersmith," he writes to Timothy, "laid many evil things to my charge, (*The Lord* reward him according to his works), of whom be thou ware also, for he greatly withstood our words. At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me (I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge); notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fulfilled, and that all the Gentiles might hear."⁴⁶

At the close of the pleadings the judge and jurors were wont to confer together, and then each juror wrote his own note on the tablet, and delivered it to the judge, who pronounced sentence. The verdict was supposed to be in accordance with the opinion of the majority, but Nero paid no attention to this, when caprice or interest prompted a different result.⁴⁷ In clear cases, however, even Nero was compelled by shame to pay some deference to the weight of evidence,⁴⁸ and on the present occasion Paul defended himself so successfully that even the monster Nero, if he presided, or whoever sat as judge, was obliged to declare his acquittal. "I was delivered," writes the Apostle, "from the mouth of the lion."⁴⁹ Thus far, perhaps, the trial had not involved the principal charge, and both the accused and the accuser knew well enough that upon the next count there would be a certain conviction.⁵⁰ Such, at least, was the belief of Paul himself, for after the words "I was delivered from the mouth of the lion," he adds, "and the Lord shall deliver me"—(not from the mouth of the lion a second time, but)—"from every evil work, and will preserve me"—(not in this world, but)—"unto his heavenly kingdom."⁵¹

Paul was now remanded to prison to await a further trial.

The interval between the first and second hearing was brief, and while Paul was expecting his fate, his only anxiety was to provide for the security of the churches committed to his charge. When he was no more, who with the same parental care would admonish with gentleness, correct with calmness, heal their divisions, warn them against heresy, keep them steadfast against persecution? Of all his faithful followers (and they were many) no one stood higher in his regard than Timothy, the

⁴⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 17. The latter words refer to the vast crowds collected to hear the trial.

⁴⁷ Quoties autem ad consultandum secederet, neque in commune quidquam neque propalam deliberabat, sed et conscriptas ab unoquoque sententias tacitus ac secreto legens, quod ipsi libuisset perinde atque pluribus idem videretur pronuntiabat. Suet. Nero, 15.

⁴⁸ Tac. Ann. xiii. 33.

⁴⁹ 2 Tim. iv. 17. It is, of course, open to con-

jecture, that the verdict was "Non liquet," and that the trial was adjourned.

⁵⁰ This may be illustrated by the trial of Gabinius, who was acquitted on the first count and condemned on the others. Gabinius absolutus est . . . Est omnino tam gravi famâ hoc iudicium, ut videatur reliquis iudiciis periturus, et maxime de pecuniis repetundis. Cic. Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 4; Dion, xxxix. 63.

⁵¹ 2 Tim. iv. 17.

ingenuous, sincere, and ardent Timothy. He was now at Ephesus,⁵² superintending the church committed to his care, and Tychicus, a trusted follower, and who was

⁵² The following three objections may be made to this view:—

1. In the Second Epistle to Timothy, Paul writes to Timothy: "Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." 2 Tim. iv. 12. But Timothy, if he was at Ephesus, would know the fact.

2. How, again, it may be said, could Paul have apprised Timothy that "Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick"? 2 Tim. iv. 20; for Miletus was but a short distance from Ephesus, and Timothy must have heard of it.

3. The Apostle writes to Timothy: "Thou knowest that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me, of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes." 2 Tim. i. 15. But if Timothy was at Ephesus, he *must* have known it, so that the Apostle's remark is a truism.

1. To the first objection it may be answered that, though Timothy had been left at Ephesus, and that city was his headquarters, he was not expected to remain all the time within the walls of Ephesus, but as bishop, or quasi-bishop, of Asia, would visit the neighbouring churches, as Colossæ, Laodicea, Hierapolis, &c., and the letter would follow him wherever he happened to be. Besides, the latter would travel by a rapid post, while Tychicus would pass by land or sea to Ephesus in the ordinary way, and might not arrive at Ephesus so soon as the letter.

2. The second objection scarcely requires an answer, for, as Miletus was thirty-six miles from Ephesus, the Apostle could not assume that intelligence of Trophimus's illness at Miletus had already reached Timothy, even if he was at Ephesus itself, and was not (as was very likely the case) in the neighbourhood only. If Trophimus had recovered and returned to Ephesus, Timothy would know it; but Trophimus might, on his recovery, have gone on to Rome, or he might not have recovered at all.

3. As to the objection growing out of the words "Thou knowest that *all* they which are in Asia be turned away from me," it is by no means clear what is the meaning. I should interpret them as referring to the Asiatics who had deserted the Apostle on his trial at Rome. *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας* does not imply that the persons at the time of writing are *from* or *out of* Asia, and *οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ* (2 Tim. i. 15) does not imply that at the time of writing they were *in* Asia. However, if these turncoats were witnesses expected

by the Apostle at Rome in support of his cause but who had disappointed him, they would still be *in* Asia. The Apostle cannot intend that all the churches of Asia had apostatized, but evidently alludes to some abandonment of himself personally. If this abandonment by the men of Asia were at Rome, the expression "thou knowest," &c., would be natural enough, for if Timothy were in Ephesus, the capital of Asia, the conduct of the men of Asia at Rome would naturally, though not certainly, reach him. But if the abandonment took place in Asia, the Apostle might still call Timothy's attention to the fact in proof of the Apostle's desolate state. Besides Timothy, if at Ephesus, might not be apprised of what the Apostle tells him, viz. that all in Asia had deserted him—i.e. not only those at Ephesus, but elsewhere in Asia—and in particular that Phygellus and Hermogenes, who do not appear to have been connected with Ephesus, were of the number.

That Timothy at the date of the Epistle was expected to be at Ephesus, or somewhere in the vicinity, may be evinced by various considerations arising out of the Epistle itself. Thus, he is requested to salute Priscilla and Aquila, who carried on their trade at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 26), and the household of Onesiphorus, who had ministered to Paul at Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 18) and he is warned to beware of Alexander (*ὁν καὶ σὺ φυλάσσω*, 2 Tim. iv. 15), and Alexander was apparently the Alexander of Acts xix. 33, who was of Ephesus, and had gone to Rome to be a witness against Paul; and Timothy was commanded to bring with him Paul's cloak and books and parchments, which had been left at Troas (2 Tim. iv. 13); and if Timothy started from Ephesus for Rome by the quickest route, as he was desired, he would pass through Troas to Philippi, whence he would pass through Macedonia by the Via Egnatia.

There is also the strongest *à priori* probability that Timothy, if not with Paul, would be found at Ephesus, for he had been charged to take care of the church there during the Apostle's absence in Crete, and was commanded, when Paul touched at Ephesus on his way from Crete to Macedonia, to remain there until Paul's return (1 Tim. i. 3, iii. 14, iv. 13); and Paul had since returned, though a prisoner, to Ephesus, and had parted from Timothy there with tears. 2 Tim. i. 4.

himself an Ephesian, had been already dispatched thither⁵³ to take the place of Timothy, who by a verbal message carried by Tychicus had been requested to hasten to Rome. Tychicus had not long started on this commission when Paul was brought to trial, and as he now saw his end approaching, and was anxious above measure to deliver his last injunctions to Timothy personally, he followed up the mission of Tychicus by the last letter that he ever indited (viz. the Second Epistle to Timothy) urgently pressing him to come with Mark,⁵⁴—to come *quickly*,⁵⁵—to come *before winter*,⁵⁶ and at the same time, as Paul might never live to see Timothy again, he conveys to him his last solemn, and, it may be said, his dying injunctions.

The date of the Second Epistle to Timothy may be collected within certain limits as follows: Paul bids Timothy to come to Rome before winter,⁵⁷ and, according to the ancients, winter began on the 9th November; and as a journey from Ephesus to Rome would occupy about six weeks, Timothy, to reach Rome by the 9th November, would have to set out at least as early as the 28th September. But a letter to arrive at Ephesus on the 28th September must have been written from Rome at least before the 17th August. The Epistle, then, could not have been written *later* than the 17th August. On the other hand, from Paul's injunction that Timothy

If Timothy was not at Ephesus, where was he? Not in Pontus, for though Paul, in his last letter to Timothy sends a salutation to Aquila and Priscilla (2 Tim. iv. 19), the former of whom was a native of Pontus (Acts xviii. 2), yet Paul could not have commissioned Timothy to any church not planted by himself, and we have no trace of Paul having ever visited that province. Besides, in the same Epistle Paul sends a salutation also to the house of Onesiphorus (2 Tim. iv. 19), and there is nothing to connect Onesiphorus with Pontus. Again, was Timothy in Galatia? We must answer no, for Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy informs him that "Crescens had gone to Galatia," 2 Tim. iv. 10; and if Timothy was in Galatia himself, why communicate what could be no news to him? Was Timothy at Troas, a church which had often witnessed Paul's apostolic labours? It may lend some countenance to this view that the Apostle requests him to bring with him the cloak, books, and parchments which had been left there with Carpus. 2 Tim. iv. 13. But Troas lay in the beaten track from Asia to Rome, so that Timothy, if at Ephesus, would at all events pass through it. And again, the salutations are sent by Paul, not to Carpus, but to Aquila and Priscilla and the house of Onesiphorus, none of whom appear ever to have resided at Troas, or even, so far as is known, to have sojourned there for the shortest interval.

If Timothy was not at Ephesus, or expected to be so, he was most likely at Colossæ, for Paul in the preceding letter to Timothy tells him to "take Mark and bring him with him" (2 Tim. iv. 11); and when Mark was last heard of he was intending a journey to Colossæ, for Paul, in writing from Rome during his first imprisonment to the Colossians, had sent the salutation of "Mark, cousin of Barnabas," with the addition, "touching whom ye received commandments, if he come unto you, receive him." Coloss. iv. 10. The Gnostic heresies which had sprung up during the Apostle's long imprisonment, first at Cæsarea and then at Rome, might have required the presence of some authoritative person like Timothy to preserve the orthodoxy of the church; and if Timothy was at Colossæ, his road to Rome would necessarily lie through Ephesus, so that he could deliver the salutation to Aquila and Priscilla and the house of Onesiphorus by the way; and the Apostle's direction that Timothy should bring with him the cloak and books and parchments which had been left at Troas is not inconsistent, for if Timothy took the land route through Macedonia, he would sail from Ephesus to Troas on his way to Macedonia.

⁵³ 2 Tim. iv. 12.

⁵⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

⁵⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 9.

⁵⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 22.

⁵⁷ 2 Tim. iv. 20.

should come before winter, we may conclude that the Epistle was written not in winter, but some time after the commencement of spring, and winter was deemed at an end on the 9th February, and the date of the Epistle was therefore some time after the 9th February, A.D. 66, and before the 17th August, A.D. 66. But further, we shall see that traditionally (and there is nothing to make us doubt it) the martyrdom of Paul occurred on the 29th June. We may assume, therefore, that the Second Epistle to Timothy was dispatched some time between the 9th February, and the 29th June, A.D. 66. The whole tone of the Second Epistle to Timothy convinces the reader that Paul, at the time, was on the eve of the final trial, and was sending his last commands to Timothy just before the fatal day when Paul expected (and as we know with reason) that he should be condemned and executed. We should therefore place the date of the Epistle about the month of June, A.D. 66.

The topics dwelt upon in the Epistle are such as the circumstances naturally suggested. Paul foresaw his end to be near, and in the opening salutation varies from the usual form, by referring to his hope in the world to come. He calls himself an Apostle "according to the *promise of life* which is in Christ Jesus." He then alludes (i. 3) to his own tender yearnings towards his favourite disciple, and that night and day he mentioned him in his prayers, and longed to see him, and he implores him by the faith for which he was distinguished, by the faith which he inherited from his mother Eunice, and his grandmother Lois, to hold fast the Gospel in its integrity as received from himself, and not only so, but to provide for the future by the ordination of others to succeed:—"The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."⁵⁸ He warns him (ii. 14) against the contamination of the Gnostic Heresy, and bids him discountenance, by all the means in his power, the idle phantoms and foolish fables of those visionaries. He puts him on his guard (iii. 1) against the scoffers of religion, who were already rife, and in Timothy's latter days would present a more formidable array against sound religion. He then (iv. 1) alludes to his own approaching death, and adjures Timothy in the most solemn and affectionate manner to fulfil the holy ministry which he had undertaken. "I charge thee therefore *before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ*, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom—*preach the word, be instant in season, out of season*, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. Be thou sober in all things, endure afflictions, *do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry*. For I am now *ready to be offered*, and the time of *my departure* is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall award me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."⁵⁹ He then informs Timothy (iv. 9) of what had happened to

⁵⁸ 2 Tim. ii. 2.⁵⁹ 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 5-8.

himself since their last sad interview—that Trophimus had been left at Miletus, Erastus had remained at Corinth, Titus, Tychicus, and Crescens had been sent on different missions, Demas had deserted him, and that the only brother now with him was Luke, and he therefore beseeches Timothy to join him directly, and bring Mark with him. So anxious, indeed, was the Apostle to see before his death, if possible, his favourite son in the faith, that he thrice repeats the injunction to hasten to Rome: “*Do thy diligence to come unto me quickly;*” and again, “Take Mark and *bring him with thee,*” and presently, as if Timothy might not understand what was meant by coming quickly, he reiterates the command more definitely, “Do thy diligence to come *before winter.*” The Apostle subjoins some salutations, and then wrote, with his own hand, the last words that he ever penned, “GRACE BE WITH YOU.” The letter was as follows:—

[The *italics* indicate the variations from the Authorized Version, and the words in brackets, thus [], are not *expressed*, but only *implied*, in the Greek.]

CH. I. “PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST, BY THE WILL OF GOD, ACCORDING
2 TO THE PROMISE OF LIFE WHICH IS IN CHRIST JESUS, TO TIMOTHY, MY DEARLY-
BELOVED *child*,⁶⁰ GRACE, MERCY, PEACE, FROM GOD THE FATHER AND CHRIST
JESUS OUR LORD.

3 “I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience,⁶¹
that without ceasing I *make mention* of thee in my prayers night and day,
4 greatly desiring to see thee, *remembering* ⁶² thy tears, that I may be filled with
5 joy, *having remembrance of* ⁶³ the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt
first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice,⁶⁴ and I am persuaded
6 that in thee also. *For which cause* I put thee in remembrance that thou stir
7 up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands.⁶⁵ For
God hath not given us the spirit of *cowardice*,⁶⁶ but of power, and of love, and
8 of *soberness*.⁶⁷ Be not thou, therefore, ashamed of the testimony of our Lord,
nor of me his prisoner; but be thou *a fellow-sufferer for* the Gospel ⁶⁸ accord-
9 ing to the power of God, who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling,
not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace,
10 which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began, but *hath now been*
made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath
abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the

⁶⁰ τέκνον. In Eng. ver. “son.” His son in the faith, that is, his convert.

⁶¹ This undesignedly confirms the account of Paul’s opening address to the Sanhedrim, when he claimed to have lived with a good conscience. Acts xxiii. 1.

⁶² μεμνημένος. In Eng. ver. “being mindful of.”

⁶³ ἐπὶ μνήσιν λαμβάνων. In Eng. ver. “when I call to remembrance.”

⁶⁴ Timothy, therefore, was one of a family with the principal members of which Paul was familiarly acquainted.

⁶⁵ I.e. by ordination to the ministry, which he received at Paul’s hands.

⁶⁶ δειλίας. In Eng. ver. “fear.”

⁶⁷ σωφρονισμοῦ. In Eng. ver. “a sound mind.”

⁶⁸ We may infer from this that the general persecution was still raging against the Christians.

11 Gospel: whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher
 12 of the Gentiles, for the which cause I also suffer these things; *but* I am not
 ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able
 13 to keep that which I have committed unto him against That Day.⁶⁹ Hold fast
 the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which
 14 is in Christ Jesus: that good *trust* which was committed unto thee keep by the
 Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.

15 “This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia *have* turned away from
 16 me, of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.⁷⁰ The Lord give mercy unto the
 house of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me, and was not ashamed of
 17 my chain, but when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and
 18 found me; (The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in
 That Day!) and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou
 knowest very well.⁷¹

CH. II. “Thou, therefore, my *child*, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus,
 2 and the things *which* thou heardest of me *before* many witnesses,⁷² the same
 3 commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also. Thou,
 4 therefore, *be a fellow sufferer*⁷³ as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No *one* that
 warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of life, that he may please him who
 5 hath *enlisted*⁷⁴ him, and if a man also *wrestle*,⁷⁵ he is not crowned, except he
 6 *wrestle* lawfully; the husbandman that laboureth must be first partaker of the
 7 fruits.⁷⁶ (Consider what I say;⁷⁷ and the Lord give thee understanding in all
 8 things.) Remember Jesus Christ, *who rose from the dead*, of the seed of David,
 9 according to my Gospel;⁷⁸ wherein I suffer trouble, as *a malefactor*,⁷⁹ even
 10 unto bonds (but the word of God is not bound); therefore, I endure all things
 for the elect’s sakes, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ
 11 Jesus with eternal glory. It is a faithful saying: for if we be dead with him,

⁶⁹ A common expression in the New Testament for the Day of Judgment. See Vol. I. p. 287.

⁷⁰ These appear to have deserted the Apostle from the fire of persecution. Instead of appearing before the tribunal to give testimony in his favour, they had turned their backs upon him. Hymenæus and Philetus, and the Gnostic apostates, were distinct, and are mentioned presently at ii. 17.

⁷¹ Paul, therefore, had been some time a prisoner at Ephesus, and Timothy had been in attendance upon him during the same period, or he would not have known the services of Onesiphorus.

⁷² Viz. the conclave of priests, deacons, and laity, in whose presence Paul had conferred ordination upon Timothy.

⁷³ Viz. with the Apostle, *συνυκακοπάθησον*. In

Eng. ver. “suffer hardness.”

⁷⁴ τῷ στρατολογήσαντι. In Eng. ver. “him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.”

⁷⁵ ἀθλή. In Eng. ver. “strive for masteries.”

⁷⁶ The husbandman, by whose labour the fruit is obtained, has the first claim to partake of it. Others would render it, the husbandman cannot partake of the fruit without first labouring for it.

⁷⁷ That is, understand and weigh well these metaphors or figures which I have just used, drawn respectively from the soldier, the wrestler, and the husbandman.

⁷⁸ That Jesus of the seed of David was Christ, and rose from the dead, was denied by the Gnostics. “Hold fast, therefore,” writes the Apostle, “to *my* Gospel.”

⁷⁹ By the edicts of Nero, the profession of Christianity was made a criminal act.

12 we shall also live with him ; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him ; if we
13 deny him, he also will deny us (*Matt. x. 33*);⁸⁰ if we *have not faith*, yet he
abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself.

14 “Of these things put them in remembrance, charging them before the Lord
15 *not to* strive about words to no profit, to the subverting of the hearers.⁸¹ Study
to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed,
16 rightly *dealing out*⁸² the word of truth ; but *put aside* profane and vain
17 babblings, for they will *grow* unto more ungodliness, and their word will *spread*
18 as doth a *gangrene*, of whom is Hymenæus⁸³ and Philetus,⁸⁴ who concerning
the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection⁸⁵ is past already, and over-
19 throw the faith of some ; nevertheless the *strong* foundation of God standeth,
having this seal, ‘The Lord knoweth them that are his’ (*Num. xvi. 5*),⁸⁶ and
‘Let every one that nameth the name of *the Lord*⁸⁷ depart from iniquity.’
20 (*Num. xvi. 26*).⁸⁸ But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and
of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour, and some to dis-
21 honour. If a man, therefore, purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel
unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master’s use, and prepared unto
22 every good work. *But* flee youthful lusts,⁸⁹ *and* follow righteousness, faith,
23 *love*, peace with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart ; but foolish
24 and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes ;⁹⁰ and
the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all, apt to teach,
25 patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God per-
26 adventure will give them repentance *unto the knowledge* of the truth,⁹¹ and
that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who *were taken*
alive by him⁹² at his will.⁹³

⁸⁰ Here also, as elsewhere (see Vol. I. p. 283) the Apostle refers to the Gospel of St. Matthew.

⁸¹ The Apostle here refers to the Gnostic phantasies. See ante, p. 249.

⁸² ὀρθοτομοῦντα. A metaphor taken either from cutting a thing into equal proportions, or from making a straight road, or striking a straight furrow.

⁸³ One of the Gnostic heretics, and no doubt the same Hymenæus as is mentioned in that character in 1 Tim. i. 20.

⁸⁴ Another Gnostic, but of whom nothing is known.

⁸⁵ The Gnostics held that the only resurrection was that from a state of nature to the intellectual paradise of pure Gnosticism. The resurrection therefore of Christ himself was expunged from their articles of faith.

⁸⁶ ἔγνω Κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ. In the LXX. the words are ἔγνω ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ.

⁸⁷ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all read Κυρίου “Lord,” instead of Χριστοῦ “Christ.”

⁸⁸ The Apostle gives the sense, but not the exact words of the LXX., where the passage is ἀποσχίσθητε ἀπὸ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν σκληρῶν τούτων, καὶ μὴ ἄπτεσθε ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, μὴ συναπόλησθε ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς Κορὲ κύκλω.

⁸⁹ Timothy was still a young man.

⁹⁰ The Apostle is still dwelling upon the idle and chimerical disputations of the Gnostics. See ante, p. 249.

⁹¹ I.e. the knowledge of Christian truth as opposed to the so-called “knowledge” of the Gnostics.

⁹² ἐξωγρημένοι. In Eng. ver. “who are taken captive.”

⁹³ The will of the devil.

CH. III. "But know this, that in the last days *difficult* times shall come; for men
 2 shall be lovers of their own selves, *lovers of money*, boasters, proud, blas-
 3 phemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection,
 trucebreakers, *calumniators*,⁹⁴ incontinent, fierce, *unfriendly* to the good,
 4 traitors, *headlong*, *puffed up*, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God,
 5 having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, *and* from such
 6 turn away; for of *these* are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly
 7 women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never
 8 able to come to the knowledge of the truth. But as Jannes and Jambres⁹⁵
 withstood Moses, so do these also *withstand* the truth, men of corrupt minds,
 9 reprobate concerning the faith. *Howbeit* they shall proceed no further, for
 10 their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs also was. But thou hast
followed along with my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long suffering,
 11 love, patience, persecutions, *sufferings, such as* came unto me at Antioch,⁹⁶ at
 Iconium,⁹⁷ at Lystra,⁹⁸ what persecutions I endured, but out of them all the
 12 Lord delivered me, yea, and all that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer
 13 persecution. But evil men and *impostors* shall wax worse and worse, deceiving
 14 and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned,
 and hast been *intrusted with*,⁹⁹ knowing of whom¹⁰⁰ thou hast learned them,
 15 and that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to
 16 make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All
 scripture is by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof,
 17 for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be
 perfect, thoroughly furnished unto *every* good work.

CH. IV. "I charge thee,¹⁰¹ before God and¹⁰² Jesus Christ, who shall judge the

⁹⁴ διάβολοι. In Eng. ver. "false accusers."

⁹⁵ These names are not mentioned in the books of Moses, but there was a current tradition that they were the magicians who withstood Moses in Egypt. τὰ μέντοι τούτων ὀνόματα, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμάθηκεν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδασκαλίας. Theodoret, ad locum. (See Winer, Bibl. Real. 'Jambres.') For the names appear in the Jewish writings the Targum and the Talmud, and not only so, but they found their way into pagan compositions; for they are mentioned by Numenius the philosopher. Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς, Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, ἄνδρες οὐδενὸς ἤττους μαγεῦσαι κριθέντες εἶναι . . . Μουσαίῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἐξηγησαμένῳ . . . οἱ παραστήναι ἀξιωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τούτων Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ οὗτοι ἦσαν τῶν τε συμφορῶν, ἃς ὁ Μουσαῖος ἐπῆγε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, τὰς νεανικωτάτας αὐτῶν ἐπιλύεσθαι ὥφθησαν δυνατοί.

Euseb. Præp. Evang. ix. 8. ἐκτίθεται καὶ (Numenius) τὴν περὶ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Ἰαμβροῦ ἱστορίαν. Origen cont. Celsum, lib. iv. c. 51. And also by Pliny: Est et alia magices factio a Mose et Jamne et Jotape Judæis pendens. N. H. xxx. 2. But the passage is corrupt, and the reading somewhat doubtful. See Wetstein.

⁹⁶ Acts xiii. 50.

⁹⁷ Acts xiv. 5.

⁹⁸ Acts xiv. 19.

⁹⁹ ἐπιστώθης. In Eng. ver. "hast been assured."

¹⁰⁰ The received text has τίνος in the singular number, but Lachmann reads τίνων in the plural.

¹⁰¹ Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford all omit the word οὖν "therefore."

¹⁰² The critics last named reject also the word Κυρίου "Lord."

2 quick and the dead at¹⁰³ his appearing and his kingdom, preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering 3 and *teaching*; for the time will come when they will not endure *the* sound doctrine, but after their own lusts, they, having itching ears, *will* heap to 4 themselves teachers, and turn away their ears from the truth, and turn *aside* 5 unto fables; but *be* thou *sober*¹⁰⁴ in all things, endure afflictions, do the work 6 of an evangelist, *fulfil*¹⁰⁵ thy ministry; for I am now ready to be offered,¹⁰⁶ 7 and the time of my departure is at hand.¹⁰⁷ I have fought *the* good fight,¹⁰⁸ I 8 have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me *the* crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall *award* me at That day,¹⁰⁹ and not to me only, but unto all them also that *have loved* his appearing.

9, 10 “Do thy diligence to come unto me *quickly*; ¹¹⁰ for Demas hath forsaken me, having loved *the* present world, and *hath gone to* Thessalonica ¹¹¹—Crescens to 11 Galatia,¹¹² Titus to Dalmatia.¹¹³ Only Luke is with me.¹¹⁴ Take Mark,¹¹⁵ and 12 bring him with thee, for he is *very useful*¹¹⁶ to me for the ministry. *But*

¹⁰³ κατὰ. But Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford read καὶ for κατὰ, i.e. “and by his appearing,” &c.

¹⁰⁴ νῆφε. In Eng. ver. “watch thou.”

¹⁰⁵ πληροφόρησον. In Eng. ver. “make full proof of.”

¹⁰⁶ σπένδομαι, literally, “I am being poured out.”

¹⁰⁷ At the date of the letter, therefore, Paul was expecting his condemnation.

¹⁰⁸ More literally, “I have wrestled the good wrestling,” τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἡγωνίσμαι.

¹⁰⁹ The Day of Judgment. See Vol. I. p. 287.

¹¹⁰ ταχέως. In Eng. ver. “shortly.” Paul had probably sent word before by Tychicus, and he now urges all haste.

¹¹¹ Demas was a native of Thessalonica. The violence of the persecution under Nero had been too much for him, and he sank under it, and abandoned Paul to his fate. At the time of Paul's first imprisonment Demas was still faithful, and with Paul at Rome. Coloss. iv. 14; Philem. v. 24. The Second Epistle to Timothy, therefore, when Demas was a renegade, must have been written subsequently to Paul's first imprisonment. Burton notices a tradition preserved by late writers that Demas “became priest of a heathen temple at Thessalonica, but it is improbable.”

¹¹² As the mention of Crescens is not accompanied, as in the case of Demas, with any remark

to his prejudice, we may suppose that Paul had sent him to Galatia to support the churches there under their present trial. Some interpret Γαλατίαν to mean Gaul. If so, Paul must have evangelized Gaul on his way from Italy to Spain, but which is most unlikely.

¹¹³ Titus the year before had been summoned from Crete to join the Apostle at Nicopolis in Epirus, Tit. iii. 12; and in the spring of the present year, A.D. 68, he had accompanied Paul on his circuit through Dalmatia, and was therefore the most proper person to be despatched from Rome to Dalmatia to comfort the nascent churches there under the pressure of the persecution.

¹¹⁴ Peter therefore was not now at Rome, or Paul must have noticed him. In fact, Peter had suffered martyrdom at Rome the year before. See Fasti Sacri, p. 336, No. 1980.

¹¹⁵ Mark, on the death of Peter in A.D. 65, was at liberty to lend his services to Paul, and as the latter had now only Luke with him, he bids Timothy, who was in Asia, to take Mark “and bring him with him as very useful to him for the ministry.” 2 Tim. iv. 11. Mark had been the bearer of the Second Epistle of Peter to the brethren of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, see ante, p. 367, and was still somewhere in those parts, and most likely at Ephesus, the capital of Asia.

¹¹⁶ εὐχρηστος. In Eng. ver. “profitable.”

13 Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.¹¹⁷ The cloak¹¹⁸ that I left at Troas with Carpus,¹¹⁹ when thou comest, bring with thee, and the *Bibles*,¹²⁰ but especially 14 the parchments.¹²¹ Alexander the coppersmith¹²² *laid many evil things to my*

¹¹⁷ Trophimus was certainly an Ephesian, Acts xvi. 29, and as Tychicus and Trophimus are joined together, and described as of Asia, Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ Τυχικὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος, Acts xx. 4, we may conclude that Tychicus was also an Ephesian, which was the reason why he was selected for this particular mission.

¹¹⁸ φαῖλόνην in the Textus receptus. But according to Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford the true reading should be φελόνην. Chrysostom, in his comment upon the word, writes, φελόνην. ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱμάτιον λέγει, τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔνθα τὰ βιβλία ἔκειτο. As between these two meanings, the ἱμάτιον or garment is to be preferred, for if it were a γλωσσόκομον, or case for τὰ βιβλία, Paul could not, after mentioning the φελόνην, have bidden Timothy to bring with him τὰ βιβλία also. 2 Tim. iv. 13.

Hesychius defines the word thus: φαῖλόνης, ἡ ληπτάριον μεμβραῖνον, ἡ γλωσσόκομον. But what is ληπτάριον? Some would read ληδάριον, which is found in Pollux as a kind of vest, Jul. Poll. vii. 13, but coupled with μεμβραῖνον, it can only denote a skin or roll of parchment, and indeed some would substitute εἰλητάριον "a roll," for ληπτάριον. There is no occasion, however, to find a different reading, for ληπτάριον is evidently derived from λαμβάνω, and means a 'receptacle' for parchments, and accordingly the other meaning offered by Hesychius is γλωσσόκομον, a case or box.

Suidas defines φαῖλόνης and also φαινόλης. Thus, "φαῖλόνης εἰλητὸν τομάριον μεμβραῖνον (a small roll of parchment) ἡ γλωσσόκομον (a case), ἡ χιτῶνιον (a small tunic);" and again "φαινόλης. χιτωνίσκος (a small tunic), οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ἐφεστρίδα (the sagum or pænula of the Roman soldier), καὶ κλίνεται εἰς ου (is declined in ου for the genitive) καὶ χιτῶν ἱερατικός (a priestly tunic or surplice)."

Thus far we have four meanings given of the word φαῖλόνης or φελόνης, viz. 1, a cloak; 2, a case for holding books; 3, a skin or roll of parchment; 4, a priestly garment or surplice.

But other interpretations have been suggested, viz. 5, some take it to mean the Old Testament, the Book or Bible, and they derive φελόνης from φελλός, which is equivalent in Greek to "liber,"

"bark," or "book," in Latin; and 6, others would render it the Roman toga, the badge of a Roman citizen, and follow it up by taking the μεμβράνας, or parchments, to mean the diploma of Paul's Roman citizenship.

There is great uncertainty as to the true interpretation, but the simplest solution is to take φαῖλόνην or φελόνην to represent the Roman pænula, or cloak, for protection against the inclemency of the weather, as is evident from many passages. Horat. Epist. xi. 18; Juv. Sat. v. 79. As Paul was constantly passing in all seasons from one country to another, such an article of clothing must have been quite indispensable, and would be particularly useful at this time when winter was approaching.

¹¹⁹ A trusted disciple, and commonly supposed to be the person with whom the Apostle at Troas had lodged.

¹²⁰ βιβλία. The book of the ancients was a series of sheets or skins fastened together lengthwise, so as to form one long piece attached at each end to a roller, and thus easy to be wound off from one roller and wound on to the other. The reader could thus, by unrolling and re-rolling, find any part of the book which he wanted. The Bibles or books in question were perhaps the Jewish Scriptures, i.e. the books of the Old Testament called τὰ βιβλία by Josephus cont. Apion. lib. i. c. 8, and carried about by the Apostle partly for his own personal use and partly for distribution amongst his converts. The Apostle in his Epistles makes constant reference to the Old Testament, and argues with his correspondents from the Old Testament; and this he could not do unless he placed copies of it in their hands, and they were familiar with it. The books may also have comprised the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

¹²¹ As the parchments are opposed to the books, they were not mounted on rollers, but were loose or detached sheets or skins, and were perhaps the letters of the churches to the Apostle, and his letters to them.

¹²² Called the coppersmith, to distinguish him from the Alexander mentioned as a Gnostic teacher. 1 Tim. i. 20. Alexander the coppersmith was a Jew of Ephesus who at the riot of Demetrius the silversmith some years before (A.D. 57) had attempted to excuse his own coun-

15 *charge*; ¹²³ (The Lord reward him according to his works! ¹²⁴) of whom be
 16 thou ware also, for he greatly withstood our words. ¹²⁵ At my first *defence* ¹²⁶
 no man stood *up for* me, but all men forsook me; ¹²⁷ (*May it* not be laid to
 17 their charge!) but the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me; that by me
 the preaching might be *fulfilled*, ¹²⁸ and that all the Gentiles might hear; ¹²⁹
 18 and I was 'delivered out of the mouth of the lion' (*Ps.* xxi. 22), ¹³⁰ and the
 Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his
 19 heavenly kingdom, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. ¹³¹ Salute
 20 *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, and the household of *Onesiphorus*. ¹³² *Erastus* abode at
 21 *Corinth*; ¹³³ but *Trophimus* I left at *Miletus* sick. ¹³⁴ Do thy diligence to come
 before winter. ¹³⁵ *Eubulus* greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and *Linus*, ¹³⁶ and

trymen and impeach Paul in the theatre. Acts xix. 33. He may now have been dispatched by the Jews of Ephesus as their organ at Rome to justify themselves and heap odium upon Paul and his fellow-Christians.

¹²³ The received translation is "did me much evil;" but this does not express the sense. *ἐνεδείξατο* is a legal term, and signifies "indicted" or "impeached" me of many heinous offences.

¹²⁴ An emphasis must be laid on the words *the Lord*, so that the meaning is, "*The Lord* (and not I) deal with him according to his works." The Apostle could not be uttering an imprecation, for almost in the same breath he adds, with reference to those who had deserted him, "May it not be laid to their charge." v. 17.

¹²⁵ Timothy, therefore, was at or near Ephesus, for Alexander was of Ephesus.

¹²⁶ ἀπολογία. In Eng. ver. "answer." At the hearing of the case on the first count. Amongst the Romans, as amongst ourselves, the indictment consisted of several counts, which were heard *seriatim*. On the present occasion, at the conclusion of the first count the trial was adjourned.

¹²⁷ "The witnesses whom I could not compel to attend, but who should have given me their testimony, deserted me."

¹²⁸ πληροφορηθῇ. In Eng. ver. "be fully known."

¹²⁹ Who attended in vast numbers at the trial.

¹³⁰ The Emperor Nero, before whom Paul was tried, may here be referred to; as the Emperor of Rome, who had the power of life and death over the whole empire, was often thus styled. See ante, p. 377.

¹³¹ It has been suggested, and is not impro-

bable, that the Apostle when he wrote this had the Lord's Prayer in his thoughts, for in the compass of a few lines we have "deliverance from evil" and "the heavenly kingdom," and the doxology. If this be so, we have the Apostles' acceptation of the expression in the Lord's Prayer ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, for the Apostle renders it, not "from the evil one," viz. the devil, but "from every evil work." We have here a confirmation—though none was needed—that the Lord's Prayer was in constant use among the earliest Christians, including St. Paul. He may also be thought to have referred to it elsewhere. See Rom. viii. 15.

¹³² Priscilla and Aquila may have been at Ephesus, where we know they had once been resident (Acts xviii. 26); and Onesiphorus had also been at least a sojourner at Ephesus. 2 Tim. i. 18. Timothy, therefore, was himself at or near Ephesus.

¹³³ He was a native of Corinth, and had been chamberlain of the city (Rom. xvi. 23), and had been left there by Paul on his way to Rome.

¹³⁴ Trophimus was an Ephesian (Acts xxi. 29), and had intended to accompany Paul to Rome, and went with him as far as Miletus, where he was taken ill and left on shore. The Eng. ver. has, most unaccountably, "*Miletum*" for *Miletus*. The word *Miletum* nowhere occurs in sacred or profane history.

¹³⁵ Winter, according to the ancients, began on the 9th of November, and the letter, therefore, was written in the second quarter of the year. See ante, p. 383.

¹³⁶ The first bishop of Rome. Euseb. Ecc. H. iii. 21.

22 Claudia,¹³⁷ and all the brethren.¹³⁸ The Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit.
 GRACE BE WITH YOU."¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Who was Claudia who is here connected with Pudens and Linus? Was she the daughter of Cogidunus, king of the Regni, now Surrey and Sussex? or was she the daughter of Carac-tacus, the renowned British chieftain?

I. In the former edition the author advocated the hypothesis that Claudia was the daughter of Cogidunus. He has since read the exhaustive essay of Archdeacon Williams on the same subject, and is now enabled to lay before the reader a much more complete exposition of the argument. We must first explain more particularly what was the relation of Cogidunus to the Romans.

The subjugation of Britain was in the reign of Claudius, under the auspices of Aulus Plautius, in A.D. 42, about a century after the invasion of Julius Cæsar. The arms of Julius, however, though unsuccessful, made a lasting impression upon the southern states, and when Plautius crossed, the southerners saw the impossibility of resistance, and at once succumbed. Such, at least, was the policy pursued by Cogidunus, the leading chieftain in the south, who from this period to the close of his life (an interval of about thirty years) remained the steady adherent of the Roman cause. The name of Cogidunus is sometimes written Cogidubnus, or Cogidumnus, just as we have on coins, Dunorix, Dubnorix, and Dumnorix (Williams, p. viii.); and it has been suggested, and perhaps correctly, that Cogidunus was so called as the head of the state of Cogidunum, in the same way as, in the time of the first Cæsar, Cassivellaunus was so designated as the head of the Cassivellauni. We still speak of The Macgregor or The Campbell, &c., as the representative of the clan. What, then, was Cogidunum? It was Chichester, the capital of Sussex, and even the modern name can be traced without violence to the Celtic original. Of all the elements that enter into the composition of Celtic names, none is so frequent as that of 'dun,' a fortified camp or stronghold. 'Cog' in Celtic is 'hollow' (as a valley), so that 'cog-dun' is 'the fortress in the hollow;'

and Chichester "is situate in a pleasant vale on the little river Levant." Capper's Dict. During the Roman dominion the Celtic 'dun' gave way to the Latin 'castra,' the equivalent expression, and thus 'cog-dun' became 'cog-castra.' But 'cog' "assumes in colloquial language the form of 'coi' or 'ceu,' pronounced 'ki.'" Williams, p. 20. And then, as the Saxons soften the hard *k* or *c* into *ch*, 'ki-castra' became Chichester.

In A.D. 44 the Emperor Claudius himself passed over into Britain to wear the laurels which Plautius had won, and Cogidunus, as subservient to the Roman interests, was graciously received and taken under the Emperor's especial protection. It was, perhaps, on this occasion that Cogidunus was appointed Legate of Claudius in Britain, and in honour of his patron added the names of Tiberius Claudius to Cogidunus. It is certain, from the monument which will be mentioned presently, that the Roman designation of the British chief was Tiberius Claudius Cogidunus, and this "was in accordance with the received custom by which those who for the first time were made Romans used, like emancipated slaves, to adopt the 'nomen' and 'prænomen' of those persons by whose kindness or aid they had become citizens, but they still retained their own ancient 'nomen' as a 'cognomen.'" Williams, p. 24, note. We may also remark that, if Cogidunus had a daughter born to him, her name would, as a matter of course, be called Claudia, for during the first century after Christ the daughter of a Roman was always called by the name of the gens, or family. Thus, "a female of the gens Julia would necessarily be a Julia, and if there were two daughters, the elder would be Julia Major and the younger Julia Minor, and if the female offshoots were more numerous, they would be called Prima, Secundilla, Tertia or Tertulla, &c." Williams, p. 25, note. A daughter, therefore, of Tiberius *Claudius* Cogidunus would be known as *Claudia*.

It is the remark of Tacitus that the Romans made even kings the instruments of slavery

¹³⁸ As the Apostle sends a greeting from *all* the brethren at Rome, it is clear that though he had been deserted by some who should have supported him at his trial, the church had not apostatized.

¹³⁹ The usual benediction in Paul's own hand to authenticate the letter. See Vol. I. p. 284. The word "Amen" in the received text is rejected by Griesbach, Scholtz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford.

The letter was dispatched by a trusty messenger to Timothy, but the faithful disciple, whatever his haste, could not reach Rome while the Apostle yet lived. The

to the Empire; and as Cogidunus was subservient to the Roman interests, his services would be, and were, rewarded by an accession to his limited dominions. From being the ruler of, perhaps, a single town (Chichester) and the parts immediately adjacent, he was invested with the government of the neighbouring states, viz. Sussex and Surrey, and possibly a still wider circuit. *Quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) vetere ac jam pridem receptâ populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.* Tac. Agric. c. 14. It is worthy of note that Ptolemy the geographer, who flourished A.D. 120, calls the people of Sussex and Surrey the Regni, and later itineraries speak of Chichester itself as Regnum; and it can scarcely be doubted that these names of Regni and Regnum were current amongst the Romans, from the little kingdom, or Regnum, which they now conferred on Cogidunus. At least, these appellatives are not found in Cæsar or Strabo, and appear for the first time shortly after the establishment of Cogidunus as the sovereign of these very parts.

It was usual, as in the case of Herod the Great, for the princes dependent on Rome, to send their children to the imperial city, ostensibly for education, but really as pledges for the good faith of the parents; and when Aulus Plautius, in A.D. 47, was recalled from the command of Britain, it is likely that Cogidunus committed some members of his family to the care of Plautius for transmission to Rome. Amongst them may have been a daughter Claudia, not too young to be separated from a mother, and not too advanced to supersede the necessity of education—say, of about the age of six. It is impossible, except within very wide limits, to determine the years of a child by the years of a parent, but at least we can show that the age of six would be compatible with the age of Cogidunus so far as we can collect it by inferences. Tacitus states that Cogidunus continued the faithful ally of the Romans down to his own time. Tac. Agric. c. 14. (See the whole passage cited above.) Cogidunus lived to an old age—say seventy—and he survived until Tacitus had arrived at the years of discretion—say twenty. But Tacitus was born about A.D. 55 (see *Fasti Romani*, A.D. 61), and would be twenty about A.D. 75. Cogidunus, therefore, would be about seventy in A.D. 75, and

consequently about 42 in A.D. 47, when Plautius was recalled.

If Claudia was transferred to Rome, the charge of her would almost necessarily be confided to Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the late Prefect of Britain, by whose favour her father had attained his present aggrandizement. There was also some other tie between Claudia and Pomponia, for while the damsel had the name of Claudia from the gens of the Claudii, amongst whom Cogidunus had been adopted, she bore also, as we learn from Martial, the cognomen of Rufina; and Rufus, or Rufina for a female, was a common cognomen of the gens Pomponia. It is likely, therefore, that Claudia had assumed the cognomen of Rufina out of compliment to some member of the Pomponian family. One Pomponius Rufus at this time held a high rank in the Roman army, and is supposed to be the person to whom Martial's epigram on Pudens and Claudia was addressed. Williams, p. 37.

Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, is described by Tacitus as insignis fœmina (Tac. Ann. xiii. 32)—“a remarkable personage.” The name of Græcina, which was unknown in the Roman nomenclature, may have been conferred upon her from personal qualities, such as her love of Greek philosophy and Greek literature generally, for she was undoubtedly a woman of strong intellect and an inquiring turn of mind. On the appearance of Christianity, her attention was immediately attracted to it, and eventually she became a convert. In A.D. 57 her profession of the new religion became publicly known, and she was accused of apostasy from the religion of the state. *Superstitionis externæ rea.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 32. Her adoption of the new creed may be placed in A.D. 41, for Tacitus remarks that from the death of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, A.D. 41 (Dion, lx. 8), to the end of her days, forty years after, she withdrew from the gaieties of the world, and assumed a thoughtful and even mournful deportment: *non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi mœsto egit* (Tac. Ann. xiii. 32)—language in which a heathen would naturally describe a person whose faculties were fixed, not on mundane affairs, but on eternity. Such was Pomponia Græcina; and if, as is likely, the British princess, Claudia, was consigned to her care and placed under her auspices, it is easy to

interval between the first and second hearing was not long, and Paul once again, and for the last time, met his accusers, face to face, before the tribunal.

see that Claudia in the course of time would renounce the gross idolatries of her barbarous ancestors, and rejoice in the light of a rational religion. Thus far we have only shown the probability that a daughter of Cogidunus would be named Claudia, and would be found at Rome under the care of Pomponia Græcina, who had embraced Christianity. We now proceed to some account of Pudens, who is coupled by Paul in the salutation with Claudia.

The name of Pudens was properly Aulus Pudens, as we learn from Martial, who inscribes one of his epigrams ad Aulum Pudentem (vi. 58). He was the son of Pudentinus, and was an opulent Roman, as we may infer from the means which he possessed of indulging, at his outset in life, in all the licentiousness of the age. See Mart. i. 33, v. 48. Pudens very soon attained his company, or, in Roman language, became a centurion.

Hos tibi, Phoebe, vovet totos a vertice crines,
Encolpus, domini centurionis (Pudentis) amor.

Mart. i. 32.

The name of Aulus Pudens leads us to think that he may have been connected in some way with Aulus Plautius. At all events, Pudens served in Britain, and most likely joined the expedition of Aulus Plautius to Britain in A.D. 43. Here he seems to have been quartered at Regnum, the capital of Cogidunus. It was the custom of the Romans that where a legion was once stationed, there it remained until wanted elsewhere for service in the field. Pudens, therefore, would be a constant resident at Regnum,

and would be on easy terms with Cogidunus, and seems even to have acquired the possession of property there, either by the gift of the king or by purchase.

Cogidunus was to Britain what Herod the Great was to Judea. Both saw the impossibility of permanent resistance to the Roman arms, and both accordingly ranged themselves at the earliest moment on the side of the invaders. Both also had discernment enough to appreciate the value of Roman civilisation, and exerted their influence to introduce Roman culture. It was in this spirit that Cogidunus gave his countenance to the settlement at Regnum, the capital of his sovereignty, of a company of Italian artisans. From the monument of which a facsimile will be found below we learn that a collegium, or association of fabri or mechanics, was incorporated at Regnum. Their first measure was to erect a temple for public worship, and it was appropriately dedicated to Neptune and Minerva—to the former as the tutelary god by whose favour they had crossed the seas, and to the latter as the goddess of industrial arts, and therefore their patron saint. Pudens was liberal enough at his own cost to provide a site for the Temple, and the whole proceeding had the full sanction of Cogidunus. The monument to which we allude was a tablet exhumed at Chichester in 1723. It was found about 4 feet underground, at the corner of St. Martin's Lane on the north side, where it comes into North Street. The stone was of Sussex marble, and bore the following inscription:—

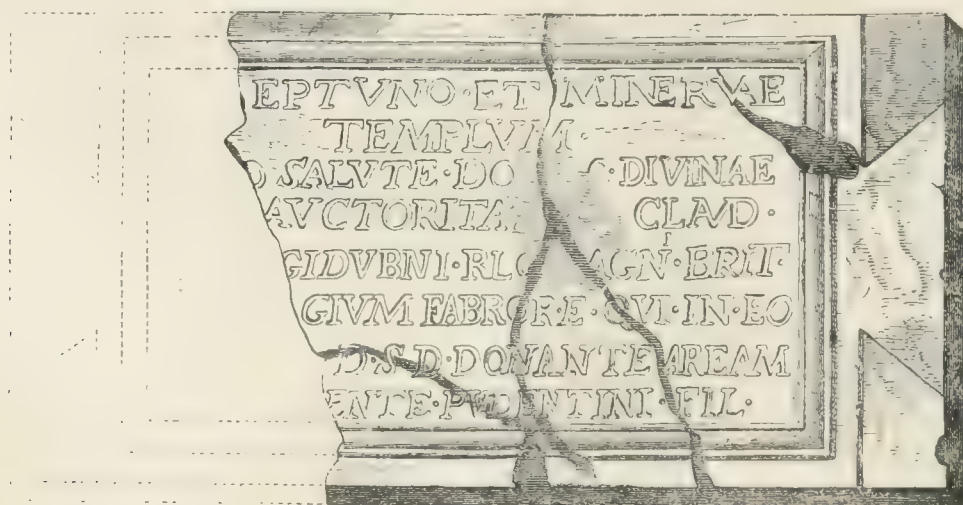


Fig. 306.—Facsimile of a Stone found at Chichester. From a photograph by J. H. Parker.

We want information who presided at the trial. Shortly after Paul's first defence Nero left Rome for Baiæ,¹⁴⁰ and remained there until the arrival of Tiridates, King

The stone is imperfect, but the wanting parts can be easily supplied, and then the inscription will run thus:—

[N]eptuno et Minervæ
Templum
[Pr]o Salute domus divinæ
[Ex] auctoritate Tib. Claudii
[Co]gidubni Regis Legati Augusti in Britannia
[Colle]gium Fabrorum et qui in eo
[A Sacris sunt] de suo dedicaverunt, donante
aream
[Pud]ente Pudentini filio.
To Neptune and Minerva
This Temple
For the safety of the Imperial Family,
By the authority of King Tib. Claudius
Cogidubnus,
Legate of Augustus in Britain,
Was dedicated by the Company of Artisans
And their Officers, at their own expense,
Pudens, son of Pudentinus, giving the site.

The above inscription furnishes no clue to the date, but fortunately another tablet, which has since been discovered, affords the key. It was found at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, in East Street, and very near the spot where the first was met with. Both slabs are of the same Sussex marble, and in both the letters are precisely of the same cut and size, so that they were evidently contemporaneous. The second inscription runs thus:—

Neroni
Claudio, Divi Claudii
Aug. F. Germanici Cæsaris
Nepoti, Tib. Cæsar.
Aug. Pronepoti, Divi Aug.
Abnepoti. Cæsari Aug. Germ. '
... iv. Imp. v. Co. iv.
Vot. S. C. M.

Williams, p. 23, note.

We have here the important fact that at the date of the dedication Nero was consul for the

fourth time, and imperator for the fifth time. Now, Nero was consul for the fourth time in A.D. 60; but it was the Roman custom to continue the title of the last consulship of an Emperor until he was consul again, and as Nero was never consul again, but slew himself in A.D. 68, he would be designated as Consul IV. for every year from A.D. 60 to A.D. 68. Thus far, therefore, we only know that the date of the inscription was some time between the 1st of January, A.D. 60, and the 9th of January, A.D. 68, the date of Nero's death. But the fact mentioned, that he was also imperator for the fifth time, is much more precise in its character. Nero was imperator for the *third* time in A.D. 59, and was imperator for the *eleventh* time in A.D. 67. See 6 Eckhel, p. 282. Nothing is known of the occasions on which he was saluted imperator for the intervening times from the third to the eleventh, but the honour seems to have been annual, or nearly so, and we may presume, therefore, that he was imperator for the fourth time in A.D. 60. This, then, was the year in which the tablets were dedicated.

This collegium fabrorum, the first incorporated company established in Britain, like many other speculations, came to an untimely end, for the very next year, A.D. 61, broke out the general insurrection under Boadicea, when the gentle voice of the arts would be drowned amidst the din of arms.* Pudens at this time must have been still a heathen, as otherwise he could not have promoted the erection of a temple to Neptune and Minerva. By the foresight and energy of Paullinus Suetonius, the Prefect of Britain at this period, the army of the British patriots was

* It has been conjectured by some that Claudia was not, as we have supposed, sent to Rome in some earlier year for her education, or as a hostage, but was now dispatched thither on the outbreak of the insurrection for greater security, and that she was now (A.D. 61) of a tender age; and it may be thought to favour this idea that in A.D. 65 she was not, as we shall see, married to Pudens, though as a British Princess, and possessing personal charms, she would probably marry on attaining a suitable age.

¹⁴⁰ Fasti Sacri, p. 338, No. 1986. The exact date of Nero's departure does not appear, but as nearly as can be conjectured it was early in the second quarter, for Antistius Sosianus (who had been banished), writes to Nero, and is brought to Rome. Tac. Ann. xvi. 14. And

Astorius, who was in Liguria, is sent for to Rome, xvi. 15, and there both put themselves to death before the trial. Then follow other deaths paucos intra dies, xvi. 17, and then Tacitus writes: Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Cæsar. xvi. 19.

of Armenia,¹⁴¹ and he was then engaged in entertaining Tiridates at Rome with shows and processions, and the most splendid pageants.¹⁴² When this folly was con-

defeated with tremendous loss, and the insurrection was finally suppressed. At the close of A.D. 61, or early in A.D. 62, Suetonius returned to Rome to reap the reward of his victories in a triumph or ovation.

We shall see, from Martial, that Pudens married a certain Claudia, and the conjecture is that this Claudia was the daughter of Cogidunus. Can we, then, show that Pudens and a daughter of Cogidunus would probably be found in each other's society?

Pudens had served in Britain, but did he continue there, or was he recalled to Rome? We are told by Martial that his services were such as to call for some acknowledgment, and that he was raised to the dignity of a knight, and as such, was summoned to the discharge of equestrian duties at Rome.

Sospite me sospes Latias reveheris ad urbes,
Et referes pili præmia clarus eques.
Mart. vi. 58.

And as to the necessity of a knight's presence at Rome, see Dion, lix. 9. On the arrival of Pudens at Rome new and extraordinary influences would be exerted over him. If not before acquainted with Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the late Prefect of Britain, he would now bring a letter of introduction with him from King Cogidunus, and at her house he would become acquainted with all the leading members of the Christian community. Not only so, but the return of Pudens to Rome, about A.D. 61, would be during the presence in the same city of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, Paul, on his appeal from the tribunal of Festus to the Roman Emperor. Pomponia and Claudia, as Christians, would make Pudens acquainted with the case of the suffering martyr, and as Paul was allowed by the liberality of the Prefects of the Prætorium to receive all comers, we can picture to ourselves how Pudens would attend at Paul's lodgings to hear his powerful discourses, and would there meet with Timothy, who was in attendance upon Paul. Timothy was unquestionably present with Paul during some part of his captivity (Philipp. i. 1; Coloss. i. 1), and would

be on familiar terms with the Christians of Rome, and therefore with Pomponia and Claudia, and through them with Pudens. Under such concurring circumstances, Pudens might very naturally become a Christian? That he was such we should infer from the epithet applied to him by Martial, who calls him the saintly Pudens ('sancto,' xi. 54), which indicates some religious profession out of the ordinary course. In A.D. 63 Paul was liberated, and returned to his churches in the East. But in A.D. 65 he was again a prisoner at Rome, and it was during this his second captivity that Paul wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy, and sent in it salutations from Pudens and Claudia, with whom Timothy had been on a footing of intimacy two or three years before.

In the very same year, A.D. 65, came the poet Martial to Rome, as we learn from hints given by himself. He tells us that he passed in all thirty-five years in Rome (post septima lustra reverso, xii. 31), and Fynes Clinton has shown (Fasti Rom. A.D. 99-100) that Martial quitted Rome in A.D. 100, and he therefore first came thither in A.D. 65. When Martial had been thirty-four years at Rome (A.D. 99) (Martial, x. 103, 104), his age was fifty-seven, and he was therefore twenty-three in A.D. 65. As a rising genius he would be admitted into the highest circles, and would be introduced to Pomponia Græcina, who was celebrated for her literary attainments.

At the house of Pomponia he would meet with Pudens, and the British Princess Claudia, and also with Pomponius Rufus, the relative of Pomponia, and, like himself, an officer in the Roman army. Martial never became a Christian, but from the influences of the Christian society, with which he was thus brought into contact, he refrained from the invectives which were so common against the new religion, and, on the contrary, exhibits in his writings a marked respect for it by expressing his high admiration of the constancy with which the saints endured the tortures to which they were put during the Neronian persecution.

Eventually Pudens, who had triumphed over

¹⁴¹ Fasti Sacri, p. 338, No. 1987. διὰ Πικεντῶν (Tiridates) εἰς Νέαν πόλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν (Neronem) ἀφίκετο. Dion, lxiii. 2.

¹⁴² Dion, lxiii. 3. And the hot weather had commenced, for awnings were employed. ὅπως τὸν ἥλιον ἀπερύκοι. Dion, lxiii. 6.

cluded, Nero, with an army of musicians and actors, embarked for Greece (fig. 307), to play the guitar, and drive the chariot at their games (fig. 308), and drink the applause

the Britons in arms, was captivated by the charms of the British princess, and Pudens and Claudia became man and wife. In what year the happy event occurred we have no sufficient grounds for determining, but many assume that it was subsequently to the date of Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy (A.D. 65), for otherwise Paul could not have written "Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia" (2 Tim. iv. 21), but must have said Linus, and Pudens, and Claudia. He could not have separated man and wife, and interpose Linus between them. The same conclusion results also from the fact that Martial wrote some laudatory lines upon the occasion to his friend Rufus, for Martial himself did not arrive in Rome until A.D. 68, and we must suppose that some time would elapse before he had formed an intimacy with Pudens, and Claudia, and Rufus.

The Epigram of Martial, in which he commemorates the nuptials of Pudens and Claudia, and which he sends to Pomponius Rufus, then absent from Rome, begins thus:—

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti :
Macte esto tædis, o Hymenæe, tuis.

And the four last lines are—

Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto ;
Tamque pari semper sit Venus æqua jugo !
Dillgat illa senem quondam ; sed et ipsa marito,
Tunc quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus !
Martial, iv. 11.

It transpires only from this Epigram that Claudia was a foreigner, and her native country is not mentioned. From the following ode it is elicited that she was a Briton:—

Claudia cæruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiae pectora gentis habes ?
Quale decus formæ ! Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Di bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quod sperat generos, quodque puella nurus !
Sic placeat superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

Martial, xi. 32.

From the first Epigram we learn that Pudens and Claudia were in their youth, and that the match was regarded as a suitable one, and a British Princess would surely be a worthy consort for a Roman Knight. Some interval must have elapsed before the penning of the second Epigram, for Claudia was then the mother of

three children, but still retained her personal attractions.

It has been objected to the hypothesis of Claudia being the daughter of King Cogidunus, that Martial published his fourth book, which contains the first Epigram in A.D. 88, and published his eleventh book, which contains the second Epigram, in A.D. 100; and how in A.D. 100 could he speak of Claudia, the daughter of King Cogidunus, as still beautiful? But it does not follow that because an Epigram was first *published* in A.D. 100, it was therefore written in A.D. 100. Many a fugitive piece thrown off at an early age would find its way into a later collection, and Archdeacon Williams has given us several instances of the kind. See p. 10.

II. Was Claudia the daughter of Caractacus? Before the discovery of the two tablets at Chichester before mentioned, the voice of tradition was almost unanimous in declaring Claudia to be the daughter not of Cogidunus, but of Caractacus, and in some respects this theory is perhaps more plausible than the former. In the case of King Cogidunus history has not even informed us whether he had a daughter, and still less whether the daughter resided at Rome. But as to Caractacus, we know that in A.D. 50 he was carried thither a captive, and there kept under surveillance, and that he was accompanied by some brothers, and a wife, and only child, who was a daughter. *Fratres et conjux et filia.* Tac. Ann. xii. 36. The daughter, under such circumstances, would naturally be educated at Rome, and be received into the higher circles, and so become acquainted with Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the late Prefect of Britain, and with Pudens, who had been an officer in the army to which Caractacus had surrendered. It is also not an immaterial circumstance that Paul associates "Linus and Claudia" together; and in the old British traditions this Linus is said to be the Llin of Welsh Hagiography, the son of Caractacus, and so the brother of Claudia, which would account for his being named with her in the Epistle, and in precedence to her.

Upon the whole, we should say that Claudia may have been the daughter of Cogidunus, or may have been the daughter of Caractacus, and that in all probability she was either the one or the other.

of a sycophant population, the degenerate descendants of Miltiades and Leonidas.¹⁴³ To the freedman Helius was committed the absolute administration of public affairs at



Fig. 307.—Coin of Nero. From the British Museum (Billon).

Obv. Head of Nero, with the legend ΝΕΡΩ ΚΛΑΥ. ΚΑΙΟ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus).—Rev. A Trireme under full sail, with eight oars, and the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ (Freighted with Augustus).

Rome during the Emperor's absence, and no one could have been selected as a fitter representative of the reckless extravagance, licentious debauchery, and cold-blooded

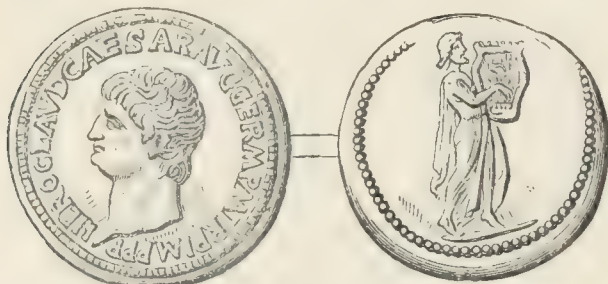


Fig. 307a.—Coin of Nero. From British Museum.

Obv. Head of Nero with the legend, ΝΕΡΩ ΚΛΑΥ. ΚΑΙΟ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. (Nero Claudius Caesar Aug. Germ. P. M. T. P. Imp. P. P.).—Rev. Figure of Nero playing upon the lyre.



Fig. 308.—Coin of Nero. From Morell (Ventidua).

Obv. Head of Nero, with the legend ΝΕΡΩ ΚΑΙΟ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. (Nero Claudius Caesar Aug. Germ. P. M. T. P. Imp. P. P.).—Rev. Greece personified as a female crowning Nero as victor in the Isthmian Games, with the legend Τ. ΒΕΝ. ΦΡΟΝΤΟΝΕ ΙΙ. ΒΙΡ. ΚΟΡΙΝΘ. (T. Ventidius Fronto Duumvir. Corinth).

cruelty of his inhuman master. Tigellinus, one of the Prefects of the Prætorium, and the court favourite, accompanied the frivolous expedition.¹⁴⁴ His colleague Nymphidius Sabinus was left in charge of the provincial prisoners detained in the Prætorium.

On the day fixed for the second trial, Nero was probably in Achaia, or on the road to it, and it is likely that the case fell under the jurisdiction of Helius, the Emperor's representative, or of Sabinus, the Prefect of the Prætorium, or the Consular Deputy who heard appeals from Asia.

Clement, the contemporary and disciple of the Apostle, speaks only of Paul having pleaded his cause before "Governors,"¹⁴⁵ but from this we may infer that the Emperor did not preside at the final hearing in person. For the word "governors" is employed several times in the same Epistle, and in nearly all the instances denotes subordinate rulers, and in none is applied to the supreme monarch, and is sometimes even used in contradistinction to that sense.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Suet. Nero, 22. See Fasti Sacri, p. 340, No. 1996. As the games were usually celebrated about midsummer, we may suppose that Nero was in Greece at that season.

¹⁴⁴ Dion, lxi. 12; Suet. Nero, 22, 23. See Fasti Sacri, p. 340, No. 1994.

¹⁴⁵ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. Clement, Epist. Cor. v.

¹⁴⁶ In chap. i. he speaks of the presbyters of

The second hearing was, we may assume, conducted in one of the Basilicas, or courts of law. A Basilica was an oblong building with an apse at the end, and a colonnaded cloister running round the interior with the exception of the apse. The central part of the oblong was left open to the sky. The Tribune for the judge was on an elevated platform within the apse, and just in front of the tribune was an image of the god at whose altar the witnesses were sworn. Under the tribunal was a vault or cell, in which the prisoners were temporarily confined before being brought into court.¹⁴⁷ Right and left of the judicial chair were the benches, on a lower level, on which sat the assessors or jurors; and in front of the Tribune were placed the prosecutor and the prisoner, and the advocates of the two parties and others interested in the trial, the prosecutor and his friends standing on one side, and the accused and his supporters on the other. The jury were impanelled much in the same manner as amongst ourselves. A list was kept of all in Rome who were liable to serve on juries, and at the time of trial the names of those next on the rota were cast into an urn, and the jurors were then drawn out by lot. The prisoner had the right of challenge, and the objection, where it appeared well-founded, was allowed. When the panel was complete, the jurors laid their hand upon the altar which stood in front of the Tribune, and took an oath to pronounce a righteous judgment. The pleadings were then opened by the accuser or his counsel, who first stated the case for the prosecution, and then examined his witnesses, whom the prisoner had the right of cross-examining. The crier of the court then proclaimed "Dixit," or "Spoken," when the accused or his counsel began the defence, first suggesting the points, and then proving them by the evidence. Both sides having concluded, the crier proclaimed "Dixerunt," or "Both spoken," when the jurors deliberated, and wrote each his verdict on a tablet, A. for Absolvo or an acquittal, and C. for Condemno or guilty, and N. L. for Non Liqueat or Not proven, and the judge announced the result according to the majority. Such were the general features of a Roman trial, and such or similar must have been the proceedings in the case of Paul.

On the day appointed for the second hearing, the Apostle was brought up from the prisoner's cell into court; and the jurors were sworn, the accusers and the accused were heard in their turn. Paul on this as on every other emergency stood forth

the church (Christ being the Head) as τοῖς ἡγούμενοις ὑμῶν. In chap. xxxii. he says of Jacob that from him were descended βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγούμενοι, which an annotator translates, "Reges, principes, ac duces." In chap. xxxvii. he calls military commanders *under* a king ἡγούμενοι, and says that the troops obey what is ordered Ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἡγούμενων. In chap. li. we read—Φαραὼ καὶ ἡ στρατία αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγούμενοι Αἰγύπτου. And lastly, in chap. lv. we meet with the expression βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγούμενοι. Perhaps, with reference

to the martyrdom of Paul, the word ἡγούμενοι may signify the Prefects of the Prætorium. See also for the use of the word ἡγούμενοι, Acts vii. 10; Pausan. Corinth. ii. 1, 2; Phocic. x. 1, 3; Appian, Mithrid. 8, 11, 17, 71, 116; Bell. Civ. iii. 26, 77; v. 55, 68, 137, 138, &c.

¹⁴⁷ In Donaldson's Pompeii will be seen a plan of the basilica there, and in the vault under the tribunal were found iron fastenings attached to the walls for securing the prisoners, and the small windows of the vault were grated.

the undaunted champion of Christianity, openly avowing his faith, but insisting that he had not violated any law found in the statute book. The jurors conferred together, and the judge delivered the verdict, and Paul heard unmoved the fatal word *Guilty*. Sentence of death was pronounced, and Paul was reconducted to his cell.

It was the custom amongst the Romans not to inflict capital punishment until the expiration of ten days from the conviction, in order that the Emperor might have the opportunity, where it was his pleasure, of granting a free pardon.¹⁴⁸ Nero, however, more frequently hurried his victims from the court to the scaffold within the space of an hour,¹⁴⁹ and Helius, his representative, was not of a more merciful temper. We may be sure that no long interval elapsed between the Apostle's condemnation and his execution.

On the 29th of June, A.D. 66 (for so tradition has fixed the date),¹⁵⁰ Paul was given in charge to a centurion, to be led to execution. We have no particulars save that the place of martyrdom was at Aquæ Salviæ, or Tre Fontane, about two miles from Rome, on the Via Ostiensis;¹⁵¹ however, the mind's eye draws a picture which cannot be very different from the scene as it actually occurred. The centurion, at the head of a company of the Prætorian guard, and having in custody the venerable saint, issued from the walls of Rome by the Porta Ostiensis on the south. The broad Ostian Way lay before them, lined on each side by the tombs of the dead and the gorgeous mansions of the living. On the right as they made their exit was the tomb of Caius Cestius (which still exists), a pyramid erected over his remains by L. Pontius Mela, a kinsman, perhaps, of that Pontius Pilate who, thirty-three years before, had ordered the crucifixion of the founder of the religion for which Paul was now to lay down his life.

An execution is ever an attraction to a certain class, and as the procession passed out of the Ostian Gate it was accompanied by the *canaille* of Rome, who hissed and hooted and yelled at the man who had striven to uproot their profane idolatries. Amongst the multitude would also be found the priests and their underlings, whose livelihood depended on the maintenance of the state religion, and who now were to gratify their revenge by the extinction of so notable a reformer. Stragglers from the Prætorian guard would also be there, some to mock, as at the crucifixion of our Saviour; and some, perhaps, who had witnessed the innocent life of the offender, with a better and deeper feeling. It is even said that three of the guard, Longinus, Acestus, and

¹⁴⁸ Suet. Tib. 75; Tac. Ann. iii. 51; Dion, lvi. 27.

¹⁴⁹ Suet. Nero, 37.

¹⁵⁰ ἡ πρὸ τριῶν Καλανδῶν Ἰουλίῳ, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ κθ', καθ' ἣν ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος (Παῦλος). Auctor. Martyr. Paul. prefixed to Œcumenius, ed. Veron. f 5, cited Fasti Rom. ἐτελειώθησαν δὲ οἱ ἅγιοι ἔνδοξοι ἀπόστολοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος μηνὶ

Ἰουνίῳ κθ. Acta Petri et Pauli, s. 88; and so Chrysost. Opera, v. 994; and Malala, lib. x.

¹⁵¹ ὁ μὲν Παῦλος ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τῇ Ὁσθησίᾳ ὁδῷ. Acta Petri et Pauli ad finem. Public executions were enacted by the side of the great roads. Thus Calpurnius Galerianus was executed, ad quadragesimum ab urbe lapidem viâ Appiâ. Tac. Hist. iv. 11.

Megistus, were converted on the way and afterwards suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ. Less conspicuous amongst the motley crowd would be the little silent and thoughtful knot of the Apostle's faithful followers, anxious, at the risk of insult and injury, to testify their respect for the great champion of their holy cause. The sword and the cross, and the stake and the shirt of fire, had not broken the constancy of hundreds of martyrs who had gone before, and the survivors were ready to attend the venerated Paul to his grave at the peril of similar pains and penalties. Pudens and Claudia were there, and Eubulus and Linus, and the beloved physician Luke.

For about a mile and a quarter, the road to Aquæ Salviæ lies along the Via Ostiensis, and then, at Osteria del Ponticello, branches off in a south-eastern direction, and

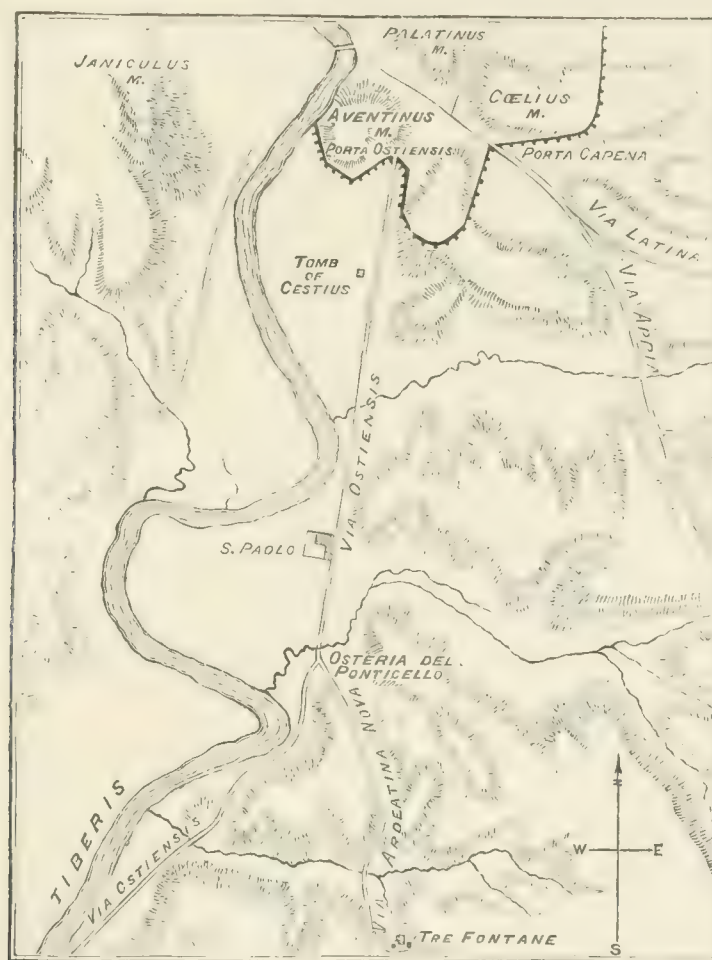


Fig. 309.—Road from Rome to Tre Fontane, the scene of St. Paul's decapitation.

runs along the Via Ardeatina Nova for three-quarters of a mile, when a short by-lane leads at once down to Aquæ Salviæ (fig. 309), a spot not unsuited to an execution, as being a hollow encompassed on all sides by low hills, which rise around it like an amphitheatre, and from which any number of spectators could witness the heart-stirring spectacle (fig. 310).

This was the Tyburn of Rome, and was not farther from the capital than Tyburn was from the limits of Old London.¹⁵²

Thither the centurion and his prisoner arrived, and after the usual preliminaries,



Fig 310.—General view of the Hollow of Tre Fontane. From an original drawing.

The road passes under the arch seen on the right, and then runs between two churches (the round one on the right with the cupola and the long one on the left with a window at the end), and then continues to the front of the church of St. Paul, the farthest building on the spectator's left, and of which a more exact view, from a photograph, is given at p. 405. The round church on the right of the road is that of S. Maria Scala Coeli, and the long church on the left is that of Ss. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

the passive martyr was blindfolded and laid his head upon the block. The executioner did his work, and Paul was in the world of spirits.

¹⁵² In 1851 I visited the scene of martyrdom. After leaving the city walls by the Porta San Paolo we arrived at the distance of about a mile at the Basilica of St. Paul, standing on the right, and under the tribune of which the Apostle is said to have been buried—a noble structure, and next to St. Peter's in dimensions, but the renovation of the edifice was still incomplete. A little farther on a narrow and indifferent road led off to the left, and after advancing along it for somewhat less than a mile we came to three churches or chapels, situate nearly at the points of an equilateral triangle. We entered the most easterly, which was dedicated to St. Paul, and found ourselves in a plain church of an oblong form. At the farthest corner on the right was a short column fixed in the ground to which the

Apostle, according to the legend, was lashed, and at the foot of it was the inscription, "Columna decollationis sancti Pauli apostoli." Along the side, and at equally distant intervals were three wells, and over each of them was a crucifix and a decorated altar-piece, with a head of St. Paul in a recumbent position. The three wells were said to have sprung up as the head of the Apostle made three bounds after the decollation. The water of each spring was stated to be of a different temperature, but this was not perceptible to the taste. In Wright's Travels, vol. i. p. 243, the account is as follows: "Within it (the church) are three fountains, which, according to them, were miraculously made by so many several leaps the head took after it was cut off. The water of these fountains

The reader may look upon the Apostle's end as a tragedy, but to himself it was a triumph. Paul had ever regarded death as the gateway to life. He dared not, indeed, desert his post, and, actuated by this feeling of duty, he had for thirty years steadily pursued one undeviating course, through unparalleled hardships "Forgetting those things that were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before, he had pressed toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus,"¹⁵³ and now that the day of his departure arrived uninvited, he hailed it with pleasure. When in jeopardy during his first imprisonment, he had thus written his feelings to the Philippians. "To me to *live* is Christ, and to *die* is gain. But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labour. Yet what I shall choose I wot not, for I am in a strait betwixt two, having a *desire to depart*, and to be with Christ, *which is far far better*: nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you."¹⁵⁴ And again in contemplating even at that time the possibility of his exit from the world, instead of looking forward to it with apprehension, he calls for their congratulation: "If," he says, "I be poured out upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, *I joy and congratulate you*, and in like manner *do ye joy and congratulate me*."¹⁵⁵

The world's admiration of the Christian martyr has hallowed the ground where he closed his life, and three churches have been erected within the narrow limits of the little area. The first, as you descend from the Via Ardeatina, is that dedicated to Santa Maria Scala Cœli, and the second to the saints Vincenzo and Anastasio, and the third is the church of St. Paul alle Tre Fontane (fig. 311), and marks the site of the Apostle's decapitation. I visited the place many years ago, and listened with all the credence I could command to the oft-told tale, how the little marble column in the last-mentioned church is that to which he was bound, and then beheaded, and how, when the fatal blow was struck, the severed head made three leaps, and at each leap a fountain miraculously sprang up (whence the name of Tre Fontane), and how each fountain has the wonderful efficacy of curing all disorders (whence the name of Aquæ Salvæ).¹⁵⁶

The martyrdoms of Peter and Paul at Rome, in the first Gentile persecution under

cures all diseases; one would wonder what occasion they have for doctors."

¹⁵³ Phil. iii. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Phil. i. 21-24.

¹⁵⁵ Phil. ii. 17, 18.

¹⁵⁶ I have forborne to insert in the text two ridiculous monkish legends. The *first* is, that Paul on his way to Tre Fontane begged of Plautilla, a Roman convert of quality, to lend him her veil for a bandage to his eyes at the moment of execution, with a promise to restore it, and that after his martyrdom he appeared to Plautilla in a vision, and returned the veil. The name of

Plautilla was adopted to give colour to the story, as the wife of A. Plautius, the conqueror of Britain, was a Christian.

The *second* legend is, that Paul and Peter were both executed on the same day, and were both cast into the same grave; that afterwards, on a contest for the bones of Paul between the three churches of St. Peter and St. John Lateran at Rome, and of St. Paul on the Via Ostiensis, a heavenly vision distinguished the bones of Paul from those of Peter, by pronouncing (contrary to what the reader would have thought) that the larger bones were those of Paul and the smaller

Nero, are attested by a cloud of witnesses. Clement, their contemporary, and who is mentioned by name in the Epistle to the Philippians, thus records their death: "But to pass from ancient examples, let us come to the champions of our own time, let us take the patterns of our own generation. Through heart-burnings and envy, have the greatest and most righteous pillars of the church been persecuted and put to death. Let us paint before our eyes the worthy Apostles. Through envy *Peter* endured not one or two, but manifold labours; and so *having suffered martyrdom*, he went to the appointed place of glory. Through envy *Paul* also carried away the prize of endurance—seven times in bonds, expelled, stoned. A preacher both in the east and in the west, he covered himself with the glory of his faith; having taught the whole world righteousness, and having come to the limit of the West, and testified to martyrdom before Governors, so he departed from the world, and went to that holy place, having shown himself the noblest pattern of endurance."¹⁵⁷ Clement adds, "To these men, so holy in their lives, was joined *a great multitude of the elect* who having suffered through envy many pains and torments, were made unto us a most glorious example."¹⁵⁸ From Clement thus coupling Peter and Paul with the other martyrs at Rome, it is plain that the two Apostles suffered in the general persecution under Nero, and Peter's crucifixion is made to precede Paul's decapitation. Dionysius, also, Bishop of Corinth, about A.D. 170, writes to the same effect to the Roman church. "So also you, by this your admonition, have joined together the planting of the Romans and the Corinthians which was made by Peter and Paul, for both alike preached as far as our Corinth, and planted us, and *both alike preached together as far as Italy, and suffered martyrdom about the same time.*"¹⁵⁹

It matters little what became of the earthly tabernacle, the corruptible part of the holy Apostle, but tradition has been busy upon the subject, and tells us that the body after execution was thrown into the common charnel-house with other criminals, but was afterwards identified and rescued by a Roman convert of distinction named Lucina, who buried the remains in her own garden by the side of the Ostian Way, at about a mile from the Ostian gate, on the very spot where now stands the church of St. Paul, without the walls.¹⁶⁰ There can be no doubt that in the earliest times a memorial over the supposed remains of the Apostle was erected by the side of the Ostian way, and presumably on the site of the existing church. Thus, Caius, a Roman presbyter, about A.D. 212, in his disputation with Proculus, writes, in allusion to Peter and Paul, "I am able to point out the trophies of the Apostles; for whether you go to the Vatican or to the Ostian way, you will find the trophies of those who founded this church." And Eusebius appeals to the inscription on their monuments

of Peter, and thereupon the Pope, Silvester, awarded the head of Paul to the church of St. John Lateran, and divided his other bones by weight between the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. See Aringhi's *Roma Subterranea*, vol. i.

p. 408 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁷ Clem. Ep. Cor. v.

¹⁵⁸ Clem. Ep. Cor. vi.

¹⁵⁹ Euseb. ii. 25.

¹⁶⁰ Aringhi.

as confirming this testimony,¹⁶¹ and Chrysostom also speaks of the tombs as still subsisting in his time.¹⁶²



Fig. 311.—Church of St. Paul alle Tre Fontane. From a photograph.

The original monument must have been one of an ordinary character, but when Rome became Christian a magnificent basilica was erected on the spot by the Emperor Constantine.¹⁶³ Often as the fabric has been demolished or decayed, it has as often been rebuilt. The last destruction was in 1823, and from that time to the present

¹⁶¹ καὶ πιστοῦται γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτόθι κοιμητηρίων πρόσρησις. Euseb. E. H. ii. 25.

¹⁶² τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐ δὴ ἴσμεν τῶν πολλῶν ὅπου (τὰ ὑστᾶ) κεῖται· Πέτρου μὲν γὰρ καὶ Παύλου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Θωμᾶ δῆλοι οἱ τάφοι. Chrysost. Homil. 26, s. 2, in Epist. Hebr. xi.

¹⁶³ ἔστι δὲ τις νεὺς Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ῥώμης, τοῦ περιβόλου τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχων, ὃ τε ποταμὸς αὐτὸν παοαῖρεϊ Τίβερει. ἔνταυθα ὁχύρωμα μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἔστι, στοὰ δὲ τις ἄχρι ἐς τὸν νεῶν διήκουσα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Procopius, Gothica, η, β.

The date of St. Paul's martyrdom has been much disputed, and as the earliest notices relating to it are not numerous, we shall introduce them *seriatim*.

Clemens Romanus, the contemporary of Paul, after noticing the death of Peter (who therefore suffered before Paul), proceeds to say of Paul that ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δόσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου . . . Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς οἰκίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ ξῆλον παθόντες, ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. Clem. Rom. 1 Epist. Cor. c. 5, 6. See the whole citation fully set out, ante, p. 294, note 7. The only clue to the *date* of the martyrdom here contained is the fact that Paul suffered after Peter; and as allusion is made to a multitude of others who died for their faith after the greatest torments, we must infer that the deaths of both Peter and Paul were connected with the general

a church has been rising up (now nearly finished), which in costliness and general magnificence stands next to the cathedral of St. Peter at Rome (fig. 312).

persecution under Nero, which, commencing at Rome in A.D. 64, afterwards extended itself into the provinces, and probably continued, with more or less intensity, until the death of Nero himself in A.D. 68. The words *μαρτυρήσαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων* have created unnecessary difficulty. Why, it is asked, should Paul be said to have testified to the truth before 'rulers' in the plural? Some have taken *ἐπὶ*, not in the sense of 'before,' but 'in the time of,' and suggest that on the death of Nero there was a rapid succession of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, and that Paul pleaded successively before two of them. Others suppose Paul to have been tried before the *two prefects* of the Prætorium, others before Helius, the regent in Nero's absence, and Nymphidius Sabinus, a prefect of the Prætorium, or Polycleetus, or some other potentate. Now, assuming the martyrdom to have occurred in A.D. 66, the best answer to the question is to be found in Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, where he tells us that he had already been tried upon one count and acquitted, but that he was expecting a second hearing, when he apprehended conviction. 2 Tim. iv. 17, 6. The first trial was in the spring of A.D. 66, when Nero was still in Rome; but before midsummer of the same year Nero had left for Greece, and Paul would then be brought before the tribunal of the regent in Nero's absence. Even if Paul had been heard the first time before one of the judges of appeal, it is not at all improbable, as a considerable interval occurred, that he would plead on the second occasion before a different judge. In any case, therefore, Paul before his martyrdom might well have borne testimony before 'rulers' in the plural: *ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων*.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who lived about A.D. 170, writes to the Romans thus: *ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νοθεσίας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν γεννηθοῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον*. Euseb. ii. 25. If 'planting' be taken here in its strict and proper sense, the bishop is certainly inaccurate, for the church of Rome, which is said to have been planted by Peter and Paul, was not planted by either of them; and Corinth, which is also said to have been planted by both, was founded

by Paul only. But perhaps *Dionysius* considered all who preached at a place in the Apostolic age to be planters; so that in this sense not only Paul, who planted, but Apollos, who watered, would be regarded as founders of the Corinthian church. The language of the bishop is partly, perhaps, capable of explanation in another way, viz. on the principle *referendi singula singulis*; so that the *τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων* should mean the planting of the Roman church by Peter, and the Corinthian by Paul—a statement which would be accurate as to Paul, though not so as to Peter. As regards the repetition of the foundership under the word *φυτεύσαντες*, the reading in *Syncellus*, p. 341, is *φοιτήσαντες*; and this certainly agrees better with the context, and is probably the true reading. It is indeed the only satisfactory solution of the difficulty. See *Wieseler*, *Chronol. Apost.* 534. *Syncellus* also omits the word *ὁμόσε*, which seems superfluous. Even if the reading of *φυτεύσαντες* be retained, the testimony of *Dionysius* cannot be carried further than this, that both Peter and Paul propagated the Gospel as far as Corinth, and then as far as Rome, where they both suffered. "For both equally, having planted us, evangelized our Corinth; and in like manner also (*ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ*) the one as well as the other (*ὁμόσε*), having taught as far as Italy, suffered martyrdom at about (*κατὰ*) the same time." As to Peter's visit to Corinth, *Dionysius* no doubt relied on a text in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, i. 12: "I am of Cephas," which he interpreted to imply (but which is not likely) that Peter had preached at Corinth. He may have done so, however, on his way to Rome, just before his martyrdom, but not before.

Caius the Presbyter, A.D. 210, records that Peter and Paul were martyrs at Rome, and that their tombs still existed. *Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. Euseb. E. H. ii. 25.

Tertullian, who flourished A.D. 190–214, mentions only that Paul suffered at Rome, without giving any date. *Orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentavit . . . Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascatur generositate*. *Scorpiac.* c. 15,

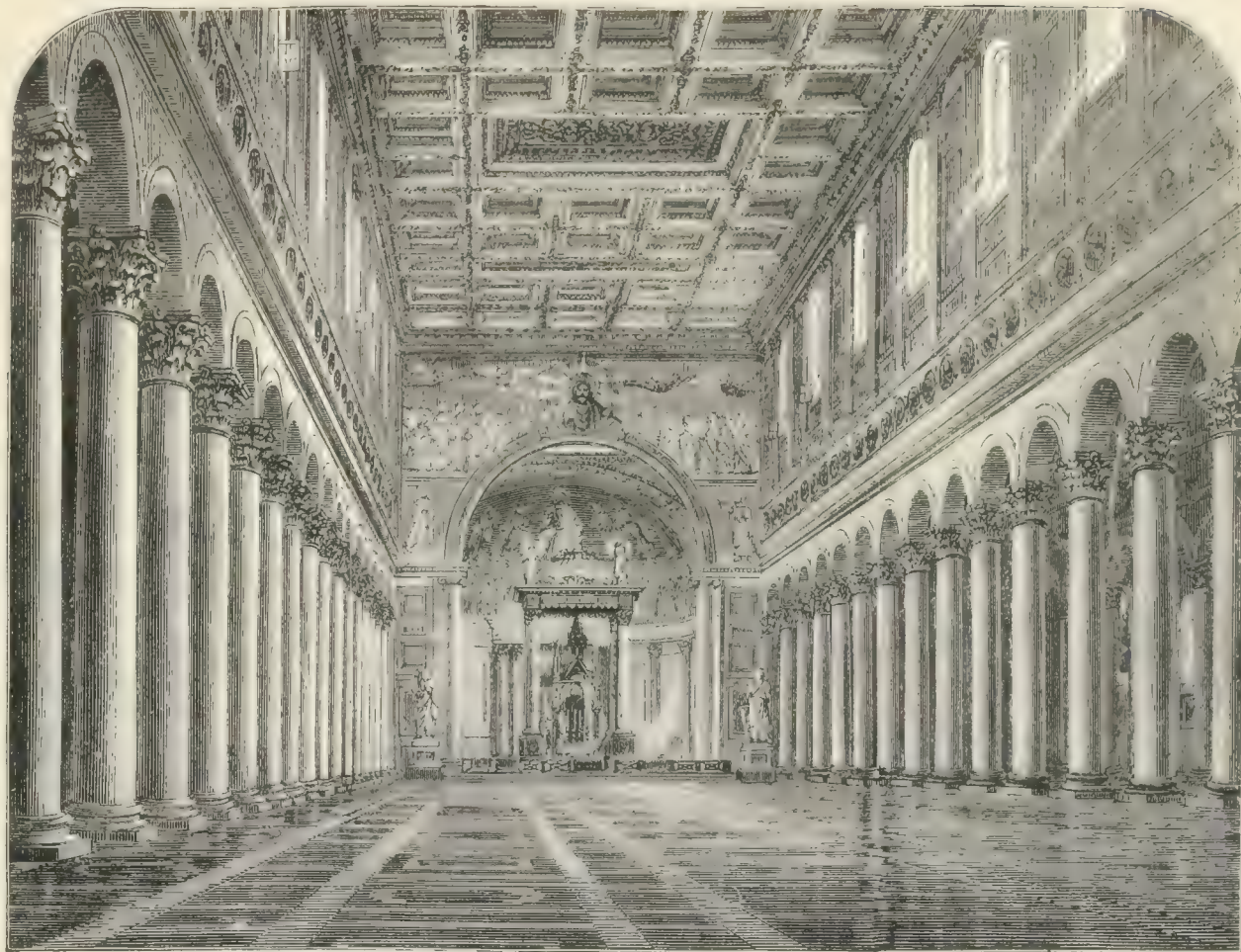


Fig. 312.—*Interior of the Church of St. Paul without the walls. From a photograph.*
The body of St. Paul was buried, according to tradition, under the altar or tribune.



Fig. 313.—*Martyrdom of a Christian. From C. W. King's Antique Gems.*
The martyr is holding a cross, and over the head is the monogram of Christ, and at the foot are the letters ANFT.

ubi (Romæ) Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur. De Præscript. Hæret. c. 36; and see Advers. Marc. iv. c. 5.

Origen, who flourished A.D. 210–253, places the death of Paul at Rome in the time of Nero, but without distinguishing the year. ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληροκότος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος. Cited by Euseb. E. H. iii. 1.

Eusebius, who flourished A.D. 308–340, tells us τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελεωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ, κ.τ.λ. Euseb. ii. 22. In the time of Eusebius, therefore, the tradition was that Paul had suffered at Rome, but the year is not stated. In his Chronicon, however, Eusebius places the martyrdom in the thirteenth year of Nero, or A.D. 67; but according to Clinton the years of the reign of Nero are postponed in the Chronicon by one year, and therefore the testimony of Eusebius assigns the martyrdom in effect to A.D. 66.

Jerome, in his version of Eusebius's Chronicon, places the martyrdom of Paul in the fourteenth year of Nero, or A.D. 68; and in a work of his own, he holds to the same year. Paulus ergo xiv. Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo truncatus sepultusque est in viâ Ostiensi. Hieron. de illust. Viris, c. 5. But this extreme date must have arisen from a mistaken reading of Eusebius's Chronicon, the figures of which are very apt to stray from one year into another.

Lactantius, who flourished A.D. 290–317, writes: Quumque jam Nero imperâret, Petrus Romam advenit et editis quibusdam miraculis quæ virtute ipsius Dei, datâ sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ, quum animadverteret non modo Romæ sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnatâ vetustate, transire, ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosiluit ad excidendum cœleste templum delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interficit. Lactant. de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 2. The testimony of Lactantius, then, amounts to this, that Nero, "being the first of all who persecuted the servants of God, crucified Peter, and slew Paul." No year is assigned, but their deaths were apparently connected more or less remotely with the general persecution.

Epiphanius, who flourished A.D. 367–403, attributes the martyrdom to the twelfth of Nero, i.e. to A.D. 66. μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τελευτὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει Νέρωνος γενομένην. Epiphan. Hæres. xxvii. 6; tom. i. p. 107.

The *auctor martyrii Pauli* (prefixed to *Æcumenius* ed. Veron. f. 5, who wrote A.D. 396) places the death of Paul on the 29th of June, A.D. 66, for he states it to have occurred just 330 years before the 29th of June, A.D. 396. Ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτόθι Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑκτῷ ἔτει τοῦ Σωτηρίου πάθους . . . μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ κθ'. . . Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ ἐμαρτύρησε (Paulus) τριακόσια τριάκοντα ἔτη, μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ταύτης ὑπατείας τετάρτης μὲν Ἀρκαδίου τρίτης δὲ Ὀνωρίου τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Αὐγούστων (A.D. 396), ἐνάτης Ἰνδικτιῶνος τῆς πεντεκαίδεκαετηρικῆς περιόδου, μηνὸς Ἰουνίου κθ' ἡμέρας. See the whole passage cited *Fasti Sacri*, p. 341, No. 1999. As this author was directing his particular attention to the martyrdom, we attach great weight to his statement, more especially as he is very circumstantial about the exact time.

Chrysostom, who flourished A.D. 381–407, assumes Paul to have suffered under Nero, and gives as a reason that Paul had converted one of the Emperor's favourite domestics, and also his mistress, who had broken off her illicit intercourse with Nero in consequence; but Chrysostom furnishes no date. See Chrysost. on Second Epist. Tim. c. 1, Homil. 3. προσέκρουσε γὰρ τότε τῷ Νέρωνι, τινὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων αὐτῷ οἰκειωσάμενος. Chrysost. on 2 Tim. c. i.; Homil. 3, s. 1. παλλακίδα γὰρ αὐτοῦ (Neronis) σφόδρα ἐπέραστον πείσας τὸν περὶ τῆς πίστεως δέξασθαι λόγον, ἔπειθεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀκαθάρτου συνουσίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκείνης . . . Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον (Nero) ἔδῃσεν, ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τῆς πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἀποσχέσθαι συμβουλῆς τέλος ἀπέκτεινε. Advers. Vitæ Monast. Oppugn. lib. i. s. 3.

Sulpitius Severus, who wrote A.D. 400, supplies some facts which lead us to fix the date with some precision. After referring to the general persecution that arose out of the fire of Rome, A.D. 64, he proceeds: *Hoc initio* in Christianos sæviri cœptum. *Post etiam* datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. *Tum* Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati, quorum uni cervix gladio desecta; Petrus in crucem sublatus est. And then follow these words: *Dum hæc Romæ geruntur* Judæi, præsidis sui Festi (lege Gessii) Flori in-

jurias non ferentes, rebellari cœperunt, &c. Sulp. Sev. lib. ii. As the Jewish war broke out on the 19th of April, A.D. 66 (see *Fasti sacri*, p. 343, No. 2006), Sulpitius must have placed the martyrdom of Paul in A.D. 66.

Euthalius, who flourished A.D. 458–490, refers to the martyrdom as follows: μετέπειτα δὲ καθολικὸν ἐκίνησε διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγὰς, μεταστειλάμενος γὰρ τὸν Παῦλον αὐθις τῷ βήματι παραστὰς συνήλθε δὲ πάλιν ὁ Λοῦκας αὐτῷ· ἔνθα δὲ συνέβη τὸν Παῦλον τριακοστῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει τοῦ Σωτηρίου πάθους τρισκαίδεκάτῳ δὲ Νέρωνος μαρτυρῆσαι ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντα. *Euthalius*, Prolog. in Pauli Epist. c. 3. This writer has fallen into the same mistake as Eusebius in placing the martyrdom in the thirteenth instead of the twelfth of Nero. But *Euthalius* has copied the very words of the *Auctor Martyrii*, and must therefore be deemed to have placed the event at the same time, i.e. A.D. 66. It is remarkable that *Euthalius* here records a fact which does not otherwise appear, but is implied in Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy—that Paul was not arrested at Rome, but in the provinces, and thence sent to Rome.

To cite other later testimonies would only make confusion worse confounded. The best results to be collected from the traditional notices already mentioned appear to be: 1. That Paul suffered at Rome; 2. That this event did not occur in A.D. 64, during the persecution under the charge that the Christians had set fire to the city—a charge which could only apply to the Christians then resident at Rome. 3. That Paul was arrested under a general edict issued against Christians. 4. That the arrest was not at Rome, but in one of the provinces, whence he was sent to Rome. 5. That Nero was embittered against him for his having converted some of "Cæsar's household." 6. That he was beheaded on the 29th of June, A.D. 66.

These conclusions agree with the chronology to be collected from the Hebrews and the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. When Paul was set at liberty in the spring of A.D. 63, he would fulfil his long-cherished intention of visiting Spain. Rom. xv. 24, 28. But as the Eastern churches from his long absence would call loudly for his return, he would not spend more than six months in Spain, and then on the return of Timothy, who had been sent to Philippi, would sail with him to Judea. Heb. xiii. 23. Paul and Timothy, therefore, would start for Judea in the autumn of A.D. 63, and would reach Jerusalem just before winter. Thence he would naturally go down to Antioch and there pass the winter of A.D. 63–64. In the spring of A.D. 64 he visited Ephesus, and leaving Timothy there, passed over himself with Titus to Crete (Tit. i. 5); but he did not stay there, but stationing Titus in Crete, and passing to Ephesus, where Timothy was still to remain, sailed to Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), and fulfilled his promise of visiting Philippi (Philipp. ii. 24), and thence, no doubt, went down to Corinth, and thence to Nicopolis, where Titus was to join him during the winter, A.D. 64–65. Tit. iii. 12. In the spring of A.D. 65 he must have passed through Troas (2 Tim. iv. 13), and have proceeded thence, probably as a prisoner, to Ephesus, where he was imprisoned (2 Tim. i. 18), and was thence forwarded by way of Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20) and Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20) to Rome, and was consequently late in the year at Rome. The winter was the long vacation of the law; and he was therefore brought to trial and was acquitted on the first count (2 Tim. iv. 17) in the spring of A.D. 66, when the further hearing was adjourned. The first trial would not, in the ordinary course, come off immediately on his arrival at Rome. The second trial might very well, therefore, take place in May or June, A.D. 66; and if so, the martyrdom itself may, as stated by tradition, have occurred on the 29th of June, A.D. 66.

CHAPTER XI.

Paul's Person and Character.

He who can part from country and from kin,
 And scorn delights, and tread the thorny way,
 A heavenly crown, through toil and pain, to win—
 He who reviled can tender love repay,
 And buffeted, for bitter foes can pray—
 He who, upspringing at his Captain's call,
 Fights the good fight, and when at last the day
 Of fiery trial comes, can nobly fall—
 Such were a saint—or more—and such the holy Paul!
Anon.

WE have now closed the life of the Apostle, and the reader will naturally expect a few general remarks.

It is a singular circumstance, or rather it attests the divine origin of our religion, that the writers of the New Testament, intent upon their holy calling, never descend to the gratification of mere curiosity. Of the external form of Christ, or the Twelve Apostles, we know nothing. The features of the Saviour, so familiar to the eye of every Christian, are traditional only, and cannot be traced back to a time approaching even the period when he lived upon earth.¹ It is almost the same with Paul.

That he was probably afflicted with ophthalmia, and that from the inflammation which had settled in his eyes he presented an unsightly and almost loathsome appearance, we have already endeavoured to show. This was the thorn in the flesh, the *hærens lateri lethalis arundo*, the arrow that rankled and festered and tortured him by night and day, and subjected him to such cruel trials and mortifications, that thrice he besought the Lord that his “messenger of Satan” might depart from him. How strong the expression which he uses to the Galatians! he thanks them for their gracious reception of him, and that they did not “spit him out” (*οὐκ ἐξεπτύσατε*).²

In the Vatican library at Rome is preserved a bronze medal with the heads of Peter and Paul on the obverse (fig. 314), which was found in the cemetery of Domitilla, one of the Flavian family, and if genuine is no doubt the earliest portraiture known of the two great Apostles. The medal is referred to the close of the first century or

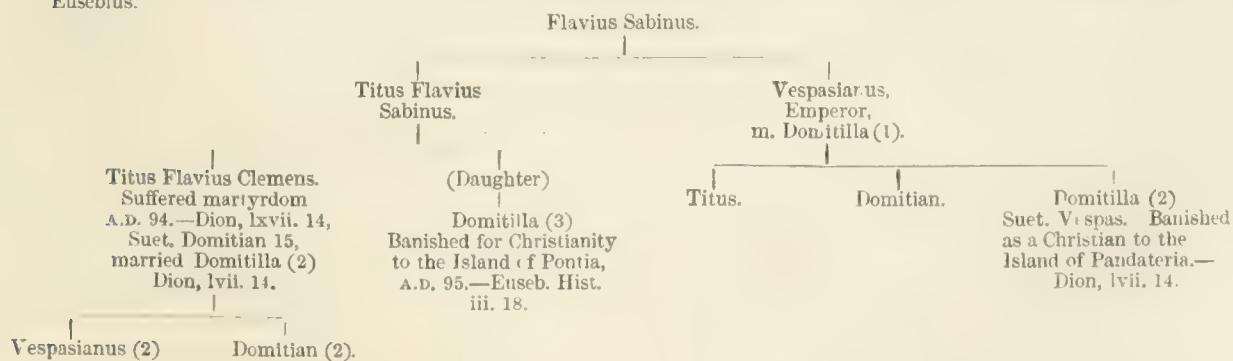
¹ Eusebius is the first who alludes to any representation in painting of our Saviour or His Apostles. Euseb. E. H. vii. 18.

² Galat. iv. 14.

the beginning of the second, and at this early period the features of the two Apostles must have been faithfully preserved.³ Both heads are full of character, and that of Paul in particular is distinguished by solemnity and dignity, and the thoughtful and wrinkled brow indicates the high intellect that so remarkably characterized the man. The Apostle is also represented as partially bald, and this feature is universally



Fig. 314.—A large medallion found in the cemetery of Domitilla, one of the Flavian family, which presents the portrait of St. Paul on the spectator's left, and that of St. Peter on the spectator's right. The family of Domitilla was undoubtedly Christian and closely allied to the family of the Emperor Vespasian. The Domitilla in whose cemetery the medallion was found was the Domitilla (no. 3) in the following pedigree, which has been collected from Dion Cassius, Tacitus, Suetonius and Eusebius.



ascribed to him. Even in the apocryphal acts of the Apostles⁴ the shipmaster, who was taken for Paul, is portrayed as bald-headed.⁵

³ See Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotterranca*, p. 284.

⁴ Tischendorf's *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*.

⁵ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναφανδὸς ὑπάρχων.

At the commencement of the fourth century Eusebius speaks of pictures of the Apostle as still commonly current, and expresses no doubt as to the correctness of the representation.⁶

In the *Philopatris*, ascribed to Lucian, Paul is portrayed as a Galilean with a bald head and aquiline nose, who mounted to the third heaven and heard the most famous things.⁷ Lucian himself lived in the second century, and the *Philopatris*, if genuine, would carry us back to a very early age; but the work is unquestionably spurious, and written in the reign of the Emperor Julian (A.D. 361–363).

We have a full-length portrait of the Apostle from the pen of Malala, or John of Antioch, but who did not live until the close of the sixth century. However, as he was a native of the city where Paul for a long time preached, his testimony may be entitled to some credit. Paul, by his account, was “short of stature, bald, greyish as to the hair of the head and the chin, of a good nose and light blue eyes, with the eyebrows knit together, of a fair and ruddy complexion, a graceful beard, of benevolent expression, of sound judgment, gentle, affable, and of pleasing manners, and glowing with the fervour of the Holy Spirit.”⁸

Nicephorus also writes of Paul as follows: “Paul was little and dwarfish in person, and slightly crooked and somewhat stooping. The visage and countenance fair and comely. Baldheaded, with light blue eyes. The nose hooked. The beard long and thick, with white hairs well sprinkled over both head and beard.”⁹

The Apostle was certainly not a man of commanding presence, but of diminutive stature, even to meanness. This we may collect from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. A faction in that church had made him on that account the subject of ridicule, and had endeavoured by that weapon to weaken his authority. In the tenth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Apostle defends himself with great spirit against these reflections upon his external appearance, and dexterously turns the sarcasms upon his stunted stature against the adversary himself: he (Paul) might be low in person, but he would not, like others, overstretch himself; the Corinthians should beware, for at all events he was tall enough to reach unto them, and beyond. “Now I, Paul, beseech you by the meekness of Christ, who in presence am base (*ταπεινός*, *low* or *mean*) among you, but being absent am bold

⁶ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ (Χριστοῦ) τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς ἱστορήσαμεν. Euseb. E. H. vii. 18.

⁷ Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀναφаланτίας, ἐπὶ ῥῖνος, ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκώς. *Philopatris*, s. 12.

⁸ ὑπῆρχε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἔτι περιὼν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κονδοειδὴς, φαλακρὸς, μισοπόλιος τὴν κάραν, καὶ τὸ γένειον, εὖρινος, ὑπόγλαυκος, σύνοφρυς, λευκόχλους, ἀνθηροπρόσωπος, εὐπώγων, ὑπογελῶντα ἔχων τὸν χαρακτῆρα, φρόνιμος, ἡθικὸς, εὐόμιλος, γλυκὺς, ὑπὸ

πνεύματος Ἁγίου ἐνθουσιαζόμενος καὶ ἰώμενος Malala, *Chronog.* x.; and see Niceph. E. H. ii. 37

⁹ Παῦλος μικρὸς ἦν καὶ συνεσταλμένος τὸ τοῦ σώματος μέγεθος, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀγκύλον αὐτὸ κεκτημένος σμικρὸν καὶ κεκυφὸς. Τὴν ὄψιν λευκὸς καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον προσφερὴς. Ψιλὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν χαρποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἦσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. Κατὰ δὲ καὶ ῥύπουσαν ὄλῳ τῷ προσώπῳ περιφέρων τὴν ῥίνα, τὴν ὑπὲρ δασεῖαν καὶ καθειμένην ἀρκούντως ἔχων, ῥαινομένην δὲ ταύτην καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ πολιαῖς ταῖς θριξίν. Niceph. H. E. ii. 37.

towards you.”¹⁰ “Do ye look on things after the *outward appearance*?”¹¹ “His letters, say they, are *weighty and powerful*, but his *bodily presence* is *weak*, and his speech contemptible! Let such an one think this, that, such as we are in word by letters when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present. For we dare not make ourselves of the number of, or compare ourselves with, some that commend *themselves*, but they *measuring* themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves among themselves, are not wise. But we will not boast of things *without our measure*, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to *reach even unto you*. For we *stretch not ourselves beyond our measure*, as though we reached not unto you, for we are come as far as to you also in preaching the Gospel of Christ, not boasting of ourselves *without our measure*, that is, of other men’s labours, but having hope when your faith is *increased*, that we shall be *enlarged* by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast, in another man’s line, of things made ready to our hand.”¹² We may add, that when Barnabas was called Jupiter, and Paul Mercury, at Lystra, the people thus distinguished Paul, not only as being the chief speaker, but also as of less dignified appearance in comparison with his fellow-traveller. Certainly Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth century, had drawn the same inference with ourselves, for he calls the Apostle, “The three-cubit man.”¹³

Such is the interest that attaches to the name of Paul, that we would fain recall even the costume that he wore; as a Jew he would naturally appear in the ordinary dress of one, and from incidental hints we may be sure that such was the case. The innermost garment of all Israelites was the *χιτῶν*, or tunic, made of woollen cotton or linen, and in shape resembling our shirt, but descending below the knees. The rich and effeminate wore two tunics, or as we should call them a shirt and a tunic.^{13a} But our Lord commanded his disciples to wear one only,¹⁴ and Paul would follow the custom of the other Apostles. The tunic was fastened round the waist by a girdle,¹⁵ and when Paul landed at Cæsarea, before his arrest at Jerusalem, Agabus “took Paul’s girdle and bound his own hands and feet, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, so shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle.”¹⁶ To the girdle were attached the pockets for carrying money¹⁷ and the smaller articles of constant use, such as the *sudaria* or handkerchiefs which at Ephesus and elsewhere Paul bore about with him.¹⁸ Over the tunic was worn the outer garment,

¹⁰ 2 Cor. x. 1.¹¹ 2 Cor. x. 7.¹² 2 Cor. x. 10-16.¹³ Ὁ τριπληχὺς ἄνθρωπος. Chrysost. Serm. in Pet. and Paul.^{13a} See Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 7.¹⁴ μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας. Matt. x. 10; Luke ix. 3.¹⁵ Acts xii. 8.¹⁶ Acts xxi. 11.¹⁷ Thus our Lord charges His disciples, “Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your girdles,” εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν. Matt. x. 9¹⁸ σουδάρια. Acts xix. 12.

the *ἱμάτιον*, or gaberline,¹⁹ a flowing robe of woollen cloth reaching to the ankles, with long loose sleeves.²⁰ When Paul worked at his trade of a tentmaker he threw off the *ἱμάτιον* or gaberline, and put on the *semicinctium* or apron spoken of as used by him at Ephesus.²¹ Our Lord commanded his disciples not to wear *shoes* (*ὑποδήματα*),²² which were articles of luxury, but only sandals; and Paul we may suppose adopted the same fashion. The dress of a Jew as we have described it may be illustrated by the case of Peter, for when he was imprisoned by Agrippa at Jerusalem the angel awoke him and said, “*Gird* thyself (i.e. gird up thy tunic or *χιτῶνα*), and bind on thy *sandals* and cast thy *gaberline* (*ἱμάτιον*) about thee and follow me.”²³ No mention is here made of any headdress, and, perhaps Peter, like many of the Jews, did not wear any. But considering the inclemency of the weather to which Paul in his constant travels must have been exposed, we must conclude that he used some covering for the head, and if so it may have been a kind of turban made of linen or muslin wound round the head in numerous folds. Some, indeed, insist that the *semicinctium* referred to at Ephesus was a headdress of this kind, and both Suidas and Hesychius seem to indicate something of the sort;²⁴ but as *semicinctia* are spoken of in the plural number, it is more likely that they were aprons which were constantly changed than turbans which would be worn permanently. The whole dress of the Jew very much resembled that of the Egyptian, and we are not surprised therefore that Lysias should turn to Paul and say, “Art not thou that Egyptian which before these days madest an uproar,” &c.²⁵ Thus the dress of Paul was essentially Jewish, and though he inherited the right of Roman citizenship, he preserved in common life his Jewish nationality in respect of costume. However he was “all things to all men,” and laying fast hold of the substance, never followed the shadow; and if the Roman apparel would on any occasion have won over disciples to Christ, he would have donned it without hesitation. Some indeed have maintained that such was his ordinary dress, and they rely on his use of the Roman *pænula* or *φαιλόνη*, the travelling “cloak which he left at Troas with Carpus,”²⁶ but though the word *pænula* was originally Roman, it had since made its way into the vocabulary of all the subjects of the Roman empire. Besides it is far from clear that *φαιλόνη* means the Roman cloak, for other authorities interpret it as a box, chest, or desk for holding books, or manuscripts, or writing materials.²⁷

In prosecuting his circuits through so many different countries what was his mode of travelling? did Paul journey on foot or on horseback, or did he hire a carriage? Some maintain that Paul trudged it on foot, and rely on the passages of Luke

¹⁹ You call me misbeliever, cutthroat, dog,
And spit upon my Jewish gaberline.
Merchant of Venice.

²⁰ See Mark x. 50; John xiii. 4; Acts vii. 58 xii. 8. The *χιτῶνες* and *ἱμάτια* are mentioned together, Acts ix. 39; Matt. v. 40.

²¹ Acts xix. 12. So a man going to work in the field left his gaberline at home. Matt. xxiv. 18.

²² Matt. x. 10.

²⁵ Acts xxi. 38.

²³ Acts xii. 8.

²⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 13.

²⁴ See ante, Vol. I. p. 334.

²⁷ See ante, p. 390.

that Paul having to make his way from Troas to Assos, determined *πεζεύειν* to "foot it."²⁸ But this arises from a misconception, for the word *πεζεύειν* is constantly employed in the sense of going by *land* as opposed to passing by *sea*, and so it is used here, for Paul's companions were to sail round the promontory of Lectum to Assos, and he himself was to take the land route. The cost of a conveyance from Troas to Assos in some humble vehicle would be only a few drachmæ, and as the Apostle was anxious to remain at Troas until the last moment, he would scarcely waste many valuable hours in making a long journey on foot while it would be a short journey on wheels. He must sometimes, from want of other means, have been a pedestrian, but ordinarily he must have traversed the remote countries which he did in the ordinary mode, either on horseback or by carriage.

What again was the Apostle's diet? It would vary according to circumstances. In Arabia it would be bread and milk, with dates or other fruits. In thriving towns (as at Philippi, when he became the guest of Lydia), he would partake freely of what was set before him. He would use the bounties of nature, but not abuse them. He would never give way to indulgence, but would not be debarred by religious scruples from the use of wholesome viands, but one rule he rigidly observed, never by his own liberty to cause offence to another who had a more tender conscience. "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no *flesh* while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."²⁹ Did Paul then, it may be asked, drink wine? It would seem that Timothy did not, or why should Paul have written to him "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities;"³⁰ and Paul would not drink wine as a luxury, but reason dictated that he should not refrain from it after great fatigue or whenever the state of his health required it. He never in his Epistles forbids the use of wine, not even to the ministers of the Gospel. The Presbyter was not to be a wine-bibber.³¹ The deacons were not to be given to *much wine*.³² The elder women were not to be "enslaved to *much wine*,"³³ and to the converts generally he writes, not to abstain from wine, but "be not *drunk* with wine in which is *excess*."³⁴ But wine was not to be indulged in where it offended a weak brother. "It is good neither to eat flesh *nor to drink wine* whereby thy brother stumbleth."³⁵

We now advance to the mental qualities of the Apostle, and here, as we read his thoughts clothed in language in the Epistles, we have more opportunity of forming a judgment.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Paul was a man of extensive and accurate observation. All the objects of the surrounding world as they passed in review

²⁸ Acts xx. 13.³⁰ 1 Tim. v. 23.³³ μὴ οἶνον πολλὸν δεδουλωμένας. Tit. ii. 3.²⁹ 1 Cor. viii. 13.³¹ πάροινον. 1 Tim. iii. 2.³⁴ Ephes. v. 18.³⁵ Rom. xiv. 21.³² οἶνον πολλὸν προσέχοντας. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

before him, were faithfully transmitted to the mind, and from this overflowing storehouse the most pleasing images are ever and anon transferred into his writings. What connection had Paul as a Jew or a Christian with the Pagan games? yet how frequently and forcibly does he draw his illustrations from this source! Early impressions are ever the strongest, and one is apt to think that athletic exercises were intertwined with his childhood. Tarsus had its gymnasium on the banks of the Cydnus,³⁶ and only a few years before the birth of Paul, Mark Antony, to reward the sufferings of the city in the cause of himself and Octavius against Brutus and Cassius, had given them a Gymnasiarch, or Master of games, at the expense of the Roman Exchequer.³⁷ Here the young Hellenist may have witnessed with the intensity of delight which only boyhood can feel, the wrestlings and races to which Paul so graphically refers. The interest thus excited would not want fuel to feed it amongst the Greeks of Asia or Europe, with whom he passed the greater part of his life. When he writes from the capital of Asia, about the time of the celebration of the Ephesia, how appropriately does he address the Corinthians, who were wont to witness the Isthmia! The following figurative language is as stirring in exhortation as it is faultless in composition: "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain; and every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."³⁸ In the Epistle to the Philippians he again alludes to his own Christian race: "I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."³⁹ And what a lively picture does he hold up to his countrymen in the Epistle to the Hebrews!⁴⁰ The reader sees before him the stadium lined with a vast concourse of spectators in successive tiers, the runners at one end stripped for the race, and at the other, placed conspicuously on a tripod that all might see it, the Crown of Victory. "Wherefore we also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us throw off every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."⁴¹ Almost the last words that flowed from the Apostle's pen were a review of the past, and a prospect of the future, in the language of the gymnasium. "I have fought a good fight, I have

³⁶ Διαρρέει αὐτὴν μέσην ὁ Κύδνος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῶν νέων. Strabo, xiv. 5 (p. 228, Tauchnitz).

³⁷ Strabo, xiv. 5 (p. 229, Tauchnitz).

³⁸ 1 Cor. ix. 24-27.

³⁹ Philipp. iii. xiv.

⁴⁰ I assume, as I cannot doubt, that the Hebrews was written by Paul.

⁴¹ Heb. xii. 1, 2.

finished my *course*, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a *crown* of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall award me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.”⁴²

Another fruitful source from which the Apostle derives his allusions are the weapons of war. The Jews, who were exempted from serving in the Roman armies, took little interest in the military art; but Paul, as a tent-maker, was directly connected with it, and he was often in scenes where the clank of the cuirass and the sound of the bugle would be daily ringing in his ears. In exhorting the Corinthians not to abuse the gift of tongues by speaking in a language which the audience would not understand, he adds, “For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?”⁴³ And when he writes to Timothy during the storm of the Neronian persecution, he exhorts him to endurance by adverting to the duties of one who had been enlisted: “Thou, therefore, endure hardness, as a *good soldier of Jesus Christ*—no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.”⁴⁴ But not to multiply instances, the most striking passage is that addressed to the Ephesians, and which he wrote when a prisoner at Rome, and chained to a soldier in the immediate vicinity of the Prætorian camp. The portrait which he draws of the Christian warrior is evidently taken from the panoply of the Imperial guard. “Wherefore take unto you the *whole armour* of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the *breast-plate of righteousness*; and your feet *shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace*; above all, taking the *shield of faith*, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and take the *helmet of salvation*, and the *sword of the Spirit*, which is the word of God.”⁴⁵

If Paul was quick in the apprehension of facts, he was not a whit less ready in the instant application of them. Indeed, the adroitness with which he availed himself of accidental circumstances often extricated him from difficulties in which a slower understanding would have been irretrievably entangled. We have seen how on landing at Athens he explored with curious eye the idolatrous scene that environed him, and how happily, when he was arraigned before the Areopagus, he opened his defence by a delicate compliment, and argued from the inscription which he had read on one of their altars, “To the Unknown God.” Again, when Lysias conducted him into the presence of the Sanhedrim, and Pharisees and Sadducees united their voices in charging him with Heresy, for holding that Jesus was the Christ, by what a master-stroke he placed the Pharisees on his side by declaring, as the fact was, and as he had before argued to the Corinthians, that the whole of Christianity turned on the resurrection of the dead—“Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a

⁴² 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.⁴³ 1 Cor. xiv. 8.⁴⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4.⁴⁵ Eph. vi. 13-17.

Pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead, I am called in question." But in speaking of the Apostle's aptitude in seizing on the moment's opportunity, what finer instance can be adduced than the heart-stirring appeal which was called forth in the Prætorium at Cæsarea, when Festus, in a loud voice, interrupted him, "Paul thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad." But he said, "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness; for the King knoweth of these things, before whom also I speak freely; for I am persuaded that none of these things are hidden from him, for this thing was not done in a corner. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." Then Agrippa said unto Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."⁴⁶ Then Paul, holding up his chain to the illustrious assemblage, said, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds."⁴⁷

Another distinguishing feature in the character of Paul was his extraordinary memory. We dwell not on his familiar acquaintance with passing events in the numerous churches which he had planted, or on the comprehensive mind which enabled him, in writing to the Romans, whom he had not yet visited, to salute twenty-six individuals and two whole families, and generally with some marked and distinctive commendation. But we refer more particularly to his numerous citations from Scripture. In the Romans he introduces forty-eight and in the Hebrews thirty-four quotations, and in the other Epistles an immense number. The man must have been endowed by nature with a wonderfully retentive memory, to whom the whole volume of the Old Testament was so perfectly unfolded, that he could apply it so constantly and so appropriately to the development of the Christian scheme. But the marvel increases, if we assume, as learned men have supposed, and, perhaps, not without reason, that *all* these references were made from memory alone. We must also add that both the Hebrew and the Septuagint appear at the same time to have been present in the writer's thoughts, for he not unfrequently improves the Greek translation by slight corrections taken from the original. His education for the Law will partly account for this intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Old Testament, for a Jewish lawyer or scribe studied the volume of Moses and the writings of the Prophets as an English barrister does the tenures of Littleton and the commentary of Coke.

But the quality which most conspicuously characterises the Apostle's mind, is its strong argumentative power. The reader often finds himself at a loss to connect the links of the chain, or fill up the vast chasms that lie between the steps; who can read any one of the Epistles without feeling that he is toiling after a giant, unadorned, indeed, with the embellishments of Greek and Roman eloquence, but moving majestically forward in sublime simplicity? Well might the Corinthian heretics who

⁴⁶ Acts xxvi. 25-28.

⁴⁷ Acts xxvi. 29.

writhed under the infliction, acknowledge that "his letters were weighty and powerful;" and well might the bigoted Agrippa, carried away by the torrent to which he listened, exclaim, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." Longinus, the celebrated critic, in classing Paul of Tarsus amongst the masters of eloquence, observes, that "he was the first who did not use demonstration,"⁴⁸ a singular remark, but one capable of explanation. Paul, though able to cope with the subtlest disputants of antiquity, yet rested the truths of religion, not as Plato did on the deductions of human reason which was foolishness with God, but on the solid basis of Divine revelation, attested by miracles wrought in support of it by Christ and his Apostles. Longinus, more profound in criticism than in religious truth, did not understand this, and looked in vain in the discourses of Paul for the sophistical arguments to which he had been accustomed in the schools of philosophy.

We pass on from the natural gifts of the Apostle to the acquirements superadded by education.

From Of his deep knowledge of Scripture there can be no doubt. To this branch of learning the Jews particularly and almost exclusively devoted themselves. * At five a child began to read the Law; and at twelve was confirmed. As he still advanced in age he was led by the learned doctors into the labyrinths of the abstrusest mysteries. Paul from infancy was thus trained, and when his faculties reached their maturity he was transferred from Tarsus to Jerusalem, and was there placed under the tuition of the famous Gamaliel. That he "profited in the Jews' religion above many of his equals in his own nation,"⁴⁹ he tells us himself, and whoever reads the Epistle to the Hebrews must be convinced of the fact. But Gamaliel appears to have been a man of sound understanding and practical views; and accordingly we find in his pupil no traces of that cabbalistic quibbling and distorted interpretation in which the Jewish rabbis were so apt to indulge.

As to the extent of Paul's familiarity with classical literature, there is more room for argument. That he could speak and write Greek with fluency was matter of course, for he was born at Tarsus. Besides, Greek was then what French is now, the common medium of communication in civilized society. It is likely, however, that his pronunciation of Greek was not without blemish. Even the courtly Josephus complains, that as a Jew he could never make himself perfectly master of the Greek accent,⁵⁰ and perhaps it was a similar defect in the case of Paul which so offended the polite Corinthians. "His speech," they said, "is rude"⁵¹ "and contemptible."⁵²

That Paul was acquainted with the principal poets of the Pagans we may reason-

⁴⁸ Πρὸς τοῦτοις Παῦλος ὁ Ταρσεὺς, ὅντινα καὶ πρῶτόν φημι προιστάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτου. Longin. Frag. 1. The genuineness of this fragment has been questioned, but is defended by

Hug. See his Introduction, part 2, sect. 83.

⁴⁹ Gal. i 14.

⁵⁰ Jos. Ant. xx. 12.

⁵¹ 2 Cor. xi. 6.

⁵² 2 Cor. x. 10.

ably infer from the incidental quotations of Epimenides, and Menander, and Aratus. It has been suggested, however, that

Κρη̃τες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί (Tit. i. 12),

from Epimenides, and

Φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρησθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί (1 Cor. xv. 33),

from Menander, had become mere commonplaces, and that the use of such proverbial lines implied no knowledge of the authors' works from which they were taken,—as amongst ourselves every one cites

“ Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim,”⁵³

but few have read the author by whom it was written. The remark, however, cannot apply to the passage from Aratus. The Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν (*Acts* xviii. 28) could never have become a bye-word, and the Apostle uses the exact phraseology without disturbing even the two expletives, καὶ and γὰρ. At the same time we must remember that for Paul of Tarsus not to have read Aratus of Soli would be almost inconceivable. The two cities were in the same province, and not very distant from each other, and Aratus at that time had nearly as high a reputation as the immortal Homer.

That Paul had perused the pages of the best *Historians* we can only presume from the general excellence of his education, and the grasp of mind which would scarcely rest satisfied without traversing the whole field of letters. We may add also, that from this source may have been drawn the materials which enabled him in the first chapter of the *Romans* to describe in such vivid colours the dreadful depravity into which the human race had fallen.

To the *Philosophers* of Greece and Rome the Apostle may have been no stranger, but he was no friend. They built their systems on the wisdom of man; Paul declared the wisdom of man to be foolishness with God, and preached a revelation attested by miracles. We may conjecture that the Apostle had examined the visionary theories which he thought so little conducive to faith in Christ; at least, the Epicureans and Stoics at Athens deemed him a worthy opponent. And in writing to the *Corinthians*, after alluding to the sophists and their empty castle-building, he proceeds, “I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with *excellency of speech or of wisdom*, declaring unto you the testimony of God; for I *determined not to know anything* among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified;”⁵⁴ but a resolution not to

⁵³ A line taken from the *Alexandreis* of Gualtier, a poet of the thirteenth century. The whole passage runs thus. The person addressed is Darius:—

Quo tendis inertem
Rex periture fugam? nescis, heu! Perdite, nescis
Quem fugias? Hostes incurris, dum fugis hostem.
Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.

⁵⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 1, 2.

display his powers leads to the inference that had it been consistent with his sacred calling, he could have entered the lists against the disputers of this world, and like them have broached attractive theories, specious in appearance, and difficult to be gainsayed, but built upon the sand, and in a short time to be succeeded by others resting on no better foundation. The phraseology occasionally employed in the Epistles induces us to think that Paul had studied the works of his celebrated countryman, Philo, a philosopher of the Platonic school.⁵⁵ This Alexandrian was so enthusiastic an admirer of his master Plato, that it was a trite saying, "*Aut Philo Platonizat, aut Plato Philonizat*;" and Paul's intimate acquaintance with the writings of *Philo* may have led to the hypothesis advocated by some that the Apostle had devoted his hours to the study of *Plato*. We shall conclude our remarks upon the extent of Paul's learning by calling as a witness his contemporary Festus, who, as we have seen, after listening to a lengthened argument from the Apostle, could not refrain from the exclamation, "Paul, thou art beside thyself; *much learning doth make thee mad*."⁵⁶

Let us now contemplate the moral and religious features of Paul's character.

We think no one will dispute that he was naturally an honest and sincere man, of a warm temper, but ever actuated by a high sense of duty, though, in the outset of life, mistaken. Paul was "a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee," and as such he believed in the resurrection of the dead, resting his hope of salvation on a rigid conformity with the precepts and ritual of Moses. Whoever derogated from the dignity of the Law, by questioning the efficacy of its ceremonies, or seeking justification through any other channel, was in his eyes the enemy of God, and to be extirpated by the hand of man. No sooner did the Christian sect begin to spread itself, than Paul, acting from the heat of his zeal on the foregone conclusion that Jesus was a false prophet, at once threw down the challenge, and made war upon the impious Heresy. He excommunicated, he scourged, he compelled them to blaspheme, and even shed their blood, as in the case of Stephen. On the road to Damascus he was suddenly arrested in his mad career—the veil was torn from his eyes, and he saw in Jesus of Nazareth, whom he was persecuting, his Saviour and Redeemer, the long-promised Messiah.

From this turning-point of his history the conduct of Paul must command our utmost admiration, and, indeed, his life, as an example of steady adherence to a fixed principle, under the most trying difficulties, is unparalleled in the annals of mankind. He was now a disciple of Christ, and as if to make amends for his former delinquency, he was commanded to be an Apostle, to propagate the faith which he had striven to uproot. His reason told him that a few years in this world, as compared with eternity, were less than dust in the balance, and he nobly trod the path of duty,

⁵⁵ See several instances, to which attention is called, in the notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

⁵⁶ Acts xxvi. 24.

through good report and ill report, through poverty and distress, undismayed by the treachery of friends or the assaults of avowed enemies. He opened his mission at Damascus, the scene of his conversion, but the Jews pursued him as a renegade, and he sought his safety in flight. He renewed his efforts at Jerusalem, but only fifteen days had elapsed when again a plot was laid for his destruction, and he took refuge in Syria and Cilicia. During his sojourn in these regions he probably experienced from the rulers of the synagogues at Tarsus, and the archon at Antioch, the inflictions to which he alludes in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one." He then made his first circuit, and in the course of it his countrymen of Antioch in Pisidia formed a cabal against him, and he was thrust violently out of their borders. At Iconium both Jews and Gentiles, and even the magistrates, were on the watch to stone him; and at Lystra the rabble actually stoned him and left him for dead. On his second circuit, at Philippi, he was stripped naked and scourged in the market place, and then cast into a dungeon, and his feet made fast in the stocks. At Thessalonica the mob beset the house where he lodged, and he only eluded their fury by stealing away at night. At Berea a similar outrage was enacted, and being driven from Macedonia he set sail for Achaia. At Athens he was arraigned for impiety before the court of Areopagus. At Corinth he was dragged before the tribunal of Gallio, and owed his deliverance to the liberality of the Proconsul. On his third circuit the silversmiths of Ephesus threw the whole city into a ferment, and even the authority of the Asiarchs, and the Recorder, and the devoted attachment of the Apostle's followers, could scarcely screen him from the popular fury. At Corinth the Jews endeavoured to compass his death by an ambush. At Jerusalem he was set upon in the Temple and beaten, and but for the timely interference of the Roman captain had been certainly killed. Two days after, forty of the Jews bound themselves by a curse not to eat or drink till they had cut him off. For two years he suffered imprisonment at Cæsarea. On his voyage to Italy he suffered shipwreck for the fourth time. At Rome he was a captive for two years more. On his fourth circuit he was arrested in Asia and thrown into prison, and again sent to Rome, where he closed the fearful catalogue of his earthly trials by suffering decapitation.

Appalling as it is, even this picture does not represent one-half of the reality. Only seventeen years of his long race of thirty had expired when he wrote to the Corinthians, "Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep, in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often,

in cold and nakedness ; besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.”⁵⁷

But, it will be said, Paul was an enthusiast, and courted martyrdom. No one who has taken even a cursory glance of his life could make such a remark. He shrank, like his fellow-mortals, from bodily suffering, and invariably had recourse to all legitimate means to extricate himself from impending danger. When he was plotted against at Damascus he escaped over the wall in a basket. On discovering a similar conspiracy at Jerusalem, he accepted the escort of the disciples to Cæsarea. When he found himself in peril at Iconium, he fled to Lystra, and when stoned at Lystra he baffled his persecutors by taking the road to Derbe. At Thessalonica he hid himself from his enemies till night, and then made his way across the country to Berœa, and when followed thither by the Jews and again involved in a tumult, he parted company from Sylvanus and Timothy, and sailed for Athens. When the Jews lay in wait for him as he was on the point of sailing from Corinth, he defeated their designs by pursuing his route by land. In Fort Antonia Lysias was about to put him to the rack, but Paul pleaded exemption as the privilege of a Roman citizen. Upon his trial before the Sanhedrim, he averted their sentence by drawing away their attention to the doctrine of the resurrection. The Jews being thus foiled of their object, banded themselves together to take his life by violence ; but Paul was apprised of the conspiracy, and called on Lysias to protect him. When Festus would have complied with the solicitations of the Jews and have remitted his case to their tribunal at Jerusalem, Paul again exercised the right of a Roman citizen, and appealed to Cæsar. We may add also, that whenever Paul was put upon his trial, instead of inviting conviction, he ever defended himself with the utmost ability, exposing the misrepresentations of his adversaries, and insisting on the lawfulness of his own proceedings.

On two occasions only can it be supposed for a moment that Paul did not act with his usual wariness and caution. When Ephesus was in an uproar, Paul would have adventured himself into the theatre to address the frantic multitude, a step which, in the opinion of his followers and the Asiarchs to whom he deferred would have been attended with extreme hazard. Here, however, was no religious enthusiasm, but his friends Gaius and Aristarchus being in the hands of the rioters, a brave and generous man was rushing to their rescue, and the excitement of the moment prevailed over his usually cool and sound judgment.

Again, when at the close of his third circuit he was hastening to Jerusalem, the disciples warned him of bonds in the holy city, and would have dissuaded him from proceeding, but Paul said, “ What, mean ye to weep and to break mine heart ? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.”⁵⁸ But it must be borne in mind that Paul had pledged his word to

⁵⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 23-28.

⁵⁸ Acts xxi. 13.

the churches of Macedonia and Achaia that he would accompany their eleemosynary collection to Jerusalem, a promise which he was not forbidden by the Spirit to fulfil; nay, the execution of it eventually became the means of his visiting Rome, for so many years the secret wish of his heart. At all events, Paul was not *seeking* persecution, but declined only to abandon a journey when it was declared but in vague and indefinite terms that at Jerusalem he should lose his liberty. The prognostication of imprisonment would have been accomplished had he suffered captivity for five days only, instead, as the event happened, of five years. On arriving at the holy city, he avoided giving offence, and forbore to preach either in the Temple, or in the synagogues, or in the streets.

The governing principle of Paul's life may be traced not only in the amount of suffering which he endured, but also in the self-denial and disinterestedness that accompanied his whole course of conduct. Indeed, he regarded the *persecutions* that his apostleship drew upon him as entitling him to no credit, for he had been *commanded* from Heaven to plant the Christian faith, and he dared not disobey—"Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!" But he strove to recommend himself to the great Captain of his salvation by foregoing privileges which he might lawfully have claimed. As a Christian teacher he might have demanded maintenance at the expense of the Church, for "the labourer is worthy of his hire." Christ himself had directed his disciples "to take with them neither purse nor scrip," and wherever Paul carried the Gospel he preached in respect of others the same principle. Pastors of the flock were duly ordained by him in the different churches, and thenceforth received a regular stipend. Yet Paul himself, to avoid the imputation of mercenary motives, though he laboured beyond all, would accept a salary from none. Food and raiment of the commonest kind were all his wants, and these, his manual labour at tent-making supplied not only to himself, but even to some of his followers. At times, indeed, he underwent severe privations, and found himself "in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness,"⁵⁹ and in such pressing necessity, though he declined periodical payments, he refused not temporary relief where the cause of religion would not suffer. Thrice while the famine was raging in Greece, during his second circuit, and once during his first imprisonment at Rome, he accepted a bounty forwarded to him from the Philippians. Of the Corinthians, however, who were divided into factions, he could not be prevailed upon to receive the smallest gratuity—"Wherefore?" he writes, "because I love you not? God knoweth. But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion."⁶⁰

The pomp and pageantry of the world presented no greater attraction to the mind of Paul, than the hoards of mammon. He had abandoned the paths of honour amongst his own countrymen, to obey a heavenly mandate, and his new profession

⁵⁹ 2 Cor. xi. 27.

⁶⁰ 2 Cor. xi. 11, 12.

was little calculated to flatter vanity or feed ambition. As a Nazarene he was execrated by the Jews, and as a Jew he was contemned by the Gentiles. "He was made as the filth of the earth, and was the offscouring of all things."⁶¹ Pre-eminence amongst so humble a class as the early Christians could be no gratification to a man of talents and acquirements. Paul, however, carefully guarded himself against the suspicion of indulging even this weakness. His pole-star was in heaven, and throughout his ministry he was never actuated by the love of praise, "That last infirmity of noble minds." He demeaned himself not as a master, but as a servant; he was "the least of the Apostles, and not meet to be called an Apostle;" nay, the ordinary vocabulary did not suffice to express his baseness, and he designates himself by a word coined for the occasion, "less-than-the-least."⁶² While he was converting thousands, he exercised no lordship over them, but was to be seen daily in the workshop, pursuing his occupation of tent-making, and this as well to gain his own livelihood as to be a pattern to others—"We sought not glory of men," he writes to the Thessalonians, "neither of you, nor of others."⁶³ When a Christian society had been formed, he resided not amongst them to reap the reward of his exertions by receiving their homage, but transferred himself to a new field to repeat the same labours. He re-visited the disciples, but at distant intervals, and then only to strengthen their faith, console them under persecutions, and heal their divisions. The Corinthians, during his absence, would fain have placed him at the head of a party, but how severely does he rebuke them for attaching themselves to the creature rather than the Creator: "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? *Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?*"⁶⁴ and he thanks God that he had baptized only three or four, lest it might be said he had been making Paulites rather than Christians. On one occasion, indeed, and one only, we find him compelled to magnify his office. Some heretical teachers at Corinth had been subverting the faith of the church, by undermining the authority of the Apostle, and he could not for the sake of his followers avoid the vindication of his ministry. But what pain does it give him to allude even in the most distant and delicate manner to his personal qualifications. "Would to God ye could bear with me a little *in my folly*, and indeed bear with me . . . I say again, let no man think me a fool; if otherwise, yet *as a fool* receive me, that I may boast myself a little. That which I speak, *I speak it not after the Lord*, but as it were *foolishly*, in this confidence of boasting."⁶⁵ I am become *a fool* in glorying; ye have *compelled* me; for I ought to have been commended of you; for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest Apostles, though *I be nothing*;"⁶⁶ and in proceeding to speak of the revelations made to him, he dares not even use his own name, but introduces a third

⁶¹ 1 Cor. iv. 13.⁶² ἐλαχιστότερος, Ephes. iii. 8.⁶³ 1 Thess. ii. 6.⁶⁴ 1 Cor. i. 12, 13.⁶⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 1, 16, 17.⁶⁶ 2 Cor. xii. 11.

person as the object of the divine favor—"I *knew a man in Christ*, about fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven."⁶⁷

In accompanying the Apostle through his Christian career, it is pleasing to find that while his gaze is steadfastly fixed on the world to come, and he disencumbers himself of every weight that he might run the race so as to win the prize of his high calling, he is observant of the virtues of social life, and displays all the features of a truly amiable character.

With what warmth of affection does he ever glow toward his own countrymen! On quitting Damascus, the scene of his conversion, he would fain, at the risk of his life, have preached at Jerusalem, and it was only in obedience to a command from Heaven that he retired to Tarsus. The Jews persecuted him from city to city; they sought his destruction by secret ambush; they instigated the Gentiles against him; they rushed upon him themselves to murder him; yet his regard for them was not a whit abated. Wherever he opened his sacred mission, the first offer of salvation was invariably made to the Jews. Five times, and perhaps oftener, had he received forty stripes save one at their hands, when he spake of them thus affectionately: "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not (my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost), that *I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart; for I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.*"⁶⁸ Three years had he remained a prisoner through the machinations of the Jews themselves, when he called his countrymen to him at his lodgings at Rome, and requested their leave to unfold the Gospel scheme to them, adding, that "he had nought to accuse his nation of."

Not less fervent was his love for his converts. When he fled from Thessalonica to Athens, how did he yearn after the disciples whom he had left behind! What anguish of mind did he feel lest the wolf should have scattered the flock, till he could bear such a state of suspense no longer, and sent away Timothy, his only companion, when he needed assistance so much himself, to inquire after their welfare. Mark again the workings of this earnest love towards the Corinthian church! Irregularities had crept into that society, and one of its members had committed the grossest breach of morality. Paul addressed to them a letter of rebuke, which on the face of it carried only an air of severity. But in what a torture of mind was the Apostle as to the success of his appeal! He quitted Ephesus for Troas, expecting there to receive intelligence from Corinth. Titus did not come, and having no rest for his soul, he moved on to Macedonia, if haply he might meet him on the road. At length Titus arrived with the welcome news that the Corinthian church had repented. What, now, were the Apostle's raptures! The kindly feelings which had been smothered for a time gushed forth with double intensity. He writes to them again

⁶⁷ 2 Cor. xii. 2.

⁶⁸ Rom. ix. 1-3.

—he clasps them to his arms—he admits them to his confidence—he opens his inmost soul to them—he tells them that he had indited his former reprimand with the tears in his eyes. We trace the same warmth of heart towards the Galatian converts. He is overtaken at Ephesus by the distressing tidings that they had relapsed from the Gospel into the errors of the Judaizers. Not a moment is lost—he seizes the pen—he reproves—he exhorts—he argues—he threatens—he expostulates—

“ And as a bird each fond endearment tries,
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,”

he applies every incentive, and urges every argument that could touch the feelings or convince the understanding.

It would be strange indeed if one who thus yearned towards each Christian flock, were not knit to his more immediate followers by the tenderest ties, and accordingly we find him regarding his fellow-labourers, not as friends merely, but as his own flesh and blood. Timothy and Titus are “his own sons in the faith,” Phebe is “our sister,” Jason and Sosipater are “his kinsmen,” and he speaks of the poor slave, Onesimus, as “his own bowels,” and not in word only, but in act and deed, he is ever studying the welfare of his comrades, not in spiritual only, but in temporal matters. Is Epaphroditus attacked by fever at Rome?—as soon as he can travel he is ordered home to recruit his strength and recover his spirits. Is Trophimus sick?—he is left behind at Miletus. Is Timothy ailing?—he is stationed at Ephesus, and is charged by letter to take wine as a support against his frequent indispositions.

We may be descending into matters of trivial import, but we cannot forbear the remark, that in all his writings and his whole demeanour, Paul displays a propriety and a delicacy that would have done honour to the polished gentleman of the most refined age. He occasionally adverts to very horrible heathen practices, and yet he does it in language that would not offend the most fastidious ear.⁶⁹

It is well observed by Paley upon the Epistle to the Romans, that as often as the Apostle’s argument leads him to say anything derogatory to the Jewish institution, he constantly follows it by a softening clause. Thus having pronounced, not much, perhaps, to the satisfaction of the native Jews, that “he is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither that circumcision which is outward in the flesh,” he adds immediately, “What advantage, then, hath the Jew, or what profit is there in circumcision? *much every way.*” So in another place, “Do we then make void the law through faith? *Yea, we establish the law.*” And again, “What shall we say then? Is the law sin? Be it not! *nay, I had not known sin but by the law.*”

Paul, it will be remembered, was a stranger to the Roman church, and how carefully does he guard himself against giving offence! “I long,” he writes, “to see you,

⁶⁹ See 1 Thess. iv. 6. Observe also the delicacy of the five first verses of 1 Cor. vii.

that *I may impart unto you some spiritual gift*, to the end ye may be established ;”⁷⁰ and then, fearful lest he had said too much, he immediately subjoins, “that is, that I may be comforted together with you by the *mutual faith* both of you and me.” In the same spirit, towards the close of the Epistle, he apologizes for addressing them, on the ground that by the grace of God he had been ordained the Apostle of the Gentiles.⁷¹ So, in writing to the Hebrews, over whom Paul, as the minister of Christ unto the heathen, had no proper jurisdiction, he prays them to excuse the intrusion. “I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation, for I have written unto you in brief.”⁷² But, perhaps, no more touching instance of Paul’s gentleness of manners and true politeness can be adduced than the whole Epistle to Philemon, which, while it breathes the utmost earnestness, is yet expressed with an urbanity which no writer of ancient or modern times has surpassed or perhaps equalled.

If any fault dimmed for a moment the steady lustre of Paul’s character, it was a warmth of temper which he could not always control. We will not say that the dispute between him and Barnabas, on the subject of Mark, was culpable, for Paul evidently was not indulging a feeling of resentment, but calculating how the cause of Christianity might best be promoted. We must even *admire* the fervent zeal by which Paul was impelled openly to rebuke Peter for his vacillation at Antioch. But what shall we say of the scene before the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, when Ananias bade one that stood by to smite him on the mouth, and Paul, fired by the insult, at once retorted upon him, “*God shall smite thee, thou whited wall!*” Yet even this may have been spoken, not from himself, but from a higher impulse, for it was certainly a prophetic denunciation which, not many years after, received its accomplishment by the violent death of the proud High Priest, from the poignards of the Sicarii.

Let us now regard the Apostle in another light, as one commissioned from above to manifest the truth of Christianity by supernatural agency.

That Paul was enabled (not at his own pleasure, but as he received the power) to work very wonderful miracles, as by striking Elymas blind, by curing the cripple at Lystra, by raising Eutychus to life, &c., is expressly affirmed by his companion and historian Luke. But as the reader will naturally attach greater importance to the Apostle’s own testimony, we proceed to adduce a few passages from his Epistles, in which, though the modesty of the man avoided every ground of boasting, he refers incidentally to these extraordinary gifts. In writing to the Romans he pleads as his justification for addressing a church to which he was a stranger, that he had been ordained the Apostle of the Gentiles, and in proof of his high calling he proceeds, “I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, through *mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.*”⁷³ Again, a faction in the

⁷⁰ Rom. i. 11.⁷¹ Rom. xv. 15, and following verses.⁷² Heb. xiii. 22.⁷³ Rom. xv. 18, 19.

Corinthian church had questioned his Apostleship, and he vindicates his authority by a similar appeal, "Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds."⁷⁴ So when the Galatians had fallen away from the Gospel which he had preached, he bids them return to their allegiance, by reminding them of the mighty deeds by which his mission had been attested, "He therefore (meaning himself) *that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles* among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"⁷⁵ Many other texts might be cited in which the same thing is intimated, though the full force of the expression might not be understood by the inattentive reader. Thus he tells the Thessalonians, "Our Gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in *power* (*ἐν δυνάμει*), and in the Holy Ghost;"⁷⁶ where by *power* is clearly meant the confirmation of the Gospel by the working of miracles. And he uses similar language, and unquestionably in the same sense, to the Corinthians, "My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in *demonstration of the spirit and of power.*"⁷⁷ And we may observe, by the way, that not only does the Apostle lay claim to these supernatural endowments himself, but testifies to the possession of them by others also. "He that *wrought effectually in Peter* to the Apostleship of the circumcision, the same was *mighty in me* toward the Gentiles."⁷⁸ And in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he furnishes them with practical directions against the abuse of the gift of tongues by the members of that church, on whom it had been bestowed, at the same time informing them of his own pre-eminence in this respect, "I thank my God, *I speak with tongues more than ye all.*"⁷⁹ Our only other citation shall be from the Hebrews, in which he warns them of the dreadful consequences of apostatizing from a faith so divinely authenticated. "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God also *bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?*"⁸⁰

Upon the subject of the Apostle's inspiration there has been much controversy, and we certainly have no wish to engage in the discussion, but we may be excused for throwing together a few thoughts which have suggested themselves in the perusal of the Epistles.

That Paul derived his knowledge of the Gospel, not from any human instruction, but directly from Heaven, he repeatedly assures us. "I certify you, brethren," he writes to the Galatians, "that the Gospel which was preached of me is *not after man.*"⁸¹ "By *revelation* he made known unto me the mystery, as I have written above in few words."⁸² And this divine illumination apparently comprised the

⁷⁴ 2 Cor. xii. 12.⁷⁵ Gal. iii. 5.⁷⁶ 1 Thess. i. 5.⁷⁷ 1 Cor. ii. 4.⁷⁸ Gal. ii. 8.⁷⁹ 1 Cor. xiv. 18.⁸⁰ Heb. ii. 3, 4.⁸¹ Gal. i. 11, 12.⁸² Eph. iii. 3.

material circumstances attending our Saviour's life and passion. "I *received of the Lord*," he tells the Corinthians, "that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, 'Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me.' After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, 'This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.' For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."⁸³ And again, "I delivered unto you first of all *that which I also received*, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve; and that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles."⁸⁴ We may also assume, as he tells us himself,⁸⁵ that so much of the divine economy in heaven as related to the scheme of man's redemption, was communicated to the Apostle in like manner; that Christ, for instance, was from the beginning the Son of God, by whom all things were made; that he took our nature upon him and suffered death, as a ransom for the sins of the world, both Jews and Gentiles; that on his ascension into heaven he sat at the right hand of God, to be our Intercessor and High Priest.

These were facts, and thus far was *Revelation*; but perhaps by *Inspiration* is more properly to be understood the influence of the Holy Spirit in prompting or preventing a person's conduct, or superintending his speech or writings. Unquestionably Paul on certain occasions was guided by a heavenly impulse. Thus, he was commanded to depart from Jerusalem⁸⁶—he was forbidden to preach in Asia or Bithynia⁸⁷—he was sent to Macedonia⁸⁸—he went up to Jerusalem by a heavenly command.⁸⁹ But these were exceptions, and in general Paul acted like any other man, upon his own free will, and followed the dictates of his own unbiassed judgment. He was, therefore, liable to error, and was not miraculously preserved from the peccability of human nature. But he was a chosen vessel to impart religious truth, and in this respect we must surely assume that whether he taught by word of mouth or by letter, he was at least so far under the superintendence of the Spirit as to be incapable of propagating error. Let us take the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Whether he should write or not was a question of prudence, and Paul might have come to a wrong conclusion; and he tells us himself, that after he had dispatched it he was ready to repent (*μετεμελόμην*);⁹⁰ but notwithstanding, the Epistle when sent was to form a part of Scripture, and could not contain in it any admixture of error. In what way precisely Inspiration operated to this extent, may be matter of opinion.

⁸³ 1 Cor. xi. 23-26.⁸⁵ Eph. iii. 3.⁸⁷ Acts xvi. 6, 7.⁸⁹ Gal. ii. 2.⁸⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 3-7.⁸⁶ Acts xxii. 21.⁸⁸ Acts xvi. 10.⁹⁰ 2 Cor. vii. 8.

If the doctrines of Christianity had been revealed to him, he would require no further Inspiration than to guard him against forgetfulness, or to guide his judgment in the application of the Christian scheme to the business of life.

Let us now look into the Epistles, and trace, if we can, the Apostle's own pretensions. In his earliest letter, the first to the Thessalonians, we find the following passage: "For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because when ye received *the word of God which ye heard of us*, ye received it not as the word of men, but *as it is in truth, the word of God*, which effectually worketh also in you that believe."⁹¹ And again, "Ye know what commandments *we gave you by the Lord Jesus*."⁹² And again, "For this *we say unto you by the word of the Lord*, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep."⁹³ By the "word of God" and "the word of the Lord," the Apostle must be taken to mean that what he preached or had written to them was dictated by the Holy Spirit. We meet with similar language in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. "We have received, not the spirit of the world, but *the spirit which is of God*, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God, which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but *which the Holy Ghost teacheth*."⁹⁴ And again, "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that *the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord*."⁹⁵

There is another passage in the same Epistle from which many have inferred that Paul laid no claim to inspiration; and as it has been greatly misunderstood, we shall pause for a moment to consider its import. "Unto the married," he writes, "I command, yet *not I, but the Lord*. 'Let not the wife *depart* (*μὴ χωρισθῆναι*) from her husband,' (but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband), 'and let not the husband *put away his wife*;' but to the rest *speak I, not the Lord*—if any brother have a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away."⁹⁶ Here, it is said, the Apostle contrasts his own fallible opinion with the divine injunction of Christ. But how does the case really stand? In the Gospel of St. Matthew (xix. 5) our Saviour quotes the words in Genesis (ii. 24), "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh;" and then adds, "What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder" (*μὴ χωριζέτω*); and a little after, "Whosoever shall *put away his wife*, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery." Paul, therefore, is quoting the Gospel of St. Matthew, which was in the hands of his converts, and he tells them, that as to the separation of the wife from the husband, or the husband putting away his wife, they had a direct command from Christ himself; but that as to what followed, though he

⁹¹ 1 Thess. ii. 13.⁹² 1 Thess. iv. 2.⁹³ 1 Thess. iv. 15.⁹⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 12, 13.⁹⁵ 1 Cor. xiv. 37.⁹⁶ 1 Cor. vii. 10-12.

could not cite any express injunction of our Saviour to that effect, yet he, Paul, as an Apostle, was authorized to declare the Divine will. That such is his meaning is sufficiently evident from a corresponding precept a few verses after. "Concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment (*γνώμην δίδωμι*) as one that *hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful*;"⁹⁷ where, so far from negating his own inspiration, he lays claim to authority as one commissioned by Christ himself. Indeed, at the close of the chapter he distinctly affirms as much, for, speaking of the widow, he proceeds, "but she is happier if she so abide after my judgment (*κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην*), and methinks (*δοκῶ*) that I also *have the spirit of God*." Here the Greek word *δοκῶ*, so far from implying any doubt in the mind of the writer, assumes the fact with something of irony against those who questioned it. We may therefore conclude with Clement, who was for many years Paul's constant companion, and well capable of judging, that Paul spake and wrote (*πνευματικῶς*) "by the Spirit of God."⁹⁸

We have advanced the hypothesis, that in the passage upon which we have just been commenting, the Apostle refers to the Gospel of St. Matthew, and as the testimony of Paul upon this subject is of the utmost value, we shall adduce other instances in which, if we mistake not, a similar allusion is made. In the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, having occasion to speak of the general resurrection, he uses these remarkable words, "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, *ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night*."⁹⁹ How did they know this? It is certainly possible that Paul, while amongst them, might have been gifted with prophecy and have foretold it. But this is mere conjecture. The only natural solution is, that he is bringing to their recollection the forewarning of our Saviour, couched almost in the very terms recorded by St. Matthew. "But of *That day and hour* knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only. But know this, that if the good man of the house had known in what watch *the thief* would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up."¹⁰⁰ In the following texts the allusion may not be thought so decisive. To the Corinthians he writes, "The Lord (*ὁ Κύριος*, viz. Christ) hath ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel."¹⁰¹ And if we turn to St. Matthew we find a precept to that effect, "And as ye go preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand.¹⁰² Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy of his meat."¹⁰³ Again, the Apostle writes, "*Know ye not that we shall judge angels*?"¹⁰⁴ But how else could they have learnt this but from the declaration of our Saviour in St. Matthew? "And Jesus said unto them, verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration

⁹⁷ 1 Cor. vii. 25.⁹⁸ Clem. 1 Ep. ad Cor. xlvii.⁹⁹ 1 Thess. v. 1, 2.¹⁰⁰ Matt. xxiv. 36, 43.¹⁰¹ 1 Cor. ix. 14.¹⁰² Matt. x. 7.¹⁰³ Matt. x. 9, 10.¹⁰⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 3.

when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also *shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.*"¹⁰⁵ Again, in the same Epistle we read, "Though I have all faith, so *that I could remove mountains*, and have not charity, I am nothing;"¹⁰⁶ where, apparently, the writer is adopting the metaphorical language in St. Matthew, "If ye have faith ye shall *say unto this mountain*, be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, and it shall be done."¹⁰⁷ Again, in the Hebrews, he writes, "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which *he obtained witness that he was righteous (δικαιος)*;"¹⁰⁸ but we find this testimony of him nowhere but in St. Matthew, where our Saviour describes him as "righteous (δικαίον) Abel."¹⁰⁹ Considering that from the nature of the case the Apostle, on quitting a church planted by him for another scene of action, must have left with them some written record to be their standard of faith, and remembering that during the early part of Paul's ministry the Gospel of St. Matthew was the only one published, we may reasonably conclude that the Apostle placed it in the hands of his converts, and afterwards referred to it as a book with which his correspondents were familiar. About A.D. 57 the Gospel of St. Luke was written, and from that time it was, of course, circulated throughout Christendom, and had a great reputation, and the Apostle shortly afterwards speaks of Luke as "the brother whose praise is *in the Gospel* throughout all the churches;"¹¹⁰ and in the First Epistle to Timothy he quotes it as scripture, "For the scripture saith, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,' and 'The labourer is worthy of his reward'"¹¹¹—at least, the words "The labourer is worthy of his reward," are not to be found in any part of scripture, save the Gospel of St. Luke.¹¹²

Whether the above remarks authorize or not the conclusion that Paul expressly recognised the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, we cannot doubt the identity of the Christian scheme as taught by him, and as recorded in the four Gospels. Whoever has studied the Epistles must be satisfied, that not even in the slightest particular is there any disagreement between them and the other writings of the New Testament, a circumstance to be accounted for only on the supposition that the Gospel revealed to Paul was one and the same with that delivered to the twelve apostles. But more than this, we can show affirmatively that in all its leading features the Christianity of Paul was that of the Gospels. By way of example only, and without attempting to exhaust the subject, we find on a superficial examination of the Epistles the following prominent Articles of Faith:—

That Jesus Christ was the Son of God. *Heb. i. 1; Gal. iv. 4.*

¹⁰⁵ Matt. xix. 28.

¹⁰⁶ 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Matt. xvii. 20; xxi. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Heb. xi. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Matt. xxiii. 35. Besides the above, Heb. xi.

16 may be thought to refer to Matt. xxii. 32, and 1 Thess. iv. 9 to Matt. xxii. 39.

¹¹⁰ 2 Cor. viii. 18.

¹¹¹ 1 Tim. v. 18.

¹¹² Luke x. 7.

That he was far above the angels, *Heb.* i. 4, and that all things were made by him. *Col.* i. 16; *Heb.* i. 3; *Eph.* iii. 9.

That he was "God blessed for ever." *Rom.* ix. 5; *1 Tim.* iii. 16; *Philipp.* ii. 6; *Col.* i. 15; *2 Cor.* iv. 4.

That "being in the form of God, and thinking it not robbery to be equal with God, yet he made himself of no reputation," and came into the world to save sinners. *Philipp.* ii. 6; *1 Tim.* i. 15.

That he took our nature upon him, and became "man." *Rom.* v. 15, 19; *1 Tim.* ii. 5.

That he was born of the seed of Abraham, after the flesh. *Heb.* ii. 16.

That he was of the tribe of Judah. *Heb.* vii. 14.

That he was of the family of David. *Rom.* i. 3.

That he went about preaching the tidings of salvation, and working miracles, in attestation of the truth of his mission. *Heb.* ii. 3.

That he chose twelve apostles, *1 Cor.* xv. 5, and that amongst them were Peter and John. *Gal.* i. 18, 19; ii. 9, 11, 14; *1 Cor.* ix. 5.

That he led a life of hardship and endurance. *Heb.* v. 8.

That he was without sin. *Heb.* iv. 15.

That at last he was betrayed. *Rom.* iv. 25.

That the same night that he was betrayed he instituted the Lord's Supper. *1 Cor.* xi. 23.

That his death was brought about by the Jews, *1 Thess.* ii. 15, and more particularly by their rulers *1 Cor.* ii. 8.

That he testified to the truth before Pontius Pilate. *1 Tim.* vi. 13.

That he suffered death upon the cross as a ransom for the sins of the world. *Gal.* iii. 13, *et passim*.

That the crucifixion was at a Passover. *1 Cor.* v. 7.

That this was enacted without the gates of Jerusalem. *Heb.* xiii. 12.

That he was buried. *1 Cor.* xv. 4.

That he rose again the third day. *1 Cor.* xv. 4; *1 Thess.* i. 10; iv. 14.

That he was seen by Peter. *1 Cor.* xv. 4.

Then by the twelve Apostles. *1 Cor.* xv. 5.

Then by above five hundred brethren at once. *1 Cor.* xv. 6.

Then by James. *1 Cor.* xv. 7.

That he ascended into heaven. *Eph.* iv. 8; *1 Tim.* iii. 16; *Heb.* iv. 14; vi. 20.

That he communicated to his disciples the gifts of the Holy Spirit. *Eph.* iv. 8; *2 Cor.* v. 5; *1 Cor.* ii. 13; *Tit.* iii. 6; *Rom.* v. 5. And particularly the gift of tongues. *1 Cor.* xiv. 2, *et seq.* And of working miracles. *Heb.* ii. 3, 4.

That he sat at the right hand of God. *Rom.* viii. 34; *Eph.* i. 20; *Col.* iii. 1; *Heb.* i. 3; viii. 1; x. 12.

That he became in heaven our High Priest and Intercessor. *Heb.* ii. 17; ix. 24; *Rom.* viii. 34.

That he will appear again. 1 *Thess.* iv. 15; 2 *Thess.* ii. 1; 1 *Cor.* iv. 5.

And will be the judge of quick and dead. 2 *Cor.* v. 10; 2 *Tim.* iv. 1; *Rom.* xiv. 10.

Such, in few words, was the faith of Paul; and who can avoid the conclusion that such ought also to be our faith? Or shall we say that Paul was deceived? But who that observes his vigorous intellect—his acuteness of reasoning—and above all, his sound practical judgment, can for a moment suppose that such a man could, for the last *thirty* years of his life, have been under a delusion? Or shall we impute to him, that, knowing Christianity to be a fable, he practised upon the credulity of mankind to further his own views? But what could have been his inducement? Could wealth or honour? When he became a convert he sacrificed both for penury and disgrace! Did he seek, under cover of a lie, to promote the good of mankind? But who, in his senses, would build on so rotten a foundation? For, however cunningly devised, the imposture must, sooner or later, be detected!¹¹³ Besides, it is impossible for any one to read Paul's letters without feeling that he, at least, was an *honest* man.

The only alternative is—that Paul had a rational and deep-rooted conviction of the truth of Christianity, and that what he preached to others he believed himself.

¹¹³ The reader, upon this subject, is referred to the Conversion of St. Paul. to the unanswerable Essay of Lord Lyttelton on

APPENDIX.

(I.)

Note on the centurion's house (Vol. II. p. 239), in which, according to tradition, St. Paul was detained at Rome, chained to a soldier, during his first captivity.

WHEN I was at Rome in 1851 I paid a visit to the vaults commonly known as the centurion's house, and my note is as follows:—"At the corner of the Corso and the Via Lata—that is, on the western side of the Corso and the southern side of the Via Lata—stands the church of Santa Maria, facing the Corso. Under the portico is a descent by steps into a vaulted room, and to the west of it is another room, and to the west of the latter another still. From the general distrust that every one entertains of unsupported tradition, the first impression made on the mind is that the vaults are merely the foundations for the superstructure of the church; but in one of the chambers the eye traces an ancient doorway, now blocked up, and it is evident that when the walls were built the floor was on a level with the street without. The accumulation of soil in the course of ages has since converted the rooms into subterranean crypts. The first or most easterly vault is the traditional prison of St. Paul, and has now the sanctity of a chapel. It is about 18 feet long and 12 feet wide. Near the entrance is a pillar, to which it is said the Apostle was chained. This may be regarded as an idle fable. At the other end is a well with a raised mouth. The roof of the vault is formed with massive square *stones* exactly corresponding to those in the roof of the Mamertine prison."

Sir G. Head describes the vault more at length. "Underneath the church" (S. Maria), he writes, "is a crypt which, as the modern surface of the city is 15 feet, more or less, above the ancient level, is supposed to be identically the same chamber in which St. Paul was kept in confinement. The entrance to this highly interesting

spot is by a door which opens within the portico on the southern side of the main entrance. Here is a descent by fourteen or fifteen steps, on the right-hand side of which, or the side towards the street, there may be observed, on going down, the remains of a stone staircase, of which the steps, in regular succession, are seen protruding through the masonry, as if it had been thought proper, in the course of the restorations effected by Innocent VIII. in the fifteenth century, to preserve the remains of the staircase previously existing. On arriving below, the interior, which but for the small taper carried by the sacristan is in total darkness, appears to be a very low chamber, of which the length exceeds the breadth very considerably. The ceiling is a good specimen of ancient *brick* vaulting" (but my own note in the preceding column is at variance) "and a considerable portion of the mosaic pavement is in tolerable preservation. To recapitulate the objects of interest contained here, the first, immediately at the bottom of the staircase, is a small granite column about 8 feet high, said to be the same to which St. Paul was bound while a prisoner. The capital is so worn as not to be distinguishable, though I fancied I could trace the remains of Ionic volutes. From the summit of the shaft is suspended a portion, about 2 feet long, of an iron chain, worn quite thin by time and rust; and upon the centre is the figure of a cross, very deeply indented, with the epigraph, 'Verbum Dei non alligatum,' in capital letters, descending in a spiral line down the column. The characters of the epigraph correspond with the characters of the Augustan era, and are especially similar to others attributed to the same period, which may be seen cut in the

same manner on the shaft of a granite column in the church of Ara Coeli. Upon the summit of the capital is placed a white marble urn, on the side of which is engraved an olive branch (the symbol of martyrdom) and the Christian monogram composed of the two Greek letters chi and rho. Above it is a marble tablet engrafted in the wall, bearing the inscription 'Memores estote vinculorum meorum' *ad Col. captu* " (qu. *Ad Col. cap. iv.* that is, at 4th chapter of Colossians).

"The next object which deserves attention, in addition to the fragments of the mosaic pavement, which is of an ordinary tessellated pattern, composed of small pieces, is a well on the left-hand side of the chamber; nearly opposite the column, such as the early Christians were in the habit of sinking in their dwellings for the purpose of performing the rite of baptism secretly, and similar to many others to be seen in the Roman churches at the present day. This well, according to the tradition of the church expounded by the sacristan, was caused, at the bidding of St. Paul, to rise out of the earth miraculously; though, whatever be its origin, the appearance at present is that of an ordinary well about 18 feet in depth, and containing 10

feet of water, which, beautifully clear as it is, is said never to rise or fall from the present level.

"The third object to be observed is an altar supposed to have belonged to an ancient oratory built upon the wall close to the well above referred to, and in appearance an early Christian altar, such as are to be seen in the catacombs. Besides this altar, there are two others within the chambers of more modern construction. Above one of the latter, instead of an altar picture, is a bas-relief group on white marble by the sculptor Fancelli, representing St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Luke, and the centurion; above the other is a bas-relief in stucco. Finally, at the extremity of the chamber, upon the north flank of the building, are to be observed, built up in the masonry, several very large blocks of peperino, the remains of a triumphal arch erected by the Roman Senate in honour of the Emperor Gordian III. on the occasion of his victory over the Goths, and destroyed by Innocent VIII. in the reconstruction of the church." Rome: a Tour of Many Days. By Sir George Head. 1849. Vol. i. p. 116.

(II.)

Note on the map of Cyprus. See map Vol. I. p. 120.

The natural features of Cyprus are very simple. A mountain ridge called Olympus, beginning from Cape Dinaretum, the north-eastern horn, runs westward along the northern coast as far as Cape Crommyon. Between this ridge and the sea is a narrow strip of land studded with cities. From Cape Crommyon to *Soli*, which is many miles to the west, is a plain country, which traverses the island in an eastward direction to Salamis, and is watered along the eastern portion by the principal river of the island, the Pedenos, which discharges itself into the Bay of Salamis.

From *Soli* to Cape Acamas, the north-western promontory, is another mountain-range (also called Olympus), which, commencing from the cape, descends southward and runs along the southern coast, and ends at Cape Pedalium, the S.E. promontory. This Olympus, the higher of the two, attains its maximum height of 6590 feet at a point due south of *Soli*, about the middle of the island.

Cyprus was colonised partly by Phœnicians and

partly by Greeks. The Phœnicians occupied the S. and W. portions of the coast, and their chief cities were, Chittim, or Citium; Hamath, or Amathus; and Paphos. They brought with them the worship of the goddess Astarte, or Venus, whose temple at Paphos acquired so much celebrity.

The northern and eastern portions of the island were settled by Greeks, whose chief cities were, Salamis, the capital of the whole island, Cerynia, Lapathus, and *Soli*.

The leading cities in the interior were, Tremithus, Tamassus (famous for its copper mines), Idalium, and Leucosia or Nicosia, the former name prevailing amongst the Greeks, and the latter amongst the Italians. Nicosia is the modern capital.

There is no difficulty in fixing the sites of the principal ancient towns on the coast as Citium, Amathus, Paphos, Salamis, Cerynia, Lapathus, and *Soli*; but the interior has been so seldom visited that the geography is very uncertain.

Nicosia, however, is well known, and Idalium is generally identified with Dalin.

Tamassus is placed, by Engel and others, in the middle of the great plain; but as *Tamassus* was celebrated for its copper mines, it must have stood on or near one of the mountain chains. All the mines of Cyprus were on the southern chain, as at Curium and Amathus and Soli. Engel's *Kypros*, p. 44. *Tamassus*, then, as it was inland, must have been at the northern foot of the southern chain; and this is confirmed by Ptolemy, for on comparing together the longitudes and latitudes of the different places in Cyprus mentioned by him, the clear result is that *Tamassus* was toward the south. It was half a degree, for instance, more south than Soli, and in the same latitude as Tremithus, of which we shall speak presently. From the Peutinger table we learn that *Tamassus* was twenty-nine Roman miles from Soli, and twenty-four from Tremithus, which, again, was eighteen (not twenty-four, as Engel assumes) from Citium. As Tremithus and *Tamassus* lay on the road (though from the distance it could not have been the direct one) from Citium to Soli, we cannot be far wrong in placing *Tamassus* at the northern foot of the southern chain of mountains, at the distance of twenty-nine miles from Soli in a south-eastern direction.

Tremithus, according to Engel (*Kypros*, p. 150), was close to Leucosia; but in this he has fallen into a mistake, which is easily explained. He cites the words of Hierocles, *Τρεμιθούτων Λευκοσία*, and argues that Leucosia must, therefore, have been an appendage of Tremithus, and the two must have adjoined. But *Τρεμιθούτων*, or Tremithuntum, is a corrupt form of Tremithus, as Wesseling explains, and therefore a distinct city from Leucosia. Hierocles tells us that there were fifteen principal cities in Cyprus, and proceeds to enumerate them; and if we reckon *Τρεμιθούτων* as one, there are just fifteen named by Hierocles, but without it there are only fourteen. Again, Ptolemy places Tremithus in the same latitude as *Tamassus*; and as the latter was on the south of the great plain, Tremithus must have been so also. We have seen that, according to the Peutinger table, Tremithus was eighteen miles from Citium, and twenty-four from *Tamassus*, and this agrees tolerably well with the site assigned in the modern maps to Tremethusa.

It is worthy of remark that Pliny attributes fifteen cities to Cyprus (Plin. N. H. v. 35), and Hierocles, many ages afterwards, assigns the same number; and Pococke also in modern times gives the like number, ii. 235. The centres

of population appear thus not to have materially varied for nearly 2000 years.

It may here be asked, what was the route taken by Paul and Barnabas in passing from Salamis to Paphos? All that Luke says is that they "went through the island as far as Paphos" (*διελθόντες τὴν νῆσον ἄχρι Πάφου*, Acts xiii. 6), and this language is consistent with a journey along the great plain, or through the busy cities on the southern coast. It is not likely that he traversed the narrow strip of land on the northern coast, for, coming from the north, he would scarcely in that case have landed at Salamis, and, again, would scarcely have taken ship for Pamphylia at Paphos. The general practice of Paul was, not to wander about rural districts, but to strike at once for the great seats of population, as he did at Cyprus itself by preaching at Salamis, the capital, and Paphos, the city next in importance. We should surmise, therefore, that he did not pass from Salamis to Paphos along the great plain, where was the agricultural population, which was comparatively scant and widely dispersed, but that he visited successively the great commercial marts of the south, as Citium and Amathus. As he suffered three shipwrecks before the date of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 25), A.D. 58, he may have met with one of these disasters in passing by sea from Citium to Amathus, and another in a voyage from Amathus to Paphos. The southern coast of Cyprus is extremely dangerous to navigation from the prevalence of sea-fogs, and frequent shipwrecks occur in consequence.

At the time of the Apostle's visit the language spoken in the chief towns, as Salamis and Paphos, may have been the current Greek of the day, but in the rural districts the vernacular must still have been Cypriot, a language long buried in oblivion and now again recovered. It was written in characters most of which were identical with the letters of Lycia, while others were borrowed from Phœnicia, and others from Egypt. It was read, as a general rule, from right to left, but in rare instances from left to right. The words were a barbarous and uncouth branch of the Greek tongue, having much the same relation to pure Greek as Anglo-Saxon has to pure English. The way in which the language was gradually deciphered and identified by the successive labours of the Duke de Luynes, Hamilton Lang, G. Smith, and Dr. S. Birch, will be found narrated in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology."

(III.)

Note on the map of Asia Minor according to its nationalities. See map Vol. I. p. 164.

There were no less than seventeen nations within the isthmus, i.e. to the west of a line drawn from Amisus, on the Euxine, to Issus, in Cilicia: Strabo, xiv. 5 (Tauchnitz, pp. 234, 235); and as these were continually shifting their settlements by expansion or contraction, emigration or expulsion, the utmost confusion ensued. Our map is intended to represent, as far as possible, the localities of the different peoples at the time of the Apostolic circuits. The great authority is Strabo, who was contemporary with the Apostle, and a native of Amasia, in Pontus, and the most eminent geographer of the age, and indeed of any age.

Cilicia had for its eastern limit Mount Amanus, and extended as far south as Pylæ, the 'gates' or defile which connected Cilicia with Syria. Strabo, xiv. 5 (p. 233, Tauchnitz). On the west the boundary was the fortress of Coracesium. *Ib.* (p. 219, 220, Tauchnitz). The line of demarcation between Cilicia Aspera, the western division, and Cilicia Campestris, the eastern division, was the river Lamus. *Ib.* (p. 225, Tauchnitz).

Pamphylia, commencing at Coracesium, extended along the coast as far as a point a little to the west of Olbia, which was included in Pamphylia. Strabo, xiv. 5 (p. 218, Tauchnitz).

Lycia, beginning a little westward of Olbia, reached along the coast to the city of Dædala. Strabo, xiv. 3 (p. 212, Tauchnitz).

After Lycia followed *Caria*, which ran from Dædala to the promontory of Posidium, a little to the south of Miletus. Strabo, xiv. 2 (p. 191, Tauchnitz).

Asia (as the word is used by the writers of the New Testament) coincided very nearly with the Lydia of profane history, and may be considered as reaching from Posidium, where Caria ended, to the river Caicus, where Mysia began. Strabo, xii. 8 (pp. 63, 71, Tauchnitz); xiii. 1 (p. 133, Tauchnitz); xiii. 4 (p. 151, Tauchnitz).

The natural limit of Asia on the south was the Meander; but the Ionians, on the conquest of Lydia, extended their dominion beyond the Meander to Posidium, so as to comprise the cities of Miletus and Myus. Strabo, xiv. 1 (p. 162, Tauchnitz). To the east of Myus the Meander was still the dividing line.

We have suggested in the text that Laodicea, Colossæ, and Hierapolis were probably considered by the writers of the New Testament as included in Lydia. However, in the time of Croesus these cities were certainly not comprised in Lydia, but in Phrygia; for Xerxes, on his march from Colossæ to Sardis, came to a city called Cydrara, where stood an obelisk, erected by Croesus, declaring it to be the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia. Herod. vii. 30. It is clear, therefore, that Colossæ at that time was not regarded as in Lydia; and as Laodicea and Hierapolis were adjacent, we must conclude that they also were not then included in Lydia.

To the north of Lydia lay the two *Mysias*, the greater and the less, beginning at the Caicus (see Asia, *supra*), and running up to and touching Troas at a point between Antandros and Astyca, and then running along Mount Ida and the river Æsepus to the Propontis, and occupying the coast of the Propontis from the mouth of the Æsepus to the Rhyndacus, where Bithynia commenced. Strabo, xii. 4 (pp. 52, 53, Tauchnitz). Little Mysia was the coast on the Propontis between the Æsepus and the Rhyndacus, and included Olympene, the part running inland along the western foot of Olympus. Great Mysia lay to the south of Little Mysia, but the boundaries between the two Mysias were always very confused. Strabo, xii. 8 (p. 63, Tauchnitz).

Troas.—This began from a point between Antandros and Astyca, and ran along the coast as far as the mouth of the Æsepus, and was bounded on the east, first to the south by Mount Ida, and then to the north by the Æsepus. Strabo, xii. 8 (pp. 68, 71, Tauchnitz).

Bithynia.—This extended from the Rhyndacus on the west to the Parthenius on the east, where commenced Paphlagonia. Such is the view generally adopted, but Strabo refines somewhat upon this, and makes Bithynia Proper to reach from the Rhyndacus to the Sangarius only: Strabo, xii. 3 (p. 17, Tauchnitz); and places the Maryandyni, or Caucones, a kindred tribe, between the Sangarius and the Parthenius. *Ib.* (p. 14, Tauchnitz).

Paphlagonia reached from the Parthenius (Strabo, xii. 3, p. 18, Tauchnitz) to the Halys. *Ib.* (pp. 14, 19, Tauchnitz).

Pontus reached from the Halys (Strabo, xii. 3, p. 14, Tauchnitz) to the coast of the Tibareni, inclusive, but was subsequently extended on the east to the borders of Colchis. Strabo, xii. 3, (p. 13, Tauchnitz). That the Tibareni reached down to the coast, see *Ib.* xii. 1 (p. 3, Tauchnitz).

Thus far the maritime provinces. As regards the interior of Asia Minor there is much greater difficulty.

Lycaonia lay to the north of Cilicia Aspera, and was of a quadrilateral shape. To the south it reached to the ridge of Taurus, which divided it from Cilicia. Strabo, xii. 6 (p. 59, Tauchnitz). On the east the boundary line ran from north to south a little to the east of both Coropassus and Derbe, which were cities of Lycaonia, though close to Cappadocia. Strabo, xii. 6 (p. 59, Tauchnitz). On the north Lycaonia touched the Paroreios of Phrygia (Strabo, xiv. 3, p. 212, Tauchnitz), and ran thence in an eastern direction to Cappadocia, in a line a little above Laodicea Combusta and Coropassus, both of which were included in Lycaonia. *Ib.* On the west the border ran southward from the Paroreios along the western side of Lake Caralis, so as to include Isauria, which was an appendage of Lycaonia, and not of Pisidia. Strabo, xiv. 5 (pp. 219, 237, Tauchnitz).

Next to Lycaonia, on the west, lay *Pisidia*. The *eastern* boundary between Pisidia and Lycaonia has been already described. On the *south* the line passed along the ridge of Taurus, which separated it from Pamphylia (Strabo, xii. 7, p. 61, Tauchnitz), and running down along the western side of Pamphylia, it descended south as far as to the city of Termessus, and thus bordered also upon Lycia. Strabo, xii. 7 (p. 61, Tauchnitz); xiii. 4 (p. 159, Tauchnitz); xiv. 3 (p. 217, Tauchnitz). On the *north* Pisidia reached to the Paroreios of Phrygia, at the foot of which was seated Antioch of Pisidia, the capital. Strabo, xii. 8 (p. 72, Tauchnitz). From this point the boundary line passed in a south-western direction, so as to include Apollonias, which was a city of Pisidia—or, at least, was subject to Amyntas, king of Pisidia. Strabo, xii. 6 (p. 60, Tauchnitz). But see xii. 8 (p. 72, Tauchnitz). What was the border line to the S.W. of Apollonias it is hard to say, for the district about Cibyra was occupied confusedly by Lydians and Pisidians. Our map represents Pisidia as extending on this side to Caria, and this view is supported by the fact that Cibyra, though Lydian in its origin, was subsequently occupied by

Pisidians. The languages spoken were Lydian and Pisidian, besides Solymian and Greek. Strabo, xiii. 4 (p. 160, Tauchnitz).

Phrygia was a central tract in the very heart of Asia Minor, bounded on the *north* by the Sangarius and Mount Olympus, and on the *west* by Mysia and Lydia, and on the *south* by Pisidia, and on the *east* by Galatia, except that, between Galatia and the Paroreios, Phrygia projected eastward between Galatia and Lycaonia, and extended as far as Lake Tatta, the whole of which, according to Strabo, was included in Phrygia. Strabo, xii. 5 (p. 58, Tauchnitz); xii. 3 (p. 12, Tauchnitz). As to this excrescence, therefore, Phrygia was bounded on the east by Cappadocia. Phrygia consisted of two divisions, viz., Little Phrygia and Great Phrygia.

Little Phrygia was also called Epictetus, or Hellespontic, and was bounded on the north-west by Little Mysia, and on the north by Lake Ascania, which lay between it and Bithynia, and on the north-east by the Sangarius. Strabo, xii. 4 (p. 52, Tauchnitz); xii. 3 (p. 49, Tauchnitz). The boundaries on the south will be best distinguished by the cities which were comprised in it, and are thus enumerated by Strabo: Nacolea, Cotiaëum, Midiaëum, Doryleum, and Cadi. Strabo, xii. 8 (p. 71, Tauchnitz).

Great Phrygia comprised all the parts not included in Little Phrygia.

Galatia can only be defined in general terms. It was bounded on the *west* by the greater Phrygia; on the *north* by the eastern end of Mount Olympus, which separated it from Bithynia and Paphlagonia; and on the *east* by Pontus and Cappadocia, and on the *south* by the part of Phrygia which lay between Paroreios and Lake Tatta, and to the north of Lake Tatta by Cappadocia. Strabo, xii. 6 (pp. 55–57, Tauchnitz). Galatia touched the northern end of Lake Tatta, but did not comprise any part of the lake itself. Strabo, xii. 5 (p. 58, Tauchnitz).

Cappadocia was bounded on the north by Galatia, Pontus, and Armenia Minor, on the east by the Euphrates, on the south by Taurus (Strabo, xii. 3, p. 12, Tauchnitz), and on the west by a line running through Lake Tatta, and then between Coropassus and Garsaura to a point a little east of Derbe, on Lake Guhl. Strabo, xii. 6 (pp. 58, 59, Tauchnitz).

Armenia Minor was bounded on the west and north by Pontus (Strabo, xii. 3, p. 26, Tauchnitz), on the east by Armenia Major and in part by the Euphrates, and on the south by Cappadocia.

Commagene was bounded on the north by Cappadocia, on the east by the Euphrates, on the south by Syria, and on the west by Cilicia. The southern boundary would be sufficiently represented by a line drawn due east from Mount Amanus to Zeugma, on the Euphrates.

Commagene was in strictness part of Syria

(Strabo, xvi. 2, p. 353, Tauchnitz), but as at the time of which we are speaking it was disannexed from the *province* of Syria, and was under King Antiochus, whose dominions also comprised parts of Cilicia and Lycaonia, it was thought more convenient to include Commagene in the map of Asia Minor.

(IV.)

Note on the map of Asia Minor according to its political divisions. See map Vol. II. p. 336.

On the conquest of Asia Minor by the Romans they paid little regard to the existing territorial boundaries, but distributed the country so as best to meet political exigencies. Thus many races quite distinct *nationally* were comprised under one jurisdiction, and in other cases a united people was broken into fragments, and different portions were assigned to different prefectures. Our map is intended to represent the political aspect of Asia Minor in the Apostolic age.

1. *Proconsular Asia* was one of the Senate's, or people's, provinces, and comprised Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, Mysia, and Troas. It was divided into ten circuits, which were named after the chief cities or places where the assizes were held. These ten cities or places were: (1) Alabanda, in Caria, Plin. N. H. v. 29; (2) Cibyra, in Pisidia, *ib.*; (3) Ephesus, Plin. N. H. v. 31; (4) Apamea, Plin. N. H. v. 29; (5) Lycaonia, Plin. N. H. v. 25; (6) Synnada, Plin. N. H. v. 29; (7) Sardis, Plin. N. H. v. 30; (8) Pergamus, Plin. N. H. v. 33; (9) Smyrna, Plin. N. H. v. 31; and (10) Adramyttium, Plin. N. H. v. 32.

Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ were comprised within the Cibyratic circuit. Plin. N. H. v. 29.

The Lycaonian circuit comprised the cities on the north side of the Paroreios, viz. Tyriæum, Philomelium, Thymbrium, &c., and was so called as bordering upon Lycaonia, and comprising a large Lycaonian population. The boundaries between Phrygia and Lycaonia were never distinctly defined.

2. *Galatia*.—Galatia, under Amyntas, comprised not only Galatia Proper, but Lycaonia and Pisidia, from the Paroreios down to the Taurus; and on his death in B.C. 25 his kingdom was made a Roman province, and assigned to the emperor. In the time of Strabo, A.D. 20, Galatia comprised the whole of these dominions, with some trifling exceptions. Strabo, xii. 5, 6, 7, 8 (pp. 56, 60, 63, 72, Tauchnitz). It continued of

this extent down to the time of Pliny, for he describes it as reaching, on the south, to Cabalis and Milyas and to Oroanda and Obigene part of Lycaonia. Plin. N. H. v. 42. The parts of the kingdom of Amyntas which were excepted from the province were: (1) a small tract which had been taken from Pamphylia, and which was restored to it (Dion, liii. 26); and (2) Cilicia Aspera and the southern part of Isauria, which now belonged to Antiochus IV., King of Commagene.

3. *Bithynia*.—This was one of the Senate's, or people's, provinces. The actual boundaries of Bithynia were from the Rhyndacus, which divided it from Mysia, to the Parthenius, which divided it from Paphlagonia; but in B.C. 39 Paphlagonia also was annexed to Bithynia. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 50, No. 435. And when Strabo wrote, the province of Bithynia comprised also the western parts of *Pontus*, viz. the parts between the Halys and the Iris. Strabo, xii. 3 (pp. 14, 17, Tauchnitz).

4. *Pontus* was originally part of Cappadocia, which was divided by the Persians into two satrapies, viz. Cappadocia Proper and Cappadocia on Pontus, or on the sea, viz. the Euxine. Strabo, xii. 3 (p. 3, Tauchnitz). But "Cappadocia on Pontus" in the course of time became abbreviated into "Pontus" simply. The actual boundaries of the province were, the Halys on the west and Colchis on the east; but on the conquest of Asia Minor by Pompey the parts of Pontus to the west of the river Iris were disposed of in different ways, and eventually were incorporated into the province of Bithynia. Strabo, xii. 3 (pp. 14, 17, Tauchnitz). The parts to the east from the Iris to Colchis were bestowed on Polemo I. as king, and, on his death, on his widow, Pythadoris, and, on her death, on her son, Polemo II. (see *Fasti Sacri*, p. 136, No. 966A), who reigned during Paul's circuits in Asia Minor, and until A.D. 66, when his dominions became a Roman province. *Fasti Sacri*, p. 341, No. 1998.

The kingdom thus formed out of Pontus was called Pontus Polemoniacus, and comprised the coast from Iris to Colchis, and in the interior Zelitis, Megalapolitis, Cabira, the Tibareni, Chaldæi, &c. Strabo, xii. 3 (p. 43, Tauchnitz).

5. *Cappadocia*.—This became a Roman province on the death of Archelaus, the last king, in A.D. 18, and in the time of Paul was governed by a legate appointed by the emperor. Fasti Sacri, p. 162, No. 1087; p. 165, No. 1103.

6. *Pamphylia* was an imperial province, and in B.C. 11 was under Lucius Piso as proprætor. Dion, liv. 34; Fasti Sacri, p. 103, No. 799. In A.D. 43, Lycia was deprived of its liberty, and thenceforth Pamphylia and Lycia formed one province. Dion, lx. 17; Fasti Sacri, p. 277, No. 1656. See Noris, Cenotaph. Pis. s. 311.

7. *Tetrarchy of Iconium*.—This tetrarchy was carved out of Lycaonia, the whole of which had belonged to Amyntas; and the tetrarchy is described as the great table-land bordering on Galatia and Cappadocia, and comprising fourteen subordinate cities or hamlets. Plin. N. H. i. 23.

8. *Territory of Antiochus IV.*, King of Commagene. In A.D. 41, Claudius invested Antiochus IV.

with Cilicia Aspera (Dion, lx. 8; Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 1; xix. 8, 1; Fasti Sacri, p. 271, No. 1622; p. 298, No. 1784), the tract along the coast from Cape Coracesium to the river Lamus. Strabo, xiv. 4, 5 (p. 219, Tauchnitz). But Antiochus was also King of part of Lycaonia, for his coins are inscribed with the word *Λυκαονων*, 3 Eckhel, p. 256, and the parts of Lycaonia referred to must have been those which were contiguous to Cilicia Aspera, viz. the southern part of Isauria and all Isaurica. Derbe was in this district, and as Lystra and Derbe are, in the Acts of the Apostles, coupled together as cities of Lycaonia, and apparently in opposition to Iconium, mentioned just before (Acts xiv. 6), the inference is that Lystra also was within the jurisdiction of Antiochus.

9. *Cilicia Campestris*.—This province, from the river Lamus to Issus, had a proprætor of its own, (see Fasti Sacri, p. 160, No. 1071; p. 307, No. 1832; Noris, Cenotaph. Pis. 299,) but without any military force, and was under the protectorate of and in subordination to the Prefect of Syria. See Fasti Sacri, p. 132, No. 955.

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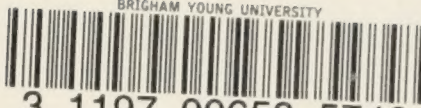
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